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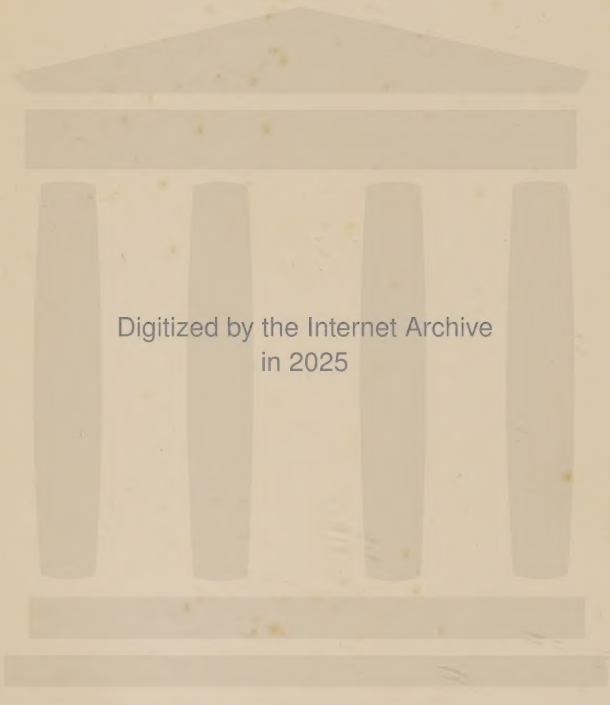
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CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

OF EVENTS MENTIONED IN THE TEXT OR NOTES OF THE PRESENT VOLUMES

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

The following symbols are used in this table :—

c. = circa.

> means not earlier than.

< means not later than.

× means that an event took place between two dates.

– means that an event lasted from the first date to the second.

Where the date given in this table differs from that given by Bede, the latter date is generally added in square brackets.

Date.	*Foreign Affairs, Popes, &c. (including Ireland).*	*Britain.*
B. C.		
59	Lex Vatinia.	
55	Caesar's first invasion of Britain.	
54	Caesar's second invasion of Britain.	
A. D.		
43	Claudius' invasion of Britain.	
161	Accession of M. Aurelius.	
169	Death of Verus.	
> 171	Accession of Eleutherus.	
193	Accession of Severus.	
284	Accession of Diocletian.	
306	Death of Constantius.	
325	Council of Nicaea.	
378	Death of Valens.	
381–2	Council of Constantinople.	
395 [394]	Accession of Arcadius.	
397 × 401	Death of St. Martin of Tours.	
c. 403	Birth of Prosper of Aquitaine.	
407		407. Gratianus and Constantinus emperors in Britain.

Date.	*Foreign Affairs, Popes, &c. (including Ireland).*	*Britain.*
408	First siege of Rome by Alaric.	
409	Second siege of Rome by Alaric.	
410 [411]	Third siege and capture of Rome by Alaric.	
418	Julianus of Eclanum and other bishops deposed by Pope Zosimus. Germanus becomes bishop of Auxerre.	
423	Death of Honorius.	
427	Lupus becomes bishop of Troyes.	
429	First mission of Germanus to Britain.	
430, Easter		Hallelujah victory.
431	Council of Ephesus. Mission of Palladius to the Irish.	
432	Death of Pope Celestine.	
? 432		? 432, Sept. 16. Death of Nynias.
444 [445]	Death of Bleda, king of the Huns.	
446	Third Consulship of Aetius. Embassy of the Britons to him. Famine at Constantinople.	
447	Earthquake. Second mission of Germanus to Britain.	
448	July 31. Death of Germanus. Nov. Synod of Constantinople.	
449	Robber Synod of Ephesus.	
c. 449		c. 449. Settlement of the Saxons.
450 [449]	Accession of Marcian.	
454	Assassination of Aetius.	
c. 454	Death of Julianus of Eclanum.	
455	Death of Severus of Trèves. March 16. Assassination of Valentinianus.	
c. 463	Death of Prosper of Aquitaine.	
476	Fall of Romulus Augustulus, and end of the Western Empire.	
479	Death of Lupus of Troyes.	
c. 493		Battle of Mons Badonicus. Birth of Gildas.
c. 500		Settlement of the Scotti in Alba.
506	Council of Agde.	
c. 537		Gildas writes the De Excidio Brittaniae.

Date.	*Foreign Affairs, Popes, &c. (including Ireland).*	*Kent (including Sussex) and Ecclesiastical Affairs.*	*Essex.*
538, Feb. 15 [16th]	Solar eclipse.		
540, June 20	,, ,,		
547			
553	Council of Constantinople.		
557			
559 × 560		Accession of Ethelbert.	
c. 560			
565	Nov. Accession of Justinus Minor.		
565 × 566			
568		Ethelbert defeated by Ceawlin.	
573 × 574			
574	Accession of Benedict I. Convention of Druim Cett.		
578	Death of Benedict I. Accession of Pelagius II.		
579			
582	Aug. 13. Accession of the Emperor Maurice.		
585			
585 × 588	Gregory sees the Anglian boys in the Roman Forum.		
588			
585 × 590	Columban goes to Gaul.		
590	Death of Pelagius II.		
590 [591]	Sept. Accession of Gregory I.		
592 × 593			
596	Gregory sends Augustine to Britain.		
> 596, July 23	Augustine leaves Rome the second time.		
597		597. Arrival of Augustine. June 2. Baptism of Ethelbert.	
< 597, Dec. 25	Consecration of Augustine.		
601	? Jan. 1. Letter of Gregory to Augustine on his miracles.		

Wessex.	*Mercia.*	*East Anglia.*	*Northumbria and Northern Britain.*
			547. Accession of Ida. Foundation of Bamborough.
			557. Accession of Brude, king of the Picts.
			c. 560. Defeat of the Dalriadic Scots by the Picts.
			565. Coming of Columba to Britain.
			565 × 566. Foundation of Iona.
568. Ceawlin defeats Ethelbert.			
			573 × 574. Death of Conall mac Comgaill, king of the Dalriadic Scots.
			574. Accession of Aedan mac Gabrain.
			579. Aedan attacks the Orkneys.
			582. Aedan attacks the Isle of Man.
			585. Birth of Edwin.
			588. Death of Ælle of Deira.
			590. Battle of Leithrig.
			592 × 593. Accession of Ethelfrid.
			597, June 9. Death of Columba.

Date.	*Foreign Affairs, Popes, &c. (including Ireland).*	*Kent (including Sussex) and Ecclesiastical Affairs.*	*Essex.*
601, June 22	Gregory sends letters to Ethelbert, &c., by Mellitus.		
601	June 22 × July 18. Mission of Mellitus, &c.		
601, July 18	Letter of Gregory to Mellitus.		
601, Nov. 2	Accession of Phocas.		
602	Synod in Gaul on the Easter question.		
602 × 603		Conferences of Augustine with the British bishops.	
603			
?603, June 9		Consecration of Christ Church, Canterbury.	
604 [605]	Death of Gregory I.	604. Justus bishop of Rochester.	Mellitus bishop of the East Saxons.
604 × 605, May 26		Death of Augustine; succession of Laurentius.	
607		Death of Abbot Peter.	
608	Accession of Boniface IV.		
? 608		? 608. Mellitus leaves Britain.	
610, Feb. 27	Mellitus present at Council of Rome.		
610, Oct. 5	Accession of Heraclius.		
610	Columban expelled from Gaul.		
611			
< 612			
613	Death of Brunhild.		
613 × 614			
614			
615	Deaths of Boniface IV, and of Columban.		
616		616. Death of Ethelbert. Succession of Eadbald.	
? 616			
613 × 617			
616 × 617			Death of Sæbert. Apostasy of the East Saxons.
c. 617	Foundation of Faremoûtier.		
618, Nov.	Death of Deusdedit.		
619, Feb. 2		Death of Laurentius. Succession of Mellitus.	
619, Dec.	Accession of Boniface V.		

Wessex.	*Mercia.*	*East Anglia.*	*Northumbria and Northern Britain.*
			603. Battle of Degsastan.
			604 × 605. Birth of Oswald.
611. Accession of Cynegils.			< 612. Birth of Osfrid.
			613 × 614. Birth of Oswy.
			614. Birth of Hild.
			? 616. Battle of Chester.
		613 × 617. Vision of Edwin at the court of Redwald.	
		616 × 617. Battle of the Idle; death of Ethelfrid and accession of Edwin.	

Date.	*Foreign Affairs, Popes, &c. (including Ireland).*	*Kent (including Sussex) and Ecclesiastical Affairs.*	*Essex.*
619 × 624	Letters of Boniface V to Mellitus and Justus.		
623			
624, April 24		Death of Mellitus. Succession of Justus.	
625, July 21		Justus consecrates Paulinus.	
625, Oct.–Nov.	Death of Boniface V; accession of Honorius I.		
626	Faro becomes bishop of Meaux.	Death of Rufinianus.	
? 626			
627			
? 627, Nov. 10		Death of Justus.	
627 × 628			
628			
630	Asterius becomes Archbishop of Milan.		
? 630	First South Irish Synod.		
630 × 631			
> 630 × 631			
631	Irish delegates at Rome. Heracleonas made Caesar.		
? 632			
? 632 × 633	Second South Irish Synod.		
630 × 633	Southern Irish adopt the Roman Easter.		
< 633			
633, Oct. 12			
629 × 634 ?	Letter of Honorius to the Irish.		
634, June 11	Letters of Honorius to Edwin and Honorius. Pallium sent to Paulinus.		
635			
> 635			

Wessex.	*Mercia.*	*East Anglia.*	*Northumbria and Northern Britain.*
			623. Seghine abbot of Iona.
			625. Paulinus sent to Northumbria.
	?626 Accession of Penda.		626, April 20. Attempted murder of Edwin; birth of Eanfled. 626, June 7. Baptism of Eanfled. 627, April 11. Baptism of Edwin.
		627 × 628. Conversion and death of Earpwald.	
			628. Birth of Benedict Biscop.
		630 × 631. Accession of Sigbert and coming of Felix. > 630 × 631. Coming of Fursa.	
			?632. Edwin besieges Cadwallon.
			< 633. Birth of Yffi. 633, Oct. 12. Battle of Hatfield. Death of Edwin.
			634. Birth of Wilfrid. 634, Summer. Death of Osric. 634, end. Death of Eanfrid. Battle of Hefenfelth, and accession of Oswald.
635. Baptism of Cynegils.			635. Mission of Aidan, and ound ation of Lindisfarne. > 635. Birth of Ethelwald of Deira.

Date.	*Foreign Affairs, Popes, &c. (including Ireland).*	*Kent (including Sussex) and Ecclesiastical Affairs.*	*Essex.*
636			
638	Accession of Clovis II. Death of Honorius I.		
639			
c. 639			
640	Ercinwald Neustrian mayor of the palace. Death of Asterius of Milan. Accession and death of Pope Severinus. Letter of John IV as Pope Elect to Northern Irish. Consecration of John IV.	Death of Eadbald. Accession of Earconbert.	
641	Accession of Heracleonas.		
642			
> 642 641 × 643			
640 × 644 < 644	Fursa goes to Gaul.		
644		Death of Paulinus (Oct. 10). Consecration of Ithamar to Rochester.	
644 × 645			
645 × 646			
< 646, May 21 < 647			
647 > 647			
647 × 648			
648			
649	First Lateran Council.		

Wessex.	*Mercia.*	*East Anglia.*	*Northumbria and Northern Britain.*
636. Baptism of Cwichelm.			
			638. War of Oswald, ? against Mercia.
639. Baptism of Cuthred.			
c. 639. Birth of Aldhelm.			
			642. Birth of Ceolfrid. Battle of Maserfelth (Aug. 5). Death of Oswald; accession of Oswy.
			> 642. Marriage of Eanfled and Oswy.
641×643. Death of Cynegils. Building of the old Minster at Winchester.			
		< 644. Accession of Anna.	
			644. Accession of Oswin of Deira.
644×645. Expulsion of Cenwalh.			
645×646. Conversion of Cenwalh.			
			< 646, May 21. Birth of Egfrid.
			< 647. Foundation of Hartlepool.
			647. Hild takes the veil.
		> 647. Hereswith takes the veil.	
647×648. Restoration of Cenwalh.		647×648. Death of Felix; consecration of Thomas.	
648. Consecration of the old Minster at Winchester.			648. Wilfrid enters Lindisfarne.

Date.	*Foreign Affairs, Popes, &c. (including Ireland).*	*Kent (including Sussex) and Ecclesiastical Affairs.*	*Essex.*
? 649	Death of Fursa. Foillan and Ultan go to Gaul.		
648 × 650			
649 × 650			
650			
651			
652			
? 652		Wilfrid arrives in Kent.	
652 × 653			
< 653			Death of Sigbert Paruus; accession of Sigbert Bonus.
653	Martin I sent to Constantinople.		Reconversion of East Saxons.
	Wilfrid and Benedict Biscop leave Kent for Rome.		
		Sept. 30. Honorius dies.	
654	Eugenius I consecrated (Aug. 10). Wilfrid leaves Rome.	654, ? Dec. 12. Election of Deusdedit.	
654 × 655	Wilfrid at Lyons.		
655	Foillan martyred. Death of Martin I (Sept. 16).	March 26. Consecration of Deusdedit.	
? 655		? 655. Death of Ithamar, and consecration of Damian.	
656	Death of Clovis II.		
? 656			
657	Accession of Vitalian. Death of Ercinwald. Succession of Ebroin.		
657 × 658	Murder of Annemundus.		
658	Accession of John, archbishop of Arles, and of Emmo, bishop of Sens.		

Wessex.	*Mercia.*	*East Anglia.*	*Northumbria and Northern Britain.*
648 × 650. Death of Birinus.			
649 × 650. Agilbert bishop of the West Saxons.			
			650. Birth of Eosterwine.
			651. Murder of Oswin (Aug. 20). Death of Aidan (Aug. 31). Cuthbert enters Melrose.
		652. Marriage of Ethelthryth and Tondbert.	652. Death of Seghine of Iona.
		652 × 653. Death of Thomas; consecration of Boniface.	
	653. Conversion of Peada and the Middle Angles.		
		654. Death of Anna. Foundation of Icanhoe by Botulf.	
			654 × 655. Birth of Elfled.
	655, Nov. 15. Battle of the Winwæd. Death of Penda.	655. Death of Tondbert.	655. Battle of the Winwæd.
	656, Spring. Murder of Peada.		
	? 656. Diuma bishop of the Mercians.		
			657. Foundation of Whitby. Cuimine Ailbe abbot of Iona.
			657 × 658. Birth of Wilbrord.
	658. Rebellion of Mercia against Oswy. Wulfhere king.		

Date.	*Foreign Affairs, Popes, &c. (including Ireland).*	*Kent (including Sussex) and Ecclesiastical Affairs.*	*Essex.*
? 658			
659	Baldhild makes St. Leger bishop of Autun.		
? 659			
660			
658 × 661			
661			
? 661			
662	Restoration of Chelles by Baldhild.		
? 663			
663 × 664			
< 664			Barking founded.
664		Plague	
	Eclipse, May 1 [May 3]. Sigebrand, bishop of Paris, killed. Baldhild enters a convent.	July 14. Deaths of Earconbert and Deusdedit. Accession of Egbert.	664. Death of Cedd.
? 664		? 664. Death of Damian.	? 664. Death of Ethelberg.
? 665	Death of St. Burgundofara. Second visit of Benedict Biscop to Rome.		
666			
? 666			
> 666	Agilbert bishop of Paris.		
665–667	Benedict Biscop at Lérins.		
667	Benedict Biscop's third visit to Rome. Nov. Theodore ordained subdeacon.		
? 667	Wighard sent to Rome by Egbert and Oswy.		

Wessex.	*Mercia.*	*East Anglia.*	*Northumbria and Northern Britain.*
	?658. Ceollach bishop of the Mercians.		?658. Alchfrid sends for Wilfrid.
	?659. Trumhere bishop of the Mercians.		
			660. Marriage of Egfrid and Ethelthryth.
			658 × 661. Grant of Stamford to Wilfrid.
			661. Death of Finan.
	?661. Wulfhere conquers Wight.		?661. Expulsion of Eata and Cuthbert from Ripon. Grant of Ripon to Wilfrid. Ceolfrid goes to Ripon. Death of Boisil.
	662. Death of Trumhere. Succession of Jaruman.		
?663. Wine made bishop. Agilbert leaves Wessex.			
		663 × 664. Accession of Aldwulf.	Wilfrid ordained priest.
	in		Britain.
			664. Synod of Whitby. Colman leaves Lindisfarne. Cuthbert provost of Lindisfarne. Death of Tuda. Election and consecration of Wilfrid.
			?664. Rebellion of Alchfrid.
?666. Expulsion of Wine.			666. Wilfrid returns to Britain.
			667. Colman's settlement at Inisboffin.
	?667. Death of Jaruman.		

Date.	*Foreign Affairs, Popes, &c. (including Ireland).*	*Kent (including Sussex) & Ecclesiastical Affairs.*	*Essex.*	*Wessex.*
668.	March 26. Theodore consecrated. May 27. Sets out for Britain.			
666–669				
669		Foundation of Reculver. May 27. Theodore reaches Canterbury.		
669 × 670 < 670		< 670. Arrival of Abbot Hadrian.		
c. 670 670 669 × 671	Arculfus' pilgrimage.			670. Hlothhere bishop.
671 > 671	Benedict Biscop's fourth visit to Rome.	>671 Hadrian abbot of SS. Peter and Paul, Canterbury.		
672	Deaths of Vitalian, and of Faro bishop of Meaux.			672. Death of Cenwalh.
? 672				
669 × 673				
672 × 673 673		July. Death of Egbert. Accession of Hlothhere. Sept. 24. Theodore holds the Council of Hertford.		
? 673				
674	Death of Colman at Inisboffin.			
671 × 675 < 675				
675	Deaths of John bishop of Arles, and Emmo bishop of Sens.		Earconwald bishop of London.	
? 675			? 675 Death of Ethelberg.	? 675. Aldhelm abbot of Malmesbury.
675 × 676	Benedict Biscop goes to Gaul.			

Mercia.	*East Anglia.*	*Northumbria and Northern Britain.*	*History of Wearmouth and Jarrow.*
		666–669. Wilfrid in retirement at Ripon.	
669. Ceadda bishop of the Mercians.		669. Ceolfrid ordained priest by Wilfrid. Wilfrid restored by Theodore. Death of Cuimine Ailbe of Iona.	
	669 × 670. Death of Boniface.		
		669 × 671. Oswy wishes Wilfrid to accompany him to Rome.	
		671, Feb. 15 [670]. Death of Oswy; accession of Egfrid.	
672. Death of Ceadda (March 2). Wynfrid bishop.		672. Return of Benedict Biscop. Separation of Egfrid and Ethelthryth.	
		? 672. Ethelthryth receives the veil from Wilfrid.	
	669 × 673. Consecration of Bisi.		672 × 673. Birth of Bede.
	673. Foundation of Ely.		
	? 673. Division of the East Anglian see.		674. Foundation of Wearmouth.
		671 × 675. Egfrid recovers Lindsey.	
< 675. Deposition of Wynfrid. Accession of Sexwulf.			
675. Death of Wulfhere. Accession of Ethelred.			

Date.	*Foreign Affairs, Popes, &c. (including Ireland).*	*Kent (including Sussex) & Ecclesiastical Affairs.*	*Essex.*	*Wessex.*
676		Kent ravaged and Rochester sacked by Ethelred of Mercia.		Hædde bishop.
c. 677	Wilbrord goes to Ireland.			
671 × 678				
672 × 678				
678	Pope Agatho consecrated. Fifth visit of Benedict Biscop to Rome with Ceolfrid. Wilfrid winters in Frisia.	Drought in Sussex, followed by famine.		
? 678		Consecration of Gebmund.		
679	Wilfrid at Rome.			
? 679, Dec.	Death of Dagobert II.			
679 × 680				
Nov. 679–March, 680	Council of Rome. Trial of Wilfrid's appeal.			
680	Deaths of Baldhild, Ebroin, and Agilbert.	Sept. 17. Theodore holds the Council of Hatfield.		
c. 680	Death of Ultan.			
Nov. 680–Sept. 681	Council of Constantinople.			
681				
681 × 682				
682				
684	Council of Toledo.			
? 684	Benedict Biscop's sixth visit to Rome.			
675 × 685				
685		Feb. 6. Death of Hlothhere.		
? 685				

Mercia.	*East Anglia.*	*Northumbria and Northern Britain.*	*History of Wearmouth and Jarrow.*
676. Putta takes refuge with Sexwulf.		676. Cuthbert retires to Farne	
		671 × 678. Church at Ripon built.	
		672 × 678. Church at Hexham built.	
		678. Expulsion of Wilfrid. Division of his diocese. Consecration of Bosa, Eata, and Eadhed.	
		?678. Church at Lindisfarne consecrated by Theodore.	
679. Battle of the Trent. Lindsey becomes Mercian.		679. Adamnan abbot of Iona. Death of Ælfwine at the Trent.	679. Eosterwine ordained priest.
			679 × 680. Return of Benedict Biscop with John the archchanter. Bede enters Wearmouth.
		680. Wilfrid returns to Britain, and is thrown into prison. Death of Hild, Nov. 17.	
		681. Brude, king of the Picts, attacks the Orkneys. Release of Wilfrid. Consecration of Tunbert and Trumwine.	
			681 × 682. Jarrow founded.
			682. Eosterwine abbot.
		684. Synod of Twyford. Deposition of Tunbert. Election of Cuthbert. Bert's expedition to Ireland.	
675 × 685. Ætla bishop of Dorchester.			
		685, March 26. Consecration of Cuthbert.	
		May 21. Death of Egfrid at Nechtansmere. Succession of Aldfrid.	?685, April 23. Consecration of Jarrow church.

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Date.	*Foreign Affairs, Popes, &c. (including Ireland).*	*Kent (including Sussex) & Ecclesiastical Affairs.*	*Essex.*	*Wessex.*
672–685				672–685. Anarchy.
681 × 686		Plague at Selsey (Sussex).		
681–686		681–686. Wilfrid in Sussex.		
686				686. Accession of Cædwalla. Conquest of Wight.
c. 686				c. 686. Wilfrid in Wessex.
? 686		? 686, Aug. Death of Edric.		
686 × 687				
687	Battle of Testry. Accession of Sergius I.			
687–688				
688				Abdication of Cædwalla.
688 × 689				
689, April	Baptism and death of Cædwalla at Rome.			
689 × 690				
< 690	Abortive attempt of Egbert to evangelise Germany.			
690	Wilbrord's mission to Frisia.	690, Sept. 19. Death of Theodore. Oct. Accession of Witred.		
691 × 692	Second voyage of Adamnan to Ireland.			
692		692, July 1. Election of Bertwald.		
? 692	First visit of Wilbrord to Rome.			
691 × 693				
692 × 693	Swidbert consecrated by Wilfrid as bishop of the Frisians.			
693		June 29. Consecration of Bertwald.		

Mercia.	*East Anglia.*	*Northumbria and Northern Britain.*	*History of Wearmouth and Jarrow.*
		686. First visit of Adamnan to Northumbria, and voyage to Ireland with the released prisoners. Last interview of Cuthbert and Herbert.	686. Death of Eosterwine. Election of Sigfrid.
		? 686. Death of Eata.	
		686 × 687. Restoration of Wilfrid. He administers the see of Hexham for a year.	
		687 < March. Cuthbert resigns his see.	
		March 20. Deaths of Cuthbert and Herbert.	
		Aug. Consecration of John of Hexham.	
		687–688. Wilfrid administers Lindisfarne.	
688. Death of Putta, bishop of Hereford.		688. Second visit of Adamnan to Northumbria.	
			688 × 689. Ceolfrid abbot of Wearmouth and Jarrow (May 13). Death of Sigfrid (Aug. 22).
			689 × 690. Death of Benedict Biscop (Jan. 12).
		691 × 692. Second expulsion of Wilfrid.	Bede ordained deacon.
		692. Death of Brude mac Bili, king of the Picts.	
691 × 693. Consecration of Oftfor, bishop of the Hwiccas.			

Date.	*Foreign Affairs. Popes, &c. (including Ireland).*	*Kent (including Sussex) & Ecclesiastical Affairs.*	*Essex.*	*Wessex.*
> 693				
692 × 694			Death of Earconwald. Resignation and death of Sebbi; accession of Sighard and Swefred.	
694		Peace between Kent and Wessex.		
695 [696]	Wilbrord's second visit to Rome, and consecration.			
? 695				
696		Witenagemót of Bersted; Witred's laws.		
675 × 697				
696 × 697	Third voyage of Adamnan to Ireland.			
697				
698				
699				
691 × 703				
701	Death of Sergius I. Ceolfrid's monks, including Hwætbert, at Rome.			
702 × 703				
703 × 704	Wilfrid and Acca with Wilbrord in Frisia.			
704	Wilfrid at Rome. Second appeal.			
< 705				
705	Death of John VI (Jan.).			705. Aldhelm's letter to Geraint. Death of Hædde.

Mercia.	*East Anglia.*	*Northumbria and Northern Britain.*	*History of Wearmouth and Jarrow.*
> 693. Death of Offor.			
	? 695. Translation of Ethelthryth.		
675 × 697. Translation of Oswald to Bardney.			
697. Murder of Osthryth.			
		698, March 30. Translation of Cuthbert.	
		May 5. Death of Eadbert.	
		699. Death of Ethelwald of Farne.	
			691 × 703. Bede writes De Arte Metr., De Schematibus, and prob. De Orthographia.
		702 × 703. Great Council.	Bede ordained priest.
		703 × 704. Death of Adamnan.	
704. Ethelred becomes a monk. Succession of Cenred.			704. Hwætbert ordained priest.
			< 705. Bede's Metrical Life of Cuthbert.
		705. Death of Bosa. Return of Wilfrid. Death of Aldfrid. Accession (after two months) of Osred.	

Date.	*Foreign Affairs, Popes, &c. (including Ireland).*	*Kent (including Sussex) & Ecclesiastical Affairs.*	*Essex.*	*Wessex.*
705	Wilfrid ill at Meaux.			Division of the Wessex diocese.
706				Aldhelm bishop of Sherborne.
708	Accession of Constantine I.			
< 709			< 709. Accession of Offa.	
709	Cenred and Offa go to Rome.	c. 709. Eadbert, bp. of Selsey (Sussex).	709. Resignation of Offa.	May 25. Death of Aldhelm.
c. 709			> 709. Death of Hildilid.	
> 709				
709 × 710		Death of Abbot Hadrian.		
713				
690 × 714	Mission of the Hewalds.			
713 × 714	Death of Pippin of Héristal.			
714				
713 × 715	Death of Swidbert.			
715	Death of Constantine I; accession of Gregory II.			715. Battle Ini and
696 × 716		Witenagemót of Bapchild.		
709 × 716				
< 716				
716		Council of Clovesho.		
> 716				
717				
718	Boniface goes to Frisia.			
719	Death of Radbod of Frisia.			
c. 720				

Mercia.	*East Anglia.*	*Northumbria and Northern Britain.*	*History of Wearmouth and Jarrow.*
		705. Synod on the Nidd. Wilfrid restored to Hexham and Ripon.	
		706. Death of Brude mac Derili, king of the Picts; accession of Nechtan.	708. Bede's letter to Plegwin, De Sex Aetatibus.
709. Resignation of Cenred; accession of Ceolred.		709. Death of Wilfrid.	
	713. Death of Aldwulf.		
		713×714. Death of Elfled.	
between Ceolred.			
			709×716. Bede writes In Acta, In Lucam, ? In Epp. Catholicas.
			<716. Bede writes In Apocalypsin.
716. Death of Ceolred; accession of Ethelbald.		716. Death of Osred; accession of Cenred. Change of Easter at Iona.	Resignation and death of Ceolfrid. Election of Hwætbert. Translation of Eosterwine and Sigfrid.
			Bede writes In Samuelem, De Mansionibus fil. Israel, De eo quod ait Isaias, &c.
717, Dec. 30. Death of Egwin of the Hwiccas.		717. Expulsion of Columbite clergy from the Picts.	>716. Bede writes Hist. Abb., In Marcum.
		718. Death of Cenred; accession of Osric.	
			c. 720. Bede writes In Genesim.

Date.	*Foreign Affairs, Popes, &c. (including Ireland).*	*Kent (including Sussex) & Ecclesiastical Affairs.*	*Essex.*	*Wessex.*
721	Visit of Daniel to Rome. Defeat of the Saracens.			
? 721				
722	Grant of Utrecht to Wilbrord by Charles Martel.			
724				
< 725				
725	Defeat of the Saracens.	April 23. Death of Witred.		
726				
? 726				? 726. Abdication of Ini.
727		Death of Tobias. Consecration of Aldwulf.		
728				
< 729				
729	Comets.			
715 × 731	Visit of Nothelm to Rome.			
725 × 731				
729 × 731				
731	Death of Gregory II; accession of Gregory III.	Jan. Death of Bertwald.		
? 731				
732	Battle of Tours.			
? 732		? 732. Death of Albinus.		
733	Aug. Solar eclipse.	733. Sigfrid bishop of Selsey (Sussex).		733. War Wessex and
731 × 734				
734	Jan. Lunar eclipse.	734. Deaths of Aldwulf and Tatwin.		
734 × 735				

Mercia.	*East Anglia.*	*Northumbria and Northern Britain.*	*History of Wearmouth and Jarrow.*
		721. Death of Bishop John (May 7). Accession of Ethelwald, bishop of Lindisfarne.	
? 721. Accession of Aldwine (Worr), bishop of Lichfield.			
		724. Nechtan tonsured.	
			< 725. Bede writes De Ratione Bissexti.
			725. Bede writes De Temporum Ratione, De Natura Rerum.
		726. Nechtan imprisoned.	
		728. Nechtan restored. Miracle at Lindisfarne.	
			< 729. Bede writes De Tabernaculo.
		729. Death of Egbert at Iona (April 24). Death of Osric; accession of Ceolwulf.	
			725 × 731. Bede writes In Ezram et Nehemiam.
			729 × 731. Bede writes De Templo.
			731. Bede writes the Eccl. Hist. and Ep. to Albinus.
		? 731. Deposition of Ceolwulf. Expulsion of Acca.	[For other works of Bede which can only be dated < 731, *v.* Int. pp. cli–clv.]
		732. Death of Nechtan. Resignation of Wilfrid II. Election of Egbert of York.	
between Ethelbald.			733. Bede visits Egbert at York.
			731 × 734. Bede writes Retractationes in Acta.
		734. Consecration of Egbert.	734, Nov. Bede's letter to Egbert.
		734 × 735. Consecration of Frithbert.	

Date.	*Foreign Affairs, Popes, &c. (including Ireland).*	*Kent (including Sussex) & Ecclesiastical Affairs.*	*Essex.*	*Wessex.*
735		Nothelm archbishop of Canterbury.		
737	Forthere goes to Rome.			
738 × 739	Death of Wilbrord.			
739		Death of Nothelm.		
740				
744				744. Resignation of Daniel.
743 × 745				
744 × 745				
745			745. Death of Ingwald, bishop of London.	Death of Daniel.
746			746. Selred of Essex slain.	
747		Council of Clovesho.		
757				
758				
760 × 764				

Mercia.	*East Anglia.*	*Northumbria and Northern Britain.*	*History of Wearmouth and Jarrow.*
		735. Death of Pehthelm. Pallium sent to Egbert.	735. Death of Bede.
737. Death of Aldwine.		737. Ceolwulf becomes a monk. Accession of Eadbert.	
		740. Death of Ethelwald of Lindisfarne. ? Death of Acca.	
743 × 745. Death of Wilfrid of the Hwiccas.			
		744 × 745. Death of Wilfrid II.	
		745. Death of Herebald.	
757. Ethelbald slain.			
		758. Resignation of Eadbert.	
		760 × 764. Death of Ceolwulf.	

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA.

P. 18, l. 1, after 'pp. 15, 24,' add 'cf. Crawford Charters, p. 24.'

P. 78, l. 4 from bottom, after 'Opp. Min. p. 193' add 'and so the oldest Life of Gregory, App. I. § 11.'

P. 79, l. 10 from bottom, add 'cf. Crawford Charters, pp. 13, 93.'

P. 88, l. 3 from bottom. Other instances of these shortened names are 'Tuma' for Trumwine, p. 268; 'Sicgga' for Sigfrid, Fl. Wig. i. 234; cf. Stark, Die Kosenamen der Germanen.

P. 95, l. 24, add 'On the name Lilla, cf. Crawford Charters, p. 51.'

P. 111, bottom line, add 'The date A. D. is probably an addition of Bede's own to the letter; cf. Crawford Charters, p. 45.'

P. 136, l. 4 from bottom, add 'This was also a trait in the practice of Sir W. W. Hunter's "Old Missionary."'

P. 185, l. 6, read 'She played an important part both in the second and in the final restoration,' &c.

P. 219, l. 15 from bottom, for 'the abbess' read 'Eadburg abbess'; and this Eadburg is identical with the Bugga mentioned on p. 289, and also with the English abbess mentioned on pp. 282, 339.

P. 237, bottom line, after 'festival' add 'and so in the Roman Breviary.'

P. 270, l. 10, add 'On the name Cudda, cf. Crawford Charters, p. 68.'

P. 342, l. 6 from bottom. In some MSS. the prologue of Felix's Life of Guthlac is addressed to Alfwold, in others to Ethelbald king of the East Angles. The former attribution is of course quite possible. But I have little doubt that the person really meant is Ethelbald of Mercia; especially as, in the body of the work, the author makes the analogous mistake of calling Ethelred king of the East Angles, instead of king of the Mercians. With this agrees the tradition that Felix was himself a monk of Croyland. To whom should a monk of Croyland dedicate the life of his patron saint rather than to the founder of his house?

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS COMMONLY USED.

AA. SS. = Acta Sanctorum. When cited simply thus, the reference is to the great Bollandist collection; when Mabillon or Mab. is prefixed, it refers to Mabillon's Acta Sanctorum Ordinis Benedictini; and when Colgan is prefixed, Colgan's Lives of the Irish Saints are meant.

Ad. Col. = Adamnan's Life of St. Columba; *v.* Rs. Ad. During the printing of the present work a very convenient edition has appeared, by Dr. J. T. Fowler, of Durham; Clarendon Press.

a. l. = ad locum.

Ang. Sac. = Anglia Sacra, ed. Wharton.

Ann. Camb. = Annales Cambriae; R. S., and (more correctly) in Y Cymmrodor, vol. ix.

Ann. Ult. = Annals of Ulster. R. S.

Ann. Wig. = Annales Wigornienses. R. S.

Ann. Wint. = Annales Wintonienses. R. S.

App. Ff., *v.* Ltft. App. Ff.

Art de Vérif. = Art de Vérifier les Dates, &c. 3 vols. fol. 1783-1787.

AS. vers. = The Anglo-Saxon version of Bede's H. E., ed. Dr. T. Miller, E. E. T. S.

Biogr. Misc. = Miscellanea Biographica (Lives of Oswin, Cuthbert, and Eata). S. S. 1838.

Birch = Birch, Cartularium Saxonicum.

Bouquet = Recueil des Historiens de la Gaule et de la France. (The whole series is thus cited, although the later volumes are not edited by Dom Bouquet.)

Bright = Dr. W. Bright's Chapters of Early English Church History. 1878.

C. B., *v.* Rhŷs.

Chron., *v.* Sax. Chron.

Chron. = Bede's Chronicle at the end of the De Temporum Ratione.

Chron. Scot. or C. S. = Chronicon Scotorum. R. S.

Colgan, *v.* AA. SS.

D. C. A. = Dictionary of Christian Antiquities.

D. C. B. = Dictionary of Christian Biography.
Ducange = Ducange, Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis. 4to. 1884–1887.
Dugdale, *v.* Mon. Angl.
Dunstan, *v.* Stubbs.

E. C., *v.* Palgrave.
Eddius = Vita Wilfridi, auctore Eddio Stephano; in Raine's Historians of the Church of York, i. R. S.
E. E. T. S. = Early English Text Society.
E. H. S. = English Historical Society.
Elmham = Historia Monasterii S. Augustini Cantuariensis, by Thomas of Elmham, ed. Hardwick. R. S.
Ep. Succ., *v.* Stubbs.
E. T. = English Translation.

Félire = The Félire *or* Calendar of Oengus the Culdee; ed. Dr. Whitley Stokes for the Royal Irish Academy.
Fl. Wig. = Florence of Worcester, ed. Thorpe. E. H. S. (also in M. H. B.).
F. M. = The Annals of the Four Masters, ed. O'Donovan.
F. N. C. = Freeman's History of the Norman Conquest.

Gams = Series Episcoporum Ecclesiae Catholicae, ed. P. B. Gams. 1873.
Geof. Mon. = Geoffrey of Monmouth, ed. San-Marte. 1854.
G. P. = William of Malmesbury, Gesta Pontificum, ed. Hamilton. R. S.
G. R. = Gesta Regum, *v.* W. M.
Green, M. E. = J. R. Green, The Making of England. 1882.

Haa., Hab.; in the indices, and occasionally in the notes, the Anonymous History of the Abbots and Bede's History of the Abbots are thus cited.
Hardy, Cat. = Sir T. Duffus Hardy, Descriptive Catalogue of Materials relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland. R. S.
H. E. = Historia Ecclesiastica; generally Bede's, but occasionally Eusebius' is meant.
Hexham = The Priory of Hexham, its Chronicles . . . and Annals, ed. Raine. S. S.
H. H. = Henry of Huntingdon, ed. T. Arnold. R. S.
H. & S. = Haddan and Stubbs, Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland.
H. Y. = Historians of the Church of York, ed. Raine. R. S.

Jaffé, *v.* R. P., Mon. Alc., Mon. Mog.

K. C. D. = Kemble, Codex Diplomaticus Aeui Saxonici. E. H. S.
Kemble, Saxons = The Saxons in England, by J. M. Kemble. 1849.

Lanigan = Lanigan's Ecclesiastical History of Ireland. 1829.
Lib. Eli. = Liber Eliensis, ed. Stewart. Anglia Christiana Society.
Lismore Lives = (Irish) Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore, ed. Dr. Whitley Stokes. Anecdota Oxoniensia.
Ltft. App. Ff. = Lightfoot, Apostolic Fathers, two parts in five vols. (2nd ed. of Part ii).
L. Br. = Lebar Brec, 'The Speckled Book.' Published in Facsimile by the Royal Irish Academy.
LL. = The Book of Leinster. Published in Facsimile by the Royal Irish Academy.
LU. = Lebar na h-uidri, 'The Book of the Dun Cow.' Published in Facsimile by the Royal Irish Academy.

M. = Bede's H. E., &c., ed. G. Moberly.
Mart. Don. = Martyrology of Donegal, ed. O'Donovan, Todd, and Reeves. Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society.
M. E., *v.* Green.
Mem. Hex., *v.* Hexham.
M. H. B. = Monumenta Historica Britannica, vol. i. (all published).
M. H. G., *v.* Pertz.
Migne, Pat. Graec. = Migne, Patrologia Graeca.
Migne, Pat. Lat. = Migne, Patrologia Latina.
Misc. Biogr., *v.* Biogr. Misc.
M. & L. = Bede's H. E., Books iii. and iv., ed. Mayor and Lumby. 1881.
Mon. Alc. = Monumenta Alcuiniana, ed. Jaffé and Wattenbach.
Mon. Angl. = Dugdale, Monasticon Anglicanum, ed. Caley, Bandinel, and Ellis. 1817–1830.
Mon. Mog. = Monumenta Moguntina, ed. Jaffé.
Muratori, *v.* SS. RR. II.

N. & K. = Lives of St. Ninian and St. Kentigern, ed. Forbes. 1874.

Opp. = Venerabilis Bedae Opera, ed. Giles, 12 vols. 1843, 1844.
Opp. Min. = Bedae Opera Historica Minora, ed. Stevenson. E. H. S. 1841.
Orosius, AS. vers. E. E. T. S.

Palgrave, E. C. = The Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth, by Sir F. Palgrave.
Pal. Soc. = Palaeographical Society.
Pertz = Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum, folio series.
Pertz 4to. = Monumenta Historiae Germaniae, 4to series.
P. & S. = Chronicles of the Picts and Scots, ed. W. F. Skene.

Rawl. = Rawlinson Collection of MSS. in Bodleian Library.
Rhŷs, C. B. = Rhŷs, Celtic Britain. S. P. C. K.
R. P. = Regesta Pontificum, ed. Jaffé.
Rs. Ad. = Adamnan's Life of St. Columba, ed. Reeves. Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society.
R. W. = Roger of Wendover, ed. Coxe. E. H. S.

s. a. = sub anno.
Sax. Chron. = Saxon Chronicle. Owing to variations of reading it is often necessary to cite the six MSS. A. B. C. D. E. F. separately.
S. C. H. = Stubbs, Constitutional History. Cabinet edition. 1874–1878.
S. C. S. = Skene, Celtic Scotland, 1876–1880.
S. D. = Simeon of Durham, ed. T. Arnold. R. S.
Sig. Gembl. = Sigebertus Gemblacensis ; in Pertz, vi.
S. S. = Surtees Society.
SS. RR. II. = Scriptores Rerum Italicarum, ed. Muratori.
Stubbs, Dunstan = Memorials of St. Dunstan, ed. Stubbs. R. S.
Stubbs, Ep. Succ. = Registrum Sacrum, . . . Episcopal Succession in England, by W. Stubbs. 1858.
s. v. = sub voce.

Thorne = Chronica Gulielmi Thorne, monachi S. Augustini Cantuar., in Twysden, Decem Scriptores.
Three Fragments = Three Fragments of Irish Annals, ed. O'Donovan. Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society.
Tigh. = The Annals of Tighernach. Printed (very incorrectly) in O'Connor, Scriptores Rerum Hibernicarum ; and (imperfectly) in P. & S. I have generally used the Bodleian MS. Rawl. B. 488.

Vit. Cudb. = Bede's Prose Life of Cuthbert, in Opp. Min.
Vit. Metr. Cudb. = Bede's Metrical Life of Cuthbert, ib.
Vit. Anon. Cudb. = The Anonymous Life of Cuthbert, ib.

Wattenbach, *v.* Mon. Alc.
Werner = Beda der Ehrwürdige und seine Zeit, von Dr. Karl Werner. 1875.
W. M. = William of Malmesbury's Gesta Regum, ed. Stubbs. R. S.
Wülker, Grundriss = Grundriss der angelsächsischen Litteratur, von R. Wülker. 1885.

Z. K. B. = Zimmer, Keltische Beiträge, in Zeitschr. für deutsches Alterthum.

BEDE'S ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

NOTES.

THE PREFACE.

P. 5. **Historiam . . . edideram**] *i.e.* in the case of this as of most books, the preface was the last thing to be written. We get from this address to Ceolwulf an insight into Bede's manner of working. He first sends to his correspondent a rough draft of the work for criticism; and then lends the completed work for transcription. In this lending of copies for purposes of transcription consisted the mediaeval process of publication; 'edideram.' Cf. the letter to Albinus printed above. And hence, too, the existence of what may be called quite truly different editions of mediaeval works; for it is evident that copies might be multiplied at different stages in the process of revision. A striking instance of this phenomenon exists in the case of Malmesbury's Gesta Regum. See Dr. Stubbs' Preface, I. xliii–xc. On the editions of the present work see Introduction, §§ 27–28. Bede's mode of working comes out still more clearly in the preface to the prose life of St. Cuthbert. He says: 'nec sine certissima exquisitione rerum gestarum aliquid de tanto uiro scribere, nec . . . ea, quae scripseram, sine subtilissima examinatione testium indubiorum passim transcribenda quibusdam dare praesumpsi. Quin potius primo diligenter . . . progressum . . . uitae illius ab his, qui nouerant, inuestigans, quorum etiam nomina . . . ob indicium certum cognitae ueritatis apponenda iudicaui, sic demum ad schedulas manum mittere incipio. At, digesto opusculo, sed adhuc retento in schedulis, frequenter et . . . Herefrido et aliis, qui . . . uitam illius optime nouerant, quae scripsi legenda atque . . . retractanda praestiti, ac nonnulla ad arbitrium eorum . . . sedu-

Bede's mode of historical composition.

lus emendaui; sicque . . . certam ueritatis indaginem . . . commendare membranulis . . . curaui . . . Quod cum . . . patrarem, et coram senioribus . . . uestrae congregationis [*i.e.* Lindisfarne] libellus biduo legeretur, . . . cuncta . . . decernebantur absque ulla dubietate legenda, et . . . ad transscribendum esse tradenda,' Opp. Min. pp. 45–47. On Ceolwulf, see v. 23 note.

ex tempore] 'at leisure,' and so ii. 9 *ad fin.*; Opp. v. 306; Introd. Part I. App. 2, p. clxiii.

siue enim, &c.] On Bede's desire to benefit his readers see the Introduction, § 7, and cf. R. W. i. 4.

p. 6. ut autem . . . curabo] Cf. the passage given above from the Vita Cudb.: 'quorum etiam nomina,' &c., and Werner, pp. 211, 212.

Albinus. Albinus] He succeeded Hadrian as abbot of the monastery of SS. Peter and Paul at Canterbury in 709 or 710, see v. 20, p. 331. Elmham says: 'successit uenerabilis pater Albinus natione Anglicus, primus qui de gente nostra ad regimen istius monasterii est electus,' p. 294. He says that he died in 732 after an abbacy of twenty-four years, p. 301. But as he places his succession in 708, which is certainly a year too early at the least, it is possible that he did not die till 733 or 734. Anyhow, his death falls just outside the limits of Bede's work. The letter in which Bede thanks him for his help, and sends him copies of the Ecclesiastical History and of the De Templo for transcription is given above, I. p. 3. Elmham quotes his epitaph, p. 301. The Saxon version adds: 'se wæs wide gefaren 7 gelæred,' 'he was far travelled and learned.'

Documents. monimentis litterarum] This is interesting as showing that Albinus was in possession of documentary evidence connected with the mission of Augustine. We cannot tell how far the documents connected with that mission which Bede gives came from Canterbury, and how far from Rome through Nothelm. See on i. 27.

Nothelm. Nothelmum] He was, as Bede says here, a priest of the church of London. Bede's 'Quaestiones in Libros Regum' were written in answer to inquiries from him; and are prefaced by a letter in which Bede addresses him as 'frater dilectissime,' Opp. viii. 232, 233; see also Introd. p. xlix, note 2. His visit to Rome and his researches in the papal archives must be placed 715 × 731, during the pontificate of Gregory II, who is obviously the pope referred to below as 'Gregorius qui nunc praeest.' (If the letters in i. 29 and ii. 19 came from the papal archives, and the latter at any rate probably did, even if Ewald's view be adopted that Bede obtained the letters of Gregory I, not from Rome, but from the originals at Canterbury, Neues Archiv, III. 542 ff., Nothelm's visit to Rome must be earlier than 725, as Bede certainly seems to allude to these letters in his

Chron., Opp. Min. pp 194–196). Gregory II died in Feb. 731. Bede finished his history in that year, but in what month is not clear; with the exception of the allusion to the defeat of the Saracens in 732, v. 23, p. 349, which may have been added later (*v.* note *a. l.*), the last event mentioned appears to be the consecration of Tatwin, June 10, 731, ib. p. 350. The news of the Pope's death would take some time to reach Britain. As Gregory II had before his elevation been librarian of the Church of Rome (Stevenson), he would be eminently qualified to direct Nothelm's researches. Obviously Gregory III cannot be meant, for he was not consecrated till March 731, and there would be no time for Nothelm to make researches at Rome under him and communicate them to Bede before the latter finished his work. It is also clear from this passage, and from the letter to Albinus given above, that Nothelm had at some time after his Roman journey visited Bede. Unfortunately we have no means of fixing the date of that visit. In 735 Nothelm became Archbishop of Canterbury; in 736 he received the pallium; Chron.; S. D. ii. 31, 32; Fl. Wig. He died in 739 according to Cont. Baed., *infr.* p. 362; S. D. ii. 32 (so H. & S. iii. 335); in 740, Chron. F; Elmham, p. 312; on Oct. 17, 741, Fl. Wig. The other MSS. of the Chron. do not mention his death; A. B. place the accession of Cuthbert in 741, C. D. E. in 740. Elmham, *u. s.*, gives Nothelm's epitaph, and etymologises his name into 'Notus almus.' Cf. Werner, p. 87.

A principio . . . didicimus] Here Bede, though he gives no names, does acknowledge generally his obligations in the earlier chapters of this work. Cf. Introduction, p. xxiv note; and notes to i. 1, p. 8.

p. 7. **hortatu . . . Albini**] Cf. the letter printed I. p. 3.

Danihel] See on v. 18, p. 320.

Ceddi et Ceadda] In iii. 21, 23, Bede does not associate Ceadda (Chad) with Cedd in the evangelisation of Mercia, the re-conversion of Essex, or the foundation of Lastingham.

Læstingaeu] See on iii. 23.

Esi] Nothing appears to be known of him.

successio sacerdotalis] '*episcopal* succession.' See note on i. 28.

Cynibercti] See on iv. 12.

aliorum . . . uirorum] One of these is mentioned by name in ii. 16; Deda, a monk of Partenay.

partim ex eis . . . adsumpsi] This is a reference to the Anonymous Life of Cuthbert printed by the Bollandists, and by Stevenson, Opp. Min. pp. 259–284.

p. 8. **quod uera lex . . . studuimus**] So commenting on Luke ii. 33, Bede says: 'neque enim oblitus euangelista quod eam de Spiritu Sancto concepisse . . . narrarit, sed opinionem uulgi exprimens, The law of History.

quae uera historiae lex est, patrem Ioseph nuncupat Christi,' Opp. x. 333. Bede, however, is nearly always careful to mark where he is writing only 'fama uulgante' by using such words as 'fertur,' 'perhibetur,' &c. See Introduction, p. xlv note.

Praeterea omnes] On the position of this paragraph in the various MSS., see the critical notes here and at p. 360: and on the importance of this as a test of the different recensions of Bede's work, see the Introduction, § 27.

interuenire meminerint] On Bede's desire for the prayers of his readers, see Introduction, pp. lxv, lxvi.

BOOK I. CHAPTER 1.

Introductory Chapters.

The first twenty-two chapters of this first book are in the nature of an introduction to Bede's main subject, which is 'the ecclesiastical history of the people of the English.' As preliminary to this he gives, chiefly from second-hand authorities, (1) a description of Britain, c. 1; (2) an account of the Roman conquest and government of Britain, cc. 2, 3, 5, 6, 9, 11; (3) of the abandonment of Britain by the Romans, and of the state of the island after their departure, cc. 12–14; (4) such particulars as he was able to glean as to the condition of British Christianity up to the time of the conquest of Britain by the Saxons, cc. 4, 7, 8, 10, 17–21; (5) the coming of the Saxons and the struggles of the Britons against them, cc. 15, 16, 22. With the coming of Augustine in c. 23, Bede reaches his proper subject.

Bede's deference to authority.

p. 9. Brittania] The marginal references and notes will show that Bede derived a large part of this chapter from earlier writers. We can hardly therefore agree with Sim. Dun. when he says: 'terrarum regionumque diuersarum situs, naturas, qualitates, subtiliter aesi cuncta ipse peragrasset, plerumque describit,' i. 41. We could indeed heartily wish that Bede had given us more of his own observation and less of ancient writers. But it is a good illustration of the way in which authority dominated the mediaeval mind. Bede in turn became an authority. William of Tyre (xiii. 18) discussing the question of the sources of the Jordan, a question which he could easily have solved by a visit to the spot, after quoting various opinions, says: 'Beda tamen et quidam alii nostri doctores, auctoritatis praecipuae, utrunque fontem iuxta Caesaream Philippi . . . originem dicunt habere,' &c., and so leaves the matter. I owe this interesting illustration to my friend Mr. T. A. Archer. For the extracts from classical authors printed in the notes to this chapter I am very largely indebted to the collection of passages

at the beginning of the M. H. B. This chapter is much abbreviated in the AS. version. It is sometimes found separately with the title 'De situ Brittaniae,' *e.g.* MS. Rouen, No. 1398.

Oceani insula] So at the end of book i. of the Cant. Cant. Bede speaks of himself and his countrymen as 'longius extra orbem, hoc est in insula maris oceani nati et nutriti,' Opp. ix. 200. For Britain as the end of the world, as in some sort an 'alter orbis,' see the passages in H. & S. i. 3–5, 10, 11, 13; ii. xxi; cf. *infr.* c. 8, and the passages cited on c. 2 *ad init.* This first sentence is from Pliny whom Bede cites largely in his scientific works: Opp. vi. 106, 198, 'in opere pulcherrimo naturalis historiae'; 204, 208, 209, 211, 214, 216, 'solertissimus naturalium inquisitor'; and also in his theological works, vii. 45; ix. 310; xii. 142, 149; cf. Introduction, pp. xxxvii f., lii f. For the way in which Bede in these early chapters ignores the authorities he follows, see Introduction, p. xxiv note.

Britain an 'alter orbis.'

Pliny.

Bede's authorities.

Hispaniae] This implies that Spain projects very much further to the west than is really the case; a mistake very common in ancient writers, *e.g.* Tac. Agr. c. 10, 'Britannia . . . in occidentem Hispaniae obtenditur,' and see the maps of the world according to Strabo and Ptolemy. Cf. Orosius, i. 2, ed. Zangemeister, pp. 11, 12.

Spain.

milia passuum DCCC] The references to Gildas are to the edition of Stevenson.

habet a meridie] Orosius, i. 2; almost verbally identical with the Orbis Descriptio given M. H. B. p. xix[a].

Rutubi portus] Richborough, near Sandwich, in Kent; now silted up, but in Roman times one of the chief ports of embarkation for the Continent; Guest, Orig. Celt. ii. 396, 397; Scarth, Roman Britain, pp. 154 ff.

Richborough.

Gessoriaco] Gessoriacum is Boulogne, cf. Scarth, *u.s.* p. 36, and for the Morini and their nearness to Britain, c. 2 *ad init.*

Boulogne.

ut quidam . . . CCCCL] This is the estimate of Dio Cassius, M. H. B. p. li[a], and of the Itinerarium Antonini, ib. xx[b], to which Bede possibly alludes. M. B. N. read CCCL.

Orcadas] See on c. 3.

p. 10. **uineas**] The culture of the vine was more extensive in England formerly than now, especially in some of the monasteries. Henry VI used to stay at Bury St. Edmund's 'propter . . . uineae odorem delectabilem,' Lappenberg-Pauli, Gesch. Engl. v. 281. 'The Vineyard' may still be seen as the name of streets in old English towns. Malmesbury says of the Vale of Gloucester: 'Regio plus quam aliae Angliae prouintiae uinearum frequentia densior, prouentu uberior, sapore iocundior. Vina enim ipsa bibentum ora

Culture of the vine in England.

tristi non torquent acredine, quippe quae parum debeant Gallicis dulcedine,' G. P. p. 292. When Fortescue says of wine 'that commodite we have not,' he only means that the manufacture of wine was not sufficiently extensive to make the taxation of it a source of revenue; Governance of England, pp. 132, 268. Cf. H. H.: 'Brittania uineae . . . fertilis est, sed raro.' He gives Winchester the palm for its wine. On vineyards and wine-making in England, and on recent attempts to revive the industry, see Spectator, Sept. 22, 1894. Tacitus, however, says: 'solum praeter oleam uitemque et cetera calidioribus terris oriri sueta, patiens frugum, fecundum,' Agr. c. 12.

'Issicius' and 'esox.'

issicio] 'Isicius' is a derivative of 'isix' (Ducange), which is a collateral form of 'esox,' from which also we get the derivative 'esocius.' 'Esox' and its derivatives are often taken to mean 'pike.' But in mediaeval Latin at any rate they mean 'salmon.' In the Celtic languages 'esox' becomes Irish *eó*, O. Welsh *ehawc*, Mod. Welsh *eog*, Cornish *ehoc*, all of which mean 'salmon'; *e.g.* 'isicius uel salmo, *ehoc*,' Zeuss, G. C. p. 1074. More to the point are the Anglo-Saxon vocabularies: '*isic*, laex' (= Germ. *lachs*, salmon), Wülker, col. 28; '*esocius* uel *salmo*, lex,' ib. col. 180; '*esox*, leax,' ib. col. 394. In Ælfric's colloquy, in a list of sea fishes, we find 'alleces et isicios, delfinos et sturias' glossed 'hæringas 7 leaxas, mereswyn (lit. sea-swine) 7 stirian,' ib. col. 94. Cf. Rs. Ad. p. 129 note.

uituli marini] 'seals,' cf. iv. 13 *ad fin.*

exceptis] 'besides, in addition to.'

Pearls in Britain.

margaritam] On the pearls of Britain, see the extracts in M. H. B. viii[a] (Pliny), x[b] (Solinus), xliii[a] (Tacitus), xciv[b] (Aelian). Suetonius mentions a tradition that Julius Caesar invaded Britain 'spe margaritarum,' ib. xlix[a], and Pliny, copied by Solinus, (*u. s.*) says that he dedicated, in the temple of Venus Genitrix, a breastplate set with British pearls. Most of these authors, however, do not agree with Bede in praising the colour of the British pearls. Pliny calls them 'decolores,' Tacitus, 'subfusca et liuentia,' *u. s.* They are commonly found still at Whitstable in mussels.

St. Basil's Hexameron.

Basilius] The Hexameron of St. Basil the Great 'is the most celebrated of all his works,' D. C. B. i. 296. It is a treatise on the six days' work of creation, Gen. i. 'It was translated into Latin by Eustathius Afer,' c. 440, ib. and ii. 391. Cf. Aldhelm, Opp. ed. Giles, p. 32. '[Basilii] . . . ἔργα τὰ ἑξαμέρων, id est, opera sex dierum . . . in Latinum translata leguntur.' This translation was used by Bede, and the present passage is taken from it, *v.* Migne, Pat. Lat. liii. 907. Cf. 'Basilius Caesariensis quem Eustathius interpres de Graeco fecit esse Latinum,' Opp. vii. 1. Bede also quotes

the Hexameron, Opp. vi. 151, 200, 208; vii. 7. Origen, Ambrose, and Hippolytus wrote works with the same title; Ltft., App. Ff. I. ii. 327, 331, 413. Bede, in his own Hexameron on Gen. i. 2, says: 'ignem ardentem terrae interioribus insitum, calidi aquarum fontes produnt, quae cum per certa quaedam metalla in profundo aquarum transcurrunt, non solum calidae sed et feruentes insuper faciem telluris emanant,' Opp. vii. 5. There is an Anglo-Saxon Hexameron attributed to Ælfric, based partly on Basil and partly on Bede, ed. H. W. Norman, Lond. 1849. Cf. Wülker, Grundriss, p. 466.

Silver and gold in Britain.

argenti] 'Fert Britannia aurum et argentum, et alia metalla, pretium uictoriae,' Tac. Agr. c. 12. Cicero, on the other hand, writing c. B.C. 55, says: 'In Britannia nihil esse audio neque auri neque argenti.' And again: 'Etiam illud iam cognitum est, neque argenti scripulum esse ullum in illa insula, neque ullam spem praedae, nisi ex mancipiis,' *v.* M. H. B. lxxxvii f. The Life of St. Cainnech speaks of Britain as the source whence the Irish obtained their gold; Cod. Salmant, ed. de Smedt and de Backer, col. 388, cited by Zimmer.

firmissimis] 'butan oðrum læssan unrim ceastra,' 'besides innumerable other lesser towns,' adds the AS. version. Cf. the Panegyrist in M. H. B. p. lxvii[a]: 'Britannia . . . tanto frugum ubere, tanto laeta munere pastionum, tot metallorum fluens riuis, tot uectigalibus quaestuosa, tot accincta portubus, tanto immensa circuitu.'

Length of days in Britain.

lucidas . . . noctes habet] 'Dierum spatia ultra nostri orbis mensuram; nox clara, et extrema Britanniae parte breuis, ut finem atque initium lucis exiguo discrimine internoscas,' Tac. Agr. c. 12. On the midnight sun in yet more northern countries, 'in insula Thyle, quae ultra Britanniam est, uel in finibus Scytharum,' see Bede, Opp. viii. 255, 256. Cf. vi. 159.

p. 11. iuxta numerum librorum] On the symbolism of the number five, see Introduction, p. lx.

Five languages in Britain.

quinque gentium linguis] Bede is speaking of the existence in Britain of five languages, rather than of five nations; and more particularly of languages employed in the service of religion, as Professor Earle has rightly remarked, Sax. Chron. p. 279. Hence Bede was obliged to include Latin, the most important of them all from this point of view. He does not mean that in his day there were descendants of the Roman legionaries existing in such distinctness in Britain as to form a separate 'gens.' H. H., copying Bede, says distinctly: 'quinque linguis utitur Brittania,' and adds: 'quamuis Picti iam uideantur deleti, et lingua eorum ita omnino destructa, ut iam fabula uideatur quod in ueterum scriptis eorum mentio inuenitur,' p. 12. Nennius, § 7, speaking of nations

only, rightly omits 'Latini': 'in ea habitant quattuor gentes, Scotti, Picti, Saxones, atque Brittones.' MSS. D, E, F, of the Sax. Chron. have, *ad init.*, a short summary of this chapter of Bede. Of these, D translates the present passage correctly: 'there are in the island five languages, English, Brit-Welsh, Scottish, Pictish, and Latin.' F turns the languages (geþeódu) into 'peoples' (ðeóda), omits Latin, and redresses the balance by breaking up 'Brit-Welsh' into 'British and Welsh'; a mode of action for which MS. E had prepared the way. Geoffrey of Monmouth gives 'Romani' as the first of the five 'populi'; i. 2, but his Welsh translator turns these 'Romans' into 'Normans,' Welsh Bruts, ed. Evans & Rhŷs, p. 41. Where Bede treats of the languages of Britain without any ecclesiastical reference he speaks of them as four, iii. 6.

Armorica. **de tractu Armoricano**] The name 'Armorica' (=the district by the sea, cf. Caesar, B. G. vii. 57, 'uniuersae ciuitates quae oceanum attingunt . . . Armoricae appellantur') was originally applied to nearly the whole of the northern seaboard of Gaul. But in Gaul, as in Britain, the Celtic inhabitants were driven further and further towards the west, and the name Armorica retreated with them into the north-western angle of the country, the modern Brittany, cf. H. & S. ii. 70–73. It was this close connexion of the populations on the two sides of the Channel which obliged the Romans to attack Britain. Mommsen, The Provinces, E. T. i. 173. Note that Bede knows nothing of the Brutus legend, which appears in Nennius, § 7, and reaches its most developed form in Geof. Mon. lib. i. The Chron. D, E, F, turns 'Armorica' into 'Armenia.'

Picts and Scots. **Pictorum de Scythia**] 'Scythia citerior siue Scandia,' Smith. And in a passage cited above, p. 7, Bede evidently uses 'Scythae' for the inhabitants of the Scandinavian peninsula. Note that Bede only gives this as a tradition: 'ut perhibent.' Nennius, §§ 13–15, drawing from Irish sources, 'sic mihi peritissimi Scottorum nunciauerunt,' brings the *Scotti* to Ireland from Scythia by way of Spain; and this is the ordinary Irish account; cf. *e.g.* the poem of Maelmura, Irish Nennius, pp. 221 ff. It is based on a wild identification of 'Scotti' and 'Scythae.' Bede does not profess to know anything of the Scotti prior to their settlement in Ireland. For an account of the early legends, &c., of the Picts and Scots, cf. S. C. S. i. 123–144, 192 ff.; iii. ch. 3. As to the Picts, the most probable view is that they were a pre-Aryan race, like the Basques. The name has nothing to do with the Latin 'pictus,' 'painted,' *v.* Rhŷs, Rhind Lectures, pp. 51–55, 95–98, 102–106; Proceedings, Antiquaries of Scotland, pp. 305, 306. In the latter monograph Professor Rhŷs has made an attempt to solve the vexed question of the Pictish language.

Hiberniam] 'Scotland,' AS. vers. Cf. Orosius, AS. vers. 'Igbernia þæt we Scotland hátað,' 'Hibernia which we call Scotland,' p. 24.

contra Hispaniae] Cf. Orosius, i. 2, pp. 11, 12. His phrase that Ireland and Spain front one another at a great distance, 'procul spectant,' was improved by Irish legend into the statement that Ireland is visible from Spain; and hence the migration of the 'Scots' or 'Gaels' from Spain to Ireland, Irish Nennius, pp. 238 ff. and notes.

p. 12. de feminea regum prosapia] This is the famous law of Pictish succession, whereby brothers, sons of the same mother, succeeded one another, and on their failure the succession passed to the children of their sisters or the nearest male kinsman whose relationship was traced through a female. This law has its origin in tribal customs prior to the institution of monogamy; but when its origin was forgotten, legends were invented to account for it. Cf. P. & S., pp. xcviii ff., 122, 123, 199, 319, 329, 381; S. C. S. i. 177, 232 ff.; iii. 96, 97. Zimmer, Früheste Berührungen, p. 286, refers to Zeitschr. für franz. Sprache u. Litteratur, xiii. 101. Law of Pictish succession.

quod . . . seruatum] 'þæt get to dæg is mid Peohtum healden,' 'which is still to-day observed among the Picts,' AS. vers. It certainly lasted until the union of the Pictish and Scottish lines of kings in the person of Kenneth Mac Alpin, in the middle of the ninth century; and attempts were made to revive it subsequently. P. & S. pp. cxxxiii ff. The Sax. Chron. says: 'þæt hy heoldon swa lange syþþan,' 'that they so observed for a long time afterwards.' Its duration.

Scottorum nationem . . . recepit, &c.] The northern part of the modern county of Antrim was called Dal Riada, and traced its origin to an eponymous hero Cairbre Riada, son of Conaire, whose (Conaire's) death is placed in 165 A.D. From this Irish district a settlement was made on the west coast of the modern Scotland; and thus the name Dal Riada was transplanted from Irish to British soil. According to what seems the most historical account, this settlement was made about 500 A.D. under the sons of Erc. But another form of the legend, followed apparently by Bede here, makes Cairbre Riada himself lead a colony to Britain contemporaneously, or nearly so, with the settlement in Ulster; *i.e.* c. 200 A.D. This is probably an attempt to account for the name Dal Riada on British soil without reference to the Irish district. Certainly the first permanent settlement of the Irish Scots in Britain was c. 500. Earlier (like the Saxons and Danes) they appear as marauders. Ammianus Marcellinus shows us Picts, Saxons, and Scots all fighting against the Romans in Britain about the year 363, Settlement of Scotti in Britain.

M. H. B. p. lxxii. Stilicho towards the end of the century repulsed them for a time:

> 'Maduerunt Saxone fuso
> Orcades, incaluit Pictorum sanguine Thule;
> Scotorum cumulos fleuit glacialis Ierne.'

Claudian, in M. H. B. xcviii (cf. the other extracts there given). But they soon resumed their ravages; and first the Saxons and then the Scots effected permanent lodgements. Cf. Rhŷs, Rhind Lectures, pp. 87, 88; C. B. pp. 91, 244, 272. But for the coming of the Saxons the Scots might have had a wider dominion in Britain; their advance southward was finally checked by Ethelfrid in the battle of Dægsastan, 603 A. D., c. 34; but they ultimately gave their name to the northern kingdom, while the Picts were absorbed leaving hardly any trace behind them. Cf. S. C. S. i. 137 ff.; P. & S. pp. cix-cxi; Rs. Ad. pp. 184, 433 ff.; Zimmer, Kelt. Beitr. iii. 6. On the spread of the Gaelic language in Scotland, see some very interesting remarks in Rhŷs' Rhind Lectures, pp. 81–98.

Hibernia] 'Hibernia, Scotta ealond,' 'Ireland, the island of the Scots,' AS. vers., and so very frequently.

usque hodie . . . uocantur] 'þæt cynn nu geond tone dæg Dalreadingas wæron gehatene,' 'up to this day that race were called Dalreadings,' where the translator has combined the Irish 'Dal' with the Saxon patronymic in '-ing.'

daal] 'dál,' 'a division,' occurs frequently in Irish names of districts: see *e.g.* the indices to the Four Masters, to the Irish Nennius, &c.

Description of Ireland.

Hibernia . . . praestat, &c.] Cf. Solinus: 'Hibernia . . . ita pabulosa, ut pecua ibi nisi interdum a pascuis arceantur, in periculum agat satias. Illic nullus anguis . . . Adtanatos insula (Thanet) . . . quum nullo serpatur angue, asportata inde terra quoquo gentium inuecta sit, angues necat,' M. H. B. p. x[a]. Isidore, who copies Solinus, actually derives the name Thanet from *θάνατος*, ib. cii[b]. Irish legend attributes this immunity of Ireland to St. Patrick. St. Columba obtained a similar blessing for Iona. There is a basis of fact for these legends. Very few reptiles and batrachians are native to Ireland, *v.* M. C. Cooke, Our Reptiles and Batrachians, pp. 23, 40, 47, 67, 91, 113, 156; and Fowler's Adamnan, pp. xxxii, 97; Rs. Ad. p. 142. There is a very interesting notice of Ireland in Tacitus, Agr. c. 24: 'Spatium eius, si Britanniae comparetur, angustius, nostri maris insulas superat. Solum, caelumque, et ingenia cultusque hominum haud multum a Britannia differunt. Melius aditus portusque per commercia et negotiatores cogniti. Agricola expulsum seditione domestica unum ex regulis gentis exceperat, ac specie

amicitiae in occasionem retinebat. Saepe ex eo audiui legione una et modicis auxiliis debellari obtinerique Hiberniam posse; idque etiam aduersus Britanniam profuturum, si Romana ubique arma, et uelut e conspectu libertas tolleretur.' We see here the same causes which led the Romans from Gaul to Britain, drawing them from Britain to Ireland. That Ireland was never conquered by the Romans is one of the reasons why she has always lagged behind the sister island. We see here also the chronic tendency of Ireland to discord and the invocation of the foreigner, which culminated in the application of Dermot Mac Murrough ('Diarmait na n-Gall,' 'Dermot of the Strangers,' as the Irish call him) to Henry II in the twelfth century.

p. 13. **denique uidimus**] 'sume men gesawon,' 'some men saw,' AS. vers.

rasuram aquae inmissam] For similar modes of treatment, cf. iii. 2, 9, 13 *ad fin.*, 17; iv. 3 *ad fin.*; v. 18, pp. 129, 145, 153, 161, 212, 218, 320; Vit. Cuthb. c. 41.

haec autem proprie patria Scottorum est] Cf. ii. 4, p. 87: 'Scotti qui Hiberniam . . . incolunt . . . in praefata ipsorum patria.' It cannot be too clearly realised that at the time when Bede wrote, and for more than two centuries after, the term 'Scottia' refers to Ireland, and Ireland alone. It was only towards the end of the tenth century that it began to be used of any part of Britain; and even then it was applied to a very limited district, and only gradually during two more centuries was the application extended to the whole of the northern kingdom. Thus in ii. 4, p. 87, the letter of Laurentius, &c., is addressed 'episcopis uel abbatibus per uniuersam Scottiam,' whom earlier in the chapter Bede had spoken of as 'Scotti qui Hiberniam . . . incolunt.' So in iv. 26, p. 266, Bede says that Egfrid 'Hiberniam . . . uastauit,' and then a little lower down tells how Egbert exhorted him 'ne Scottiam . . . inpugnaret,' p. 267. Cf. P. & S. p. 197: 'Scotois . . . lour propre pays est Ireland, lour coustom et patoys acordaunt, qi puis furount mellez od Pices,' 'The Scots . . . their proper country is Ireland, their customs and language agreeing thereto, though they afterwards became mingled with the Picts.' Cf. ib. 380: 'Yat cuntre, yat now is callit Irland . . . [Iber] callit it . . . Scotia; ye quhilk it in ald cronyclis . . . is callit Scotia Maior, to ye tymme yat sum part of ws comme out of it in oure Scotland, . . . and it was callyt Scotia Minor.' I know no authority for this latter statement, and believe it to be a mere bookman's analogy from the use of Britannia Minor for Brittany as opposed to Britain. It illustrates the point in question that when Bede uses the term 'Hibernia' the AS. translator nearly

Ireland the home of the Scotti.

always adds the explanation 'Scotta ealond,' 'the island of the Scots.' Of course the tribe name 'Scotti' would apply to any members of the Irish race, whether living in Ireland or in Britain, and where Bede is speaking of matters common to both branches, such as their paschal customs, it is often to be understood as including both. Still, as Ralph, Archbishop of Canterbury, says, writing to Calixtus II in 1119: 'saepenumero [Beda] in eodem uolumine euidenter distinguit inter Scotos qui Britanniam, et illos qui incolunt Hiberniam,' H. & S. ii. 194. For the latter, cf. (in addition to the passages already quoted) i. 13; ii. 19; iii. 3, 26 (Scotti austrini); v. 15. For the former, cf. i. 34; ii. 5; iv. 26; v. 23 *ad fin.* Bede also distinguishes the Scots in Britain by coupling them with the Picts: 'Scotti siue [=et] Picti,' iii. 1, 27 *ad fin.* On the difference of usage between Bede and Adamnan as to the inclusion of Iona in the term Scottia, see iii. 24 note. Cf. on the whole subject, S. C. S. i. 1–7, 398; P. & S. pp. lxxv ff., and note on iii. 19, p. 167.

Alcluith] See on c. 12 *infra*.

CHAPTER 2.

Bede's sources.

It is no part of my plan to discuss the history of Roman Britain; especially as Bede's account of it is based almost entirely on second-hand authorities. I must confine myself as a rule to pointing out Bede's sources, and the slight additions which he has made to them. This chapter is very briefly summarised in the AS. vers., MS. B of that version omitting it altogether. It is almost wholly taken from Orosius. Cf. Werner, pp. 23, 31.

Julius Caesar

inaccessa atque incognita] Cf. the extracts in M. H. B. pp. xxxv, xlix[a], lxxii[a]; Bede, Opp. vi. 299 (from Eutropius). On the invasion of Julius Caesar there is an interesting article by Dr. Guest in the Archaeological Journal, xxi. 220; reprinted in Origines Celticae, ii. 331–372.

qui anno, &c.] The year A. U. C. 693 is taken from Orosius, who gives it as the year of the passing of the Lex Vatinia, whereby the command in Gaul was conferred on Caesar for a period of five years. The year corresponding to A. U. C. 693 is B. C. 61, not 60 as Bede gives it. But the date is wrong. The year of the consulship of Caesar and Bibulus and of the Lex Vatinia was A. U. C. 695 or B. C. 59. The expeditions to Britain were in A. U. C. 699 and 700; B. C. 55 and 54.

p. 14 in hiberna] Both here and at the end of the chapter there is a various reading 'hibernia.' See critical notes. This has misled

the epitomator of the Sax. Chron. MSS. D, E, F, who writes: 'þa he forlet his here gebidan mid Scottum,' 'then he left his army to remain among the Scots' (=Irish). The same variety occurs in the MSS. of H. H. p. 18.

quarum . . . infixae] This sentence is Bede's own. There is no reason to believe that Bede had ever been in the south of England. He may have received the information from some of his south-country friends, such as Albinus or Nothelm. Dr. Guest, Orig. Celt. ii. 281, decides in favour of the latter. The site of the ford he places at Halliford, at the Coway Stakes, ib. 388. So Smith *ad loc.* Bede has omitted an erroneous statement of Orosius, that the Thames is fordable only at one point.

CHAPTER 3.

P. 15. Anno, &c.] The date of Claudius's invasion of Britain is A. U. C. 796, A. D. 43. The reason why he reaped his laurels so easily was that the way had been prepared for him by Aulus Plautius, on whose campaign see Guest, *u. s.* ii. 381 ff. Cf. the extracts in M. H. B. pp. xliii[a], xlix[b], lxxii[a]. It was while celebrating games in honour of Claudius' return from Britain, that Agrippa I was stricken down in the manner narrated in the Acts, c. 12, *v.* Schürer, Gesch. d. jüdischen Volkes, i. 469 f. It is interesting to find the history of our own island thus brought into direct connexion with that of the early Church. For inscriptions relating to Claudius' conquest of Britain, cf. Scarth, *u. s.* pp. 241, 242; and compare with this chapter Bede's Chron. Opp. Min. pp. 170, 171. Invasion of Claudius.

paucissimos dies] sixteen. Dio Cassius, lx. 23, in Clinton.

plurimam insulae partem] The Sax. Chron. D. E. *sub ann.* 47 interprets this by 'ealle Pihtas 7 Walas,' 'all the Picts and Welsh.'

Orcadas . . . adiecit imperio] He may have nominally annexed them; there was no real conquest. Tacitus expressly says of Agricola, c. 10: 'incognitas ad id tempus insulas, quas Orcadas uocant, inuenit domuitque.' The Orkneys were constantly a rendezvous and basis for attacks on Britain from the north. Hence the need for reducing them. Nennius represents the Picts as thus using them: 'Picti uenerunt, et occupauerunt insulas, quae uocantur Orcades, et postea ex insulis uastauerunt regiones multas,' § 12. Claudian, in a line already quoted, represents the Saxons as defeated there: The Orkneys.

'maduerunt Saxone fuso
Orcades.'

Aedan mac Gabrain (c. 34), King of the Scots of Dalriada, attacked

them in 579; Brude, King of the Picts, in 681. Ann. Ult. In the ninth century they played an important part in the Scandinavian inroads and became the seat of a Scandinavian power. Cf. Adam of Bremen: 'Orchades insulae, quas barbari uocant Organas,' Pertz, vii. 384.

Vespasian. **Uespasianus**] 'quod initium uenturae mox fortunae fuit; domitae gentes, capti reges, et monstratus fatis Vespasianus,' Tac. Agr. c. 13. 'Duas ualidissimas gentes, superque xx oppida et insulam Uectem Britanniae proximam in ditionem redegit,' Suet. Vesp. c. 4; M. H. B. pp. xliii, l.

Uectam] On Wight, cf. iv. 13, 16.

CHAPTER 4.

Chronology. P. 16. **Anno, &c.**] Orosius gives A. U. C. 811 as the date of Marcus Antoninus (better known as Marcus Aurelius). This would be A. D. 158. The real date is A. D. 161. Lucius Verus (here called Aurelius Commodus) died in 169. Eleutherus did not succeed till 171 at the earliest, possibly not till 177. The alleged event cannot therefore strictly have taken place 'horum temporibus.' Bede, in his Chronicon, places it under the year 180, Opp. Min. pp. 173, 174; the Saxon Chron. under 167.

Legend of King Lucius. **Lucius**] The earliest authority for this story is the recension of the Liber Pontificalis known as the 'Catalogus Felicianus,' attributed to the year 530. Thence Bede probably got it, either through his friend Nothelm, or through his brother monks who visited Rome in 701 (Opp. vi. 242, Introduction, p. xvii; Liber Pont. ed. Duchesne, I. ccxxii f.), or in 716, Haa. §§ 37, 38. Gildas knows nothing of it. It may safely be pronounced fabulous. Liber Pont. *u. s.* I. cii; H. & S. i. 25, 26. Cf. Wharton, Ang. Sac. i. 180: 'nobis tanti non sunt fabulae utcumque splendidae, ut earum gratia in Cimmeriis tenebris luctemur.' Nennius, § 22, makes the Pope 'Eucharistus,' an obviously fictitious name. The fable was largely developed in later times; W. M. makes Eleutherus' missionaries found a church at Glastonbury, i. 23, 24; while Rudborne makes Lucius endow the bishop and monks of Winchester with various lands, &c.; Ang. Sac. i. 182, cf. N. & K. pp. 183, 208; D. C. B. article 'Eleutherus'; Bright, pp. 3–5, who is inclined to think that the tale may have some foundation; so Lappenberg, i. 46, 47; E. T. i. 48, 49; Werner, pp. 208–210. In v. 24, p. 352, Bede gives the length of Eleutherus' reign as fifteen years.

Diocletiani] 'þæs yfelan Caseres,' 'the bad emperor,' adds AS. vers.

CHAPTER 5.

Anno, &c.] Orosius gives A.U.C. 944 as the date of Severus's accession (= A.D. 191). The real date is 193.

non muro, ut quidam] I do not know to whom Bede is alluding here. Of the authors cited in M. H. B. Eutropius, p. lxxii[a], Orosius, p. lxxix[b], Eusebius's Lat. Chron. p. lxxxi[b], Cassiodorus, p. lxxxii[b], all use *uallum*. Aelianus Spartianus once uses *murus*, in another passage he speaks of 'murus aut uallum,' p. lxv[a]. In the text of Sextus Aurelius Victor the word is *murus*, p. lxxi[a], but in the epitome it is *uallum*, p. lxxi[b]. The explanation of the difference between a *uallum* and a 'murus' is Bede's own. The AS. vers. merely says 'mid dice 7 mid eorðwalle,' 'with a ditch and earth-wall.' On the Roman fortifications in Britain I have received the following interesting note from Mr. Haverfield, of Christ Church. I print it here as a valuable contribution by one who has made an independent study of the original authorities, which I cannot pretend to have done. Roman walls in Britain.

'The northern frontier of Roman Britain was defended by two fortified lines, one joining the Solway and the Tyne, the other the Clyde and the Firth of Forth. The southern line consists of two parts. The most striking part is a stone wall, with a ditch, large and small forts, and a connecting road, which is plainly meant to repel northern attack and stretches for a distance of about 85 miles from Bowness-on-Solway to Wallsend-on-Tyne. South of this, and separated from it by an interval which varies from 30 to 1300 yards, is the so-called Vallum, an earthwork comprising a ditch and three ramparts of upcast earth. It appears to have no military object, but runs parallel to the Wall for its whole length with the exception of five or six miles at each extremity. The origin of the Wall is known. The Life of Hadrian, attributed to Spartianus, says that Hadrian built a wall for 80,000 paces to divide Romans and barbarians (c. 11, 2), and the inscriptions of the Wall show that it, with its forts, dates mainly, if not wholly, from Hadrian's reign (Proceedings of the London Society of Antiquaries, xiv. (1892) 44-55). The origin and object of the Vallum are disputed, and our evidence is purely *a priori*. Presumably it was either built in connexion with the Wall (Mommsen, Westdeutsche Zeitschrift, xiii. 134) or formed an earlier frontier, afterwards superseded by a fortified wall. The lines between the Clyde and the Forth are simpler. They consist of an earthen rampart built of regularly laid sods, with a foss, large forts, and a connecting road, the whole being

about 35 miles in length. The origin of the work is known; the life of Pius attributed to Capitolinus (c. 5, 4) and the inscriptions agree in referring it to Pius. It was apparently intended not to supersede Hadrian's Wall, but to act as a breakwater and relieve the pressure upon it. Its subsequent history is unknown; no inscription or historical reference occurs except in relation to its building, and it is a fair inference that it was speedily abandoned. The wall of Hadrian, on the other hand, was certainly held till the middle of the fourth century; in the first half of the third century the Romans also held several fortresses to the north of it.

'So far we have a consistent, intelligible, and well-supported account of the Roman frontier lines. Unfortunately the harmony is disturbed by certain historians who credit Septimius Severus with the erection of a wall from sea to sea. According to Eutropius, who wrote about A.D. 370, he built a *vallum* across Britain for a length of 132 miles, or, as some MSS. read, of 32 miles (viii. 19), and the statement is repeated almost verbally by Aurelius Victor (Epit. 20), Jerome (Chron. a. Abr. 2221), Orosius (vii. 17), Cassiodorus (Chron. a. 207), the author of the Historia Brittonum, usually called Nennius (c. 23, Mommsen, p. 165), and Bede (Chron.). An almost identical statement, with omission of the wall's length, appears in the life of Severus ascribed to Spartianus (c. 18), the Caesares of Victor (20, 18), and Bede's history (i. 5). These accounts have been referred by English antiquaries to a building or rebuilding of the southern wall, by Mommsen to a reconstruction of the Wall of Pius, but both explanations are open to serious objections. The inscriptions of Hadrian's Wall indicate that Severus was *not* active in this region, while the very existence of the other wall in the reign of that emperor is unproven, and perhaps improbable. So far as we can judge from the epitome of Xiphilinus, the narrative of Cassius Dio contained no reference to any wall erected by Severus, though it did mention some earlier fortification (76, 12). It seems possible that the fourth-century story which begins with Eutropius and the life of Severus—the date of which is uncertain—may be wholly false; it may be a mistaken inference from some passage in Dio where Hadrian's wall was mentioned. If the story be true, we must say that, at present, we have not sufficient knowledge to reconcile it with our other and better attested evidence as to the history of the frontier lines.

'Bede's own references to the walls (i. 5; i. 12) in the *historia* are based partly on Orosius and Gildas, partly on local knowledge, and testify to an effort to explain the difficulties relating to the origin of the works, as he saw them and read about them. He supposes

that Severus built the earthwork of the lines between Tyne and Solway, and thus interprets the text of Orosius. He then borrows from Gildas references to walls built after 400 A.D. and supposes that the Roman aid sent to Britain was directly or indirectly responsible for the stone wall which we now believe to be Hadrian's, and for the earthen wall of Pius. His views are interesting as the earliest conjectures on the subject, but they are plainly conjectures.' Cf. C. J. Bates, History of Northumberland, chs. 1, 2.

p. 17. **Eboracum**] On Roman York, cf. H. Y. I. xi ff. Alcuin, De Sanctis Ebor. vv. 19, 20, says of it : York.

> 'Hanc Romana manus muris et turribus altam
> Fundauit primo.'

Geta hostis puplicus] Inscriptions exist from which the name of Geta has been erased. Scarth, *u. s.* pp. 245, 246; Bates, *u. s.* p. 33.

CHAPTER 6.

Anno, &c.] Orosius gives A.U.C. 1041 (=A.D. 288) as the date of Diocletian's accession. The real date is 284. Cf. with this chapter Bede's Chron. Opp. Min. pp. 179, 180.

socium . . . imperii] 'gesealde him west dæl middan eardes,' 'gave him the western part of the world.' AS. vers.; which then omits from 'quorum tempore' down to 'iussus occidi'; thus making 'purpuram sumpsit,' &c. refer to Maximianus instead of to Carausius. For a sketch of the Roman occupation of Britain from the revolt of Carausius to the final withdrawal of the legions *v.* S. C. S. i. 91–113; cf. especially the table of events in parallel columns on p. 113 derived (*a*) from Greek and Roman authors; (*b*) from Gildas (who is largely embodied by Bede). This sketch covers cc. 6, 8–9, 11–14 of Bede's narrative. Roman Britain from Carausius to the withdrawal of the legions.

CHAPTER 7.

It is tolerably certain that this chapter of Bede is based on some earlier acts of St. Alban, but so far these have not been discovered. Various lives of St. Alban are catalogued by Hardy, Cat. i. 3–34, but they are all later than Bede. Many of these lives are mixed up with the acts and miracles of St. Amphibalus, the cleric who converted St. Alban. This name first occurs in Geoffrey of Monmouth, v. 5. Cf. Hardy, *u. s.* p. 5; Ang. Sac. i. 183–185, and is probably created out of St. Alban's 'amphibalus' or cloak. Bright, p. 6; Rs. Ad. p. 114; Hardy, *u. s.* It is curious how many of the lives call Alban 'Protomartyr *Anglorum*,' ib. 6–12, 14–16, 27, 30; Lives of St. Alban.

cf. pp. 24, 25; so Misc. Biogr. S. S. pp. 15, 24. One writer, Hardy, p. 22, says: 'confidenter dico nostrum [Albanum], calumnias (=claims) Britonum non formidans.' Elmham, on the other hand, says very justly: 'quod autem sanctus Albanus protomartyr Anglorum notatur . . . hoc omnino dici oportet . . . per anticipationem, quia necdum Angli in Britanniam uenerant,' p. 182. (By the same sort of 'anticipation' Vortigern is called 'Dux *Anglorum*' in some curious verses printed in Muratori, SS. RR. II. vii. 469 ff.). About 983-991, the Empress Theophanu translated the body of a certain martyr, Albinus, to St. Pantaleon's in Cologne. As nothing was known of this saint, the acts of the British St. Alban were transferred to him, Pertz, xv. 686 ff. Hence the heading of one of the lives: 'Albani, quem in Germania et Gallia Albinum uocant, passio,' &c. Hardy, p. 30. And MS. N here spells the name Albinus, at least four times, *v.* critical notes. Some of the lives belong to a certain St. Alban of Mainz in the ninth century, ib. 31, 32. We may hope that the following hagiological Oedipus is not 'noster Albanus'; 'Vita . . . Sancti Albani; qui natus fuit ex patre et filia, postea accepit matrem in uxorem, post haec occidit patrem et matrem, demum sanctus,' ib. 33; cf. pp. 31, 32. This may actually be a transference of the Oedipus myth, cf. Introduction, § 16. Ælfric's homily on St. Alban is wholly taken from Bede, Lives of Saints, pp. 414 ff.

Diocletian's persecution.

p. 18. **Siquidem in ea**] H. & S. i. 6 deny that the persecution of Diocletian extended to Britain, and show that the earliest trace of the story of St. Alban is c. 429; while for Aaron and Julius (*infr.* p. 22), the evidence is still more doubtful. Cf. ib. 35; D. C. B. i. 69.

Fortunatus.

Fortunatus] Carm. VIII. iii. 155, 156.

'Egregium Albanum fecunda Britannia profert,
Massilia Victor martyr ab urbe uenit.'

Fortunatus was 'the last representative of Latin poetry in Gaul.' D. C. B. He was born c. 530 at Ceneda, and died bishop of Poitiers at the beginning of the seventh century. Bede quotes him; Opp. vi. 39, 45, 61, 67 69; xii. 348; cf. Manitius, Aldhelm, und Baeda, p. 92.

'Perfidus.'

perfidorum principum] 'Perfidus,' 'perfidia' are constantly used in Bede and other ecclesiastical writers in the sense of 'heathen,' 'heathenism,' 'unbelieving,' 'unbelief,' as opposed to 'fides,' 'fidelis,' which mean 'belief,' and 'believing' or 'believer.' So ii. 5 of Eadbald; iii. 1 of Osric and Eanfrid; iii. 7 *ad fin.* of Cenwalh; iii. 24 of Penda; iii. 30 *ad fin.* of the relapse of the East Saxons into Paganism; v. 23 of the Saracens, pp. 90, 128, 141, 177, 179, 200, 349. Bede applies the term also to various forms of

heresy. Thus in ii. 2, p. 84, it is applied to the Britons because of their paschal and other heresies; in i. 8 to Arianism; in i. 10, 17 *ad fin.* to Pelagianism; in v. 21, p. 344, to simony. It is often used in this sense of the Jews; thus in the great passage of Jerome on the ruin of Jerusalem and the Jews, Comm. in Zeph. i. 15; Opp. vi. 692, ed. Vallarsi: 'usque ad praesentem diem perfidi coloni . . . prohibentur ingredi Ierusalem.' So too in the Roman Liturgy for Good Friday: 'Oremus et pro perfidis Iudaeis.' It is extraordinary that a man of Dr. Döllinger's vast learning should misinterpret this as implying that they were regarded as 'deserving neither of truth nor trust.' Akadem. Vorträge i. 216; E. T. p. 217; cf. Pseudo-Ign. ad Philad. c. 6, *ὁ τοιοῦτος ἥρνηται τὴν πίστιν οὐχ ἧττον τῶν χριστοφόνων Ἰουδαίων.*

principis] 'ealdormannes,' 'alderman,' AS. vers.

milites] 'þegnas,' 'thanes,' AS. vers.

caracalla] 'Vestis clericorum talaris.' Ducange, 'munuc-gegyrelan,' 'monk's habit,' AS. vers.

p. 19. cuius familiae . . . es?] 'hwylcere mægðe eart þu?' Ælfric, *u.s.* p. 416, 'hwylces hiredes 7 hwylces cynnes,' AS. vers.

p. 20. ad flumen . . . diuidebatur] This passage seems corrupt; but there is no variation in the MSS. It would mend matters slightly to read, 'quo murus ab harena.' The AS. vers. has: 'to swiðstremre éa, seo floweð neah ðære ceastre wealle,' 'to a swift river which floweth near the city wall.'

ad obsequium . . . sine obsequio] 'tó þenunge . . . bútan ðenunge,' AS. vers. The word 'obsequium' has here a concrete meaning, 'escort,' 'train.' '*Obsequium*, famulorum et amicorum comitatus, pompa,' Ducange. Cf. 'perlatus obsequentum manibus episcopus,' ii. 7, p. 94. So: 'regum non est esse sine comitum obsequio,' Opp. x. 270; 'uidebat [Lazarus] procedentem diuitem obsequentibus cuneis fulciri,' xi. 232. Cf. the use of 'ministerium' in iii. 14, p. 156, note. 'Obsequium.'

ut . . . transire uix posset] Ælfric states this as a fact, *u.s.* p. 418.

sine obsequio] Ælfric lays stress on the fact that he was dinnerless: 'ungereordod sæt,' *u.s.*, p. 420.

uidit undam . . . uestigiis] See next note.

p. 21. in huius ergo . . . reuersus est ad naturam] It is evident that in this passage, which has to do with the second miracle worked by St. Alban, viz. the producing of a spring on the summit of the hill, some phrases have been incorporated which really belong to the previous miracle, the arresting of the river; viz. 'incluso meatu,' 'ut omnes . . . detulisse,' 'qui uidelicet . . . ad naturam.' We might remove these, and insert them in the former Emendation of text.

passage thus: 'uidit undam, incluso meatu, suis . . . uestigiis; ut omnes . . . detulisse. Qui uidelicet . . . ad naturam. Quod cum,' &c. Both passages will then gain very much in clearness.

intulit manus] '7 his heafod of asloh,' 'and smote off his head,' adds AS. vers.

gaudere . . . non est permissus] Cf. Bede on Prov. xxi. 18: 'pro iusto datur impius, cum pro martyre persecutor, qui eum morti dedit, punitur,' Opp. ix. 134.

die X. Kal. Iul.] June 22. So Bede, Mart. Opp. iv. 83, 84. Note that Bede does not attempt to fix the year.

Uerolamium] Cf. Scarth, *u. s.* pp. 26, 28.

Uæclingacæstir] This name was no doubt given to the town from its position on the 'Watling Street,' which runs from London to Wroxeter. The name 'Wætlinga ceaster' occurs in a charter of Ethelred's of the year 996, in which also St. Alban figures as 'protomartyr Anglorum,' K. C. D. No. 696; Guest, Orig. Celt. ii. 235.

ecclesia] On the alleged foundation of the monastery of St. Alban's by Offa, *v.* H. & S. iii. 469, 470; Hardy, Cat. i. 27; W. M. i. 85; R. W. i. 252 ff.

Legionum urbis] Caerleon-on-Usk. The story of Aaron and Julius must be considered extremely doubtful; *v.* H. & S. i. 6; cf. Bede's Chron. Opp. Min. p. 180.

CHAPTER 8.

P. 22. renouant ecclesias] Rudborne places here the second building of the Church of Winchester; the first having been under Lucius. Ang. Sac. i. 185; cf. on c. 4, *sup.*

Arianism. **Arrianae uesaniae**] 'It is evident . . . that Gildas and Bede following him have greatly exaggerated the influence of Arianism in Britain,' Bright, pp. 11–13; cf. H. & S. i. 8. Bede sees the progress of Arianism foreshadowed in the pale horse of Rev. vi. 7: 'Ecce Arrii uesania de Alexandria nascens, ad Gallicum usque peruenit oceanum, non fame tantum uerbi Dei, sed et gladio corporali bestialiter pios insequens,' Opp. xii. 363. The passage 'quae corrupto . . . infudit' is omitted by the AS. vers.

noui semper aliquid] This seems to hint at the existence of various heresies in Britain.

Constantius. **uir summae mansuetudinis**] *διωκομένων γὰρ τῶν ἀνὰ τὴν ἄλλην οἰκουμένην ἐκκλησιῶν, μόνος Κωνστάντιος ὁ Κωνσταντίνου πατὴρ ἀδεῶς θρησκεύειν συνεχώρησε τοῖς Χριστιανοῖς.* Sozomen, Hist. Eccl. i. 6, in H. & S. i. 4.

in Brittania . . . obiit] At York in 306 A. D.; cf. Opp. Min. p. 180.

Constantinum filium] 'þam godan casere,' 'the good emperor,' inserts AS. vers. This is Constantine the Great. Constantine the Great.

in Brittania creatus imperator] The AS. translator misunderstanding here and elsewhere the word 'creatus,' makes Constantine born in Britain: 'on Breotone acenned.' He was really born at Nissa in Upper Moesia. Chifflet, by an analogous error, reads 'procreatum.'

in Nicena synodo] A. D. 325.

sed et insularum] 'eac swylce on þis ealond,' 'likewise in this island,' AS. vers.

CHAPTER 9.

P. 23. This chapter is not in the AS. vers.; but the heading is in the capitula, where 'creatus' is again mistranslated 'acenned,' 'born.' The Sax. Chron. *ad ann.* 381 has the same mistake.

Anno, &c.] Orosius gives A. U. C. 1132 (= A. D. 379) as the date of the death of Valens. The real date is 378.

Maximus] Cf. Opp. Min. p. 184; Rhŷs, C. B. p. 104; and on the legends which have gathered round his name, see the article in D. C. B. Maximus.

uir . . . probus] Gildas, as Smith remarks, gives him a very different character, § 13.

CHAPTER 10.

This chapter is not in the AS. vers.; though the heading is in the capitula.

Anno . . . CCCXCIIII] The true year is 395.

Pelagius Bretto] On Pelagius and Pelagianism, and the efforts of Augustine against them, see Dr. Ince's article on Pelagius in D. C. B.; Milman, Lat. Christ., Bk. ii. c. 2. On Bede's own attitude towards Pelagianism, cf. Introduction, pp. lxii f. Pelagius.

p. 24. **Iuliano de Campania**] This is the person against whom the first or introductory book of Bede's Commentary on the Song of Songs is directed. Opp. ix. 186 ff.; cf. ib. 310, x. 140, xii. 292. He was bishop of Eclanum near Beneventum, and was one of eighteen Italian bishops deposed by Pope Zosimus in 418, for refusing to sign the circular letter in which the Pope condemned the doctrines of Pelagius. He himself wrote on the Song of Songs, which is the reason why Bede thinks it necessary to refute him: 'ne per copiam eloquentiae blandientis, [lector] in foueam incidat doctrinae nocentis . . . Est enim . . . rhetor peritissimus,' ix. 186. Besides his writings on the Song of Songs, Bede mentions among his works Julianus, bishop of Eclanum.

a 'Libellus de Amore,' 'De Bono Constantiae,' 'Dialogus Attici et Critobuli,' ib. 186, 194, 195. He also ascribes to him 'Liber ad Demetriadem de Institutione Virginis,' which however, in spite of Bede's vehement denial, seems really to be by Jerome; ib. 195–197. Bede (ib. 186) calls him 'Iulianus Celanensis episcopus de Campania'; where 'Celanensis' is a mistake for 'Eclanensis.' Julian was a man of high character, learned and pious; superior in temper and judgement to many of his opponents. He occupied an intermediate position between Augustine and Pelagius, and is regarded by Milman as the founder of Semi-Pelagianism. He died c. 454, the teacher of a school in a small town in Sicily. *v.* Ince and Milman, *u. s.*, and article Julianus, D. C. B.

uersibus heroicis] See v. 8, p. 295, note.

Prosper of Aquitaine.

Prosper rethor] Commonly called Prosper of Aquitaine; born c. 403, and died after 463. He was a strong partisan of Augustine against the Pelagians. Besides shorter poems like the one in the text, he wrote a long poem against them entitled 'De Ingratis,' meaning by *ingrati* 'opponents of the grace of God.' He is best known as the author of the longer chronicle which bears the name of Prosper, from which some of the statements in the text are taken; ed. 1711, col. 740, 747. The shorter chronicle which bears the name of Prosper Tiro, is probably by a different hand. *v.* D. C. B., *s. v.* Prosper. Bede cites the Epigrammata of Prosper in his de Arte Metrica, Opp. vi. 46–48, 56, 60, 62–66, 75. Cf. Manitius, Aldhelm, und Baeda, pp. 83, 89, 97.

Prosper Tiro.

aequorei . . . Britanni] Mr. Stevenson, *a. l.*, ingeniously suggests that this is an allusion to the name of Pelagius; 'aequoreus' = 'πελάγιος.'

CHAPTER 11.

This chapter is in the AS. vers., but very much abbreviated. In the heading 'creati' is again mistranslated 'acende,' 'born.'

Anno . . . CCCCVII] The date is correct.

minoris] So the MSS., but the reading required is 'minore.' Honorius was the second son of Theodosius I. O_9 reads 'maioris,' a less probable correction.

ante biennium] The first siege of Rome was in 408, the second in 409; the third siege and capture in 410. Bede probably refers to the first; dating it, as he does the third, a year too late.

Impolicy of Carausius, &c.

in Gallias transiit] Mr. Skene (S. C. i. 104) has remarked that had these local emperors, Carausius, &c., been content to maintain themselves in Britain, they might not impossibly have been successful, and the subsequent history of the island might have

been very different. But their attempts to seize the whole of the western part of the Empire not only led to their own failure, but stripped Britain of troops, and left it open to the attacks of the barbarians. Cf. c. 12, *ad init.*

p. 25. **Gerontius**] He was a Briton, one of Constantine's ablest generals; but turned against him, inviting the Germans to invade Gaul and Britain; thus playing in real history the part which legend assigns to Vortigern. The name, in the form Geraint, is known to all readers of Tennyson. See Rhŷs, C. B. pp. 96, 97, 298. Gerontius.

anno . . . CLXIIII] The real date is A.U.C. 1163 = A.D. 410. On this event, cf. Milman, *u. s.*, Book ii. c. 1.

habitabant] The AS. vers. entirely perverts the meaning by translating 'eardædon Bryttas,' 'Britons dwelt,' &c.

farus] Originally 'light-house,' from the famous one on the island of Pharos. Here it perhaps means 'watch-towers' ('torras,' 'towers,' AS. vers.). Cf. Chron. Watinense, in Pertz, xiv. 164: 'Pharus altissima, quae domus olim speculatoria in hiberna Romanorum dicebatur, Bononiae muro contigua, . . . Britanniam Deirorum insulam prospectans.' There are, however, remains of Roman lighthouses in Britain. Cf. Scarth, *u. s.*, pp. 156, 213. 'Farus.'

usque hodie testantur] 'þa we to dæg sceawian magon,' 'which we may see to this day,' AS. vers.

CHAPTER 12.

Exin Brittania] Cf. Opp. Min. p. 184.

tyrannorum] Gildas says 'tyranni' in the singular, meaning Maximus. But Bede is quite justified in generalising the remark.

transmarinas . . . dicimus, &c.] This is Bede's own gloss on the words of Gildas, and it seems a very forced one. It is true that according to the tradition probably followed by Bede the settlement of the Dalriadic Scots in Alba had already taken placé (see on c. 1), and therefore he is not inconsistent in making the invading Scotti come from thence. But Gildas in using the term meant not only to imply that the invading Scotti came from Ireland, but also that the Picts now (*i. e.* after the death of Maximus, *v. s.*) first settled in Britain from beyond sea. Bede, as we have seen (c. 1, note), brings the Picts from Scythia to Britain; but he makes no attempt to fix the date of their settlement. In c. 14, p. 29, he unconsciously slips into the other view both as to the Scots and Picts; for, following what is the reading of some MSS. of Gildas, he calls the former 'grassatores Hiberni,' and 'Hibernus' is never Bede's gloss on Gildas.

used of the Scots in Britain; while of the Picts, also following Gildas, he says: 'Picti in extrema parte insulae *tunc primum* et deinceps quieuerunt.' If the Dalriadic settlement *had* taken place at this time, its members *may* have co-operated with their kinsmen from Ireland in attacking the Britons. Nennius says: 'Scotti ab occidente, et Picti ab aquilone unanimiter pugnabant contra Brittones, nam et ipsi pacem inter se habebant,' § 23. Cf. Ethelwerd, M. H. B. p. 501.

Giudi. **urbem Giudi**] Commonly said to be Inchkeith in the Forth. That Giudi was an important name in that region is proved by a passage in the Book of Lecan given by Reeves, Culdees, p. 124, in which the Forth is called 'muir n-Giudan,' 'the sea of Giude.' Cf. Rhŷs, C. B. p. 151. Professor Rhŷs hesitates as to the common identification of Bede's Giudi with Nennius' Iudeu; ib. and Rhind Lectures, pp. 99–102. See iii. 24, notes.

Dumbarton. p. 26. **Alcluith . . . petram Cluith**] From Celtic 'ail,' a rock. In the Würzburg MS. f. 11[a], the 'spiritalis petra' of 1 Cor. x. 4 is glossed: 'ind *ail* rúnde.' Now Dumbarton, *i. e.* 'Dun na m-Bretan,' 'fort of the (Strathclyde) Britons.'

Date of the British embassies. **legatos . . . mittentes**] From the fact that Bede in his Chron. Opp. vi. 316, 317; Opp. Min. pp. 186, 187 (*q. v.*) places the two embassies of the Britons between the discovery of St. Stephen's relics and the death of Jerome, Smith, on that passage, p. 26, argues that they must fall between those two events, *i. e.* 415 and 420. But this is a rather hazardous argument.

inter duo freta] *i. e.* the line of the northern wall. See on c. 1.

Abercorn. **Aebbercurnig**] Abercorn on the Forth. It was in this monastery that Bishop Trumwine had his see. *v.* iv. 12, 26; pp. 229, 267.

Peanfahel. **Peanfahel**] Professor Rhŷs sees in this word evidence of a Brythonic language affected by Pictish influence. It is clearly not pure Pictish. Rhind Lectures, p. 82; C. B. pp. 152, 153, 197.

p. 27. **tempore autumni**] Gildas has: 'casibus foliorum tempore certo assimulandam . . . peragunt stragem,' a metaphor which Bede has understood as a fact. So Moberly on Bede, and Stevenson on Gildas.

inter urbes] *i. e.* the line of the southern wall.

usque hodie . . . clarum est] 'ðone man nu to dæg sceawian mæg,' 'which may still be seen at the present day,' AS. vers.

reuersuri] '7 hi sigefæste ofer sæ ferdon,' 'and they victoriously fared over sea,' adds AS. vers.

p. 28. **a feris**] 'from wulfum 7 wildeorum,' 'by wolves and wild beasts,' AS. vers.

CHAPTER 13.

ab Aetio consule] 'fram Ettio þam cyninge,' 'from *King* Ettius,' AS. vers. Cf. with this chapter Opp. Min. pp. 187, 188.

Anno . . . ccccxxiii] This is right for the death of Honorius.

Palladius . . . episcopus] This notice of Palladius is taken from the chronicle of Prosper of Aquitaine, ann. 431, *v. s.* i. 10 note. It is to be noted that the Irish to whom Palladius is sent are already Christians: 'in Christum credentes.' This at once cuts the ground from under all later developments of the story of Palladius, which represent him as an unsuccessful forerunner of St. Patrick in the work of christianising Ireland. The way for this idea was perhaps prepared by a very rhetorical passage of Prosper, Contra Collatorem, c. 21, in which he says of Celestine: 'ordinato Scotis episcopo . . . fecit . . . barbaram [insulam] Christianam.' In the so-called collections of Tirechan in the Book of Armagh, which profess to rest on seventh century evidence, but which Zimmer, Kelt. Beitr. iii. 77, 78, has shown to be not earlier than the first half of the ninth century, it is said: 'a Celestino . . . papa . . . Patricius episcopus ad doctrinam Scottorum mittitur. . . . Paladius episcopus primo mittitur, qui Patricius alio nomine appelabatur, qui martyrium passus est apud Scottos, ut tradunt sancti antiqui. Deinde Patricius secundus . . . mittitur, cui Hibernia tota credidit, qui eam pene totam babtizauit,' Stokes, Vita Tripartita, p. 332. The notes of Muirchu Maccu-Machtheni, also in the Book of Armagh, of which the real and pretended dates are about the same as in the case of Tirechan, represent Palladius as sent to *convert* Ireland, but failing even to land he returns Romewards, and dies 'in Britonum finibus,' ib. 272. Nennius, §§ 50, 51, gives much the same account, but makes him die 'in terra Pictorum.' The annals of Ulster place the mission of Palladius correctly in 431, and they place that of Patrick in 432. If Patrick, as Tirechan and Nennius represent, was sent by Pope Celestine, his mission cannot be later than 432, as Celestine died in that year. But if Prosper and Bede knew of the unsuccessful mission of Palladius, is it conceivable that they should have been unaware, or, if aware, should have made no mention of the triumphant mission of Patrick? On the whole I am inclined to agree with those who, beginning with Ledwich, Antiquities of Ireland (1790), cited Vita Trip. p. cxiv, have doubted the very existence of St. Patrick. It is true that Patrick is mentioned in the so-called Martyrology of Bede at March 17. But this Martyrology has been so largely interpolated by later writers, that it is unsafe to argue from it. He is mentioned in the second preface

Palladius and Patrick.

to Adamnan's Life of St. Columba; and earlier still in Cummian's letter on the Easter question. But even this is two hundred years later than his supposed mission. It is possible that the statement of Tirechan, 'Paladius . . . qui Patricius alio nomine appelabatur,' may ultimately rest on some confused reminiscence of the present chapter of Bede, and that the words 'qui et patricius fuit,' which belong to Aetius, have got attached to Palladius, and this may be the starting-point of later developments. Saints have been created out of less. We have seen the origin of St. Amphibalus from St. Alban's cloak (c. 7); and a St. Pontiolus has been evolved from a false reading of *ποντιόλῳ* for *ποτιόλων* (=Puteoli) in the Antiochene Acts of St. Ignatius; Ltf. App. Ff. II. ii. 488. It is worthy of note that the earlier MSS. of the Sax. Chron. A. B. C. (D. is defective) have the right version: 'Here *Palladius* . . . was sent to the Irish by Pope Celestine to *confirm* their faith'; *i.e.* they were already Christian; whereas E. has: 'Here *Patricius* was sent by Pope Celestine to *preach baptism* to the Irish'; *i.e.* they were heathen. Ethelwerd (M. H. B. p. 503) is midway between the two; retaining Palladius, but representing him as 'Christi nuncians euangelium.' Of the origin of Irish Christianity we know absolutely nothing. Zimmer, *u. s.*, has shown that the documents in the Book of Armagh which have been relied on as the earliest authorities for the history of Patrick are forgeries. In later times the 'Scoti' to whom Palladius was sent were taken to be Scots in the modern sense; so N. & K. p. 246. Cf.: '433. Haly Palladius prechit ye fayth to *Scottis* men. . . . 434. Sanct Patrice prechit ye faith to *Irlandis* menn.' P. & S. p. 387. Cf. ib. 200, where he is joined with St. Columba (whose mission was more than a century and a half later!) in the conversion of the Pictish king.

anno . . . XXIII] The twenty-third year from 423 would be 446, and this is the date of the third Consulship of Aetius.

patricius] 'heah ealdorman,' 'high alderman,' AS. vers.

gessit consulatum] 'wæs . . . consul 7 cyning,' 'was consul and king,' AS. vers.

Marcellinus Comes.

p. 29. Blaedla et Attila] These notices of the invasion of the Huns, the famine and pestilence at Constantinople, &c, are taken from the chronicle of Marcellinus Comes, which extends from 379 to 534. From its cessation at 534 it is inferred that Marcellinus died soon after, but nothing is known of him. Bede cites Marcellinus in his Commentary on St. Mark, Opp. x. 95; and in that on St. James, xii. 184.

anno . . . proximo] It was really two years previous; 444 A.D.

hisdem temporibus] 446 A.D.

plurimi . . . conruerunt] This was owing to an earthquake, 447 A. D.

CHAPTER 14.

confidentes . . . auxilium] Gildas, § 20, says: 'secundum illud exemplum Philonis, "Necesse est adesse diuinum, ubi humanum cessat auxilium."' It is quoted also as from Philo in Eginhard's letters, Bouquet, vi. 375. (Eginhard died in 839.)

reuertuntur . . . quieuerunt] See on c. 12.

cessante . . . hostili] 'æfter þyssum com gód gear,' 'after this came a good year,' AS. vers.

p. 30. **grex Domini**] Cf. Gildas' rebukes to the British clergy in his so-called Epistle, §§ 66 ff.

initum . . . consilium] 'Þa gesomnedon hi gemot, 7 þeahtedon 7 ræddon,' 'then they assembled a moot, and deliberated and advised,' AS. vers. Nennius has a totally different tradition: 'uenerunt tres ciulae a Germania *expulsae in exilio*, &c. . . . Guorthigirnus suscepit eos benigne, &c.' § 31.

CHAPTER 15.

Date of the coming of the Saxons.

Anno . . . CCCCXLVIIII] The true date of Marcian's accession is 450. That the following *tunc* is not to be taken (as is commonly done by historians) as fixing the settlement of the Saxons to the definite year 449 or 450 is shown by the chronological summary, v. 24, p. 352, where, placing, as here, the beginning of Marcianus' association with Valentinianus in the empire in the year 449 (459, Opp. Min. pp. 188, 189, *q. v.*), Bede adds: '*quorum tempore* Angli . . . Brittaniam adierunt.' (Marcian died in 457.) So the Sax. Chron. 449: 'On heora dagum,' 'in their days': 'quorum tempore,' Ethelw. M. H. B. p. 503. Bede never professes to know the exact year of the first settlement of the Saxons. He always uses the word 'circiter' in reference to it. Thus in i. 23, p. 42, and v. 23, *ad fin.* he places it 'about' 446; in ii. 14, *ad init.* 'about' 447 (so S. D. i. 19). Cf. also i. 16. Lappenberg thinks that this fluctuation is due to the use of a double source, Kentish and Northumbrian, by Bede, i. 74, 120; E. T. i. 76, 118; so Werner, p. 207. But in view of the use of the word 'circiter' this must be regarded as very doubtful. Bede's reason for placing the coming of the Saxons 'about' this time, 446 × 457, is that copying Gildas he makes it follow the mission of the Britons to Aetius in the latter's third consulship, 446. M. de la Borderie has shown in his monograph on Nennius, pp. 52–65, 79, that if the confused and interpolated chronology of that work be rightly interpreted, it is in favour of the date 449; but that work can add nothing to nor

detract anything from the authority of Gildas and Bede, whose credibility must be judged on other grounds. Prosper Tiro places the reduction of Britain by the Saxons in 441: 'Britanniae usque ad hoc tempus uariis cladibus . . . laceratae, in ditionem Saxonum rediguntur.' Bouquet, i. 639. Where Bede writes independently of Gildas he is no doubt embodying the Kentish traditions which he would learn from his friends Albinus and Nothelm. (See Notes on Bede's Preface and on c. 2 *supra*.)

Of the leaders of the invaders Bede says below (p. 31), 'fuisse *perhibentur* . . . Hengist et Horsa.' And though it is going too far to say that this phrase implies critical doubts (in the modern sense) on the part of Bede, yet it does undoubtedly imply that he gives that part of the story as a tradition and nothing more. (Hengist is called 'Anschis' by the Ravenna geographer. M. H. B. p. xxiv.) It is curious that the words of the Sax. Chron. with reference to the first coming of the Danes have been misinterpreted exactly in the same way as Bede's words about the Saxons here. See notes to the year 787, or the Preface to my smaller edition, p. xii. Of course Bede is speaking here of the first *settlement* of the Saxons. He fully recognises the fact of earlier attacks by them (on which cf. S. C. S. i. 92, 99, 101, 106, 111). See on cc. 1, 6. Sidonius Apollinaris (431–489) gives a vivid picture of the Saxon ravages on the coast of Gaul in this century. Ep. viii. 6 (translated in Green, M. E. pp. 16–19). Cf. Ethelwerd: 'agilem audierunt esse piratico in opere gentem Saxonum in tota maritima a Rheno fluuio usque in Doniam urbem, quae nunc uulgo Danmare nuncupatur.' M. H. B. p. 501. The question whether there were earlier Saxon settlements in Britain turns largely on the interpretation to be given to the phrase 'Comes Limitis (*or* Littoris) Saxonici.' The majority of recent critics, Guest, Stubbs, Freeman, Green (Skene is an exception) are in favour of explaining it as the shore exposed to Saxon attacks, rather than the shore occupied by Saxon settlers. The subject of the Saxon Conquest of Britain cannot be dealt with here. I may refer to, without professing wholly to endorse, the papers of Dr. Guest republished in Origines Celticae, vol. ii. and the early chapters of Mr. Green's Making of England. I confess to doubting whether the foundation is strong enough to bear the elaborate superstructure which has been reared upon it. Mr. Green indeed writes as if he had been present at the landing of the Saxons, and had watched every step of their subsequent progress. This certainty is very favourable to picturesque writing. I wish I could feel equally sure that it was justified by the quality of the evidence. In the Translatio S. Alexandri, Pertz, ii. 674, there is a curiously

inverted form of the legend, according to which the Continental Saxons came from Britain.

p. 31. **segnitia Brettonum**] 'Brytwalana nahtscipe,' 'the naughtness of the Brit-Welsh.' Sax. Chron. E. This phrase is perhaps the basis of the ordinary view that the Britons were easily vanquished by the Saxons, *e. g.* Lappenberg, i. 63, 64, 103; E. T. i. 66, 100. That the contest really was long and obstinate, see Green, M. E. p. 133; Scarth, *u. s.*, pp. 224–229. British resistance.

Germaniae] 'Terra quae . . . sub septentrionali axe iacet, quia tantum hominum germinat, non iniuria Germania uocatur.' W. M. i. 8. This, like many mediaeval etymologies, comes from Isidore, Origines. xiv. 4. The Chronicon Holzatiae, Pertz, xxi. 276, anticipating the Anglo-Israelite craze, derives the 'Iutae' from 'Iudei,' and the 'Dani' from the tribe of Dan. But even these feats are outdone by Mr. Skene, who derives 'Iutae' from 'Teutones.' C. S. i. 190. Mediaeval etymologies.

Iutis, &c.] 'of Geatum,' AS. vers. Elmham in borrowing this passage (p. 138) writes throughout 'Wictis,' 'Wictarum' for 'Iutis,' &c., perhaps with the idea of bringing it nearer in form to 'Victuarii,' 'Vecta'; cf. a citation in Lappenberg, i. 101. The Jutes.

Uictuarii] 'Wihtsætan,' 'settlers in Wight.' AS. vers., which omits the words 'et ea quae . . . Uectam.'

Iutarum natio] 'Iutna cynn.' Sax. Chron. E. Fl. Wig., speaking of the death of William II. says that it occurred 'in prouincia Iutarum, in Noua Foresta,' i. 276. And again (ii. 44, 45), 'in Noua Foresta, quae lingua Anglorum Ytene [*i. e.* Iutena cynn *or* land] nuncupatur.'

Orientales Saxones] See article in D. C. B. ii. 20, 21.

Angulus] On the mediaeval derivation of 'Anglia' from 'angulus,' cf. my notes to Fortescue, p. 287. F. N. C. i. 348, 772; H. & S. iii. 12, 447. A curious polemical use is made of this derivation by a Scottish Chronicler: '*Sed ueritas non quaerit angulos iuxta ueritatem euangelii*, thirfor thai may nevir be trew that comme fra Angulo.' P. & S. p. 385. 'Angulus' and 'Anglia.'

Orientales Angli] See D. C. B. ii. 19–20.

Humbri fluminis] For the Humber as the boundary between the Northern and Southern English, cf. i. 25, *ad init.*; ii. 3, *ad init.*; 5, *ad init.*; 9, *ad init.*; 16, *ad init.*; v. 23, *sub fin.* Eddius uses the terms 'Ultra-Umbrenses,' 'Citra-Umbrenses,' H. Y. i. 63, 64, 67, 87, 103. Cf. M. & L. p. 213. In Hist. Abb. § 4, p. 367, Bede uses the term 'Transhumbrana regio' of the Northumbrian kingdom. So 'Transhumbrana gens,' iii. 14. p. 155; H. & S. iii. 459. 'Hymbronensis' and 'Umbrensis' are also used in the sense of Northumbrian. See on The Humber.

iv. 17, p. 239. The terms Northumbria, Northumbrian, are of course common enough. In the Sax. Chron. we have also 'Súðanhymbre,' 'Southumbrians.' In 449 this seems to be used in a general sense; in 697, 702, it means specifically the Mercians; cf. 'Mercii qui dicuntur Suthumbri,' R. W. i. 189. (The suggestion, D. C. B. ii. 590, that it means the Lindisfari, has nothing to recommend it.) S. D. has also the term 'Suthymbria' in a general sense, ii. 189, 267. (Cf. Suthanglia, ib. 298, 309; Sutangli, K. C. D. Nos. 80, 83. Cf. Nos. 88, 89; Birch, Nos. 154, 157, 163, 164.) In one Welsh authority the Humber is called the *Sea* of Humber, 'mor Humyr.' P. & S. p. 121. A mediaeval etymologist derives the name from the Huns! ib. 222. Asser speaks of York as 'in aquilonari ripa Humbrensis fluminis sita.' M. H. B. p. 474. In that case the name extended much further than it does now.

Heathen genealogies.

p. 32. de cuius stirpe . . . duxit] Daniel, Bishop of Winchester, in advising St. Boniface how to argue with the heathen, says, among other things: 'nec . . . contraria eis de ipsorum, quamuis falsorum deorum genealogia astruere debes.' H. & S. iii. 304; Mon. Mog. p. 72. Cf. N. & K. p. 217.

Alliance of Saxons and Picts.

inito . . . foedere cum Pictis] Constantius also, as cited by Bede, c. 20, *ad init.*, represents the Saxons as combining with the Picts. Lappenberg needlessly questions this statement, i. 70; E. T. i. 72.

p. 33. suspecta . . . mente] 'with anxious mind.' So c. 32, p. 69.

CHAPTER 16.

'Here' and 'Fyrd.'

hostilis exercitus] 'Se here,' AS. vers., which is the term always used in the Sax. Chron. of the army of the invading Danes as opposed to the national force, the 'fyrd.'

domum reuersus est] 'Domum,' apparently refers to their settlement in Thanet; for what follows seems inconsistent with the idea that the Saxons quitted Britain even temporarily at this time. R.W. makes them retire first to Thanet, and then to Germany, i. 15.

Ambrosius Aurelianus.

Ambrosio Aureliano] Cf. Opp. Min. pp. 190, 191. Palgrave cites, 'without venturing to maintain, the opinion of Baronius, that Ambrosius continued the legitimate succession of the Empire of the West.' E. C. p. 397. Perhaps a better mode of stating this view would be to say that he was the last of those so-called tyrants or usurpers, who, from Maximus downwards, attempted to exercise Roman authority in Britain. Cf. Rhŷs, C. B. pp. 104, 105, 107.

Date of the battle of 'Mons Badonicus.'

ad annum . . . Brittaniam] Taking 449, not as the exact but as the approximate date assigned by Bede to the settlement of the Saxons, we get 493 as his approximate date for the battle of

the 'Mons Badonicus.' The Annales Cambriae place it in 516. Gildas tells us that the year of that battle was also the year of his own birth; § 26: 'usque ad annum obsessionis Badonici montis, qui prope Sabrinum ostium habetur, . . . quique quadragesimus quartus, ut noui, oritur annus mense iam primo emenso, qui iam et [?etiam] meae natiuitatis est.' There has been much controversy as to which of these dates, 493 or 516, should be adopted for the battle, and the birth of Gildas. There is an article by M. de la Borderie on this question in Rev. Celt. vi. 1–13. I agree with him, (i) that the date 493 accords much better than 516 with what we know of the chronology of Gildas' life; (ii) that Bede's authority is much higher than that of the Ann. Camb.; (iii) that it is unlikely that Bede's date is due to a mere misunderstanding of Gildas' words, as has been commonly asserted from the time of Ussher onwards. I cannot however agree with him in his very forced explanation of the passage of Gildas, which makes Gildas' forty-four years, like Bede's, date from the coming of the Saxons, and necessitates the insertion in Gildas of words for which there is no MS. authority. The present tense, 'oritur,' shows that Gildas refers to the time at which he was writing, and he says that it was 'at the end of the first month of the forty-fourth year [from the year of that event], which is also the year of my birth.' (So I would construe the passage.) Hence Gildas wrote the 'De Excidio,' c. 537, which is a perfectly possible date. Hence if Bede's date is neither due to a misunderstanding of Gildas (Ussher), nor taken from him (de la Borderie), it must be based on independent data; and the occurrence of the same number, 44, in both cases is a mere coincidence. Is there any reason why two events should not be, one of them forty-four years before, and the other forty-four years after a third event? Mr. Anscombe (in his monograph on St. Gildas of Ruys, pp. 58 ff.) thinks that he has discovered internal evidence that the *Epistle* of Gildas was compiled 'within . . . three years . . . from Nov. 22, 498.' If so, it must be by a different author from the De Excidio; possibly 'by some one else of the same name.'

CHAPTER 17.

Life of St. Germanus by Constantius.

Chapters 17–22 are not in the text of the AS. version, though the headings are in the Capitula. Chapters 17–21 are, with the exception of the beginning of c. 17, taken almost verbatim from Constantius' Life of St. Germanus, printed by Surius and the Bollandists at July 31. Constantius was a presbyter of Lyons,

a friend and correspondent of Sidonius Apollinaris, whom he induced to collect and publish his correspondence, thus doing a great service to historical literature. His own life of Germanus is addressed to Patiens, Bishop of Lyons (451–491), and Censorius, Bishop of Auxerre (472-502), and therefore must have been written 472 × 491. The date given in Gallia Christiana, xii. 265 is c. 488. The extracts given by Bede are sufficient to show how largely the miraculous element enters into Constantius' composition, and there are many more miracles which Bede has omitted. On this and other lives of St. Germanus, *v.* Hardy, Cat. i. 47–57.

Date of the mission of Germanus.

Ante paucos . . . annos] Cf. Opp. Min. p. 189. Here Bede, following Gildas, has brought the history of the contest between the Britons and the Saxons to the battle of the 'Mons Badonicus,' c. 493. He now reverts to 'a few years before their [the Saxons] coming'; viz. to 429 according to Prosper Aquit., from whose chronicle the opening words of this chapter are taken. I cannot therefore see on what grounds Dr. Bright (following Smith) says: 'this mission is wrongly placed by Bede at A.D. 446' (p. 16). The phrase 'ante paucos annos' may well cover a period of twenty years, 429–449. (In iv. 18, p. 242, the phrase 'non multo ante' indicates an interval of almost thirty years; cf. c. 21, *ad init.* note.) Prosper's words are as follows: 'Agricola Pelagianus, Seueriani Pelagiani episcopi filius, ecclesias Britanniae dogmatis sui insinuatione corrupit. Sed ad actionem Palladii diaconi, Papa Caelestinus Germanum Antisiodorensem episcopum uice sua mittit, et, deturbatis haereticis, Britannos ad catholicam fidem dirigit.' I have not been able to discover anything about Severianus and his son Agricola. Palladius is very likely the same whose mission to the Irish Prosper relates two years later. It will be noted that Prosper represents Germanus as sent by the Pope, whereas Constantius followed by Bede, *infra*, states that he and Lupus were sent by a Gallican Synod at the request of the Britons. On the various suggestions which have been made with a view to reconciling these statements, see Bright, p. 16. Prosper is the earlier authority, and as he was in Rome about 431, he had means of knowing; cf. what he says Contra Collatorem, c. 21 (also in M. H. B. p. ci).

p. 34. sacerdotes] 'bishops,' as often. See note on c. 28.

Germanus and Lupus.

Germanus . . . Lupus . . . episcopi] Germanus, Bishop of Auxerre, 418–448; Lupus, Bishop of Troyes, 427–479. Four of Sidonius Apollinaris' letters are addressed to Lupus (vi. 1, 4, 9; ix. 11). In a letter to Sulpicius (vii. 13) he speaks of Lupus as 'facile principem pontificum Gallicanorum'; while in a letter to Prosper, bishop of Orleans, he couples Germanus and Lupus to-

gether as models of excellence, speaking of another prelate as 'Lupo parem, Germanoque non imparem,' viii. 15. On lives of Lupus, *v.* Hardy, Cat. i. 60, 61. His day is July 29; cf. Bede's Martyrology at that day: 'Depositio S. Lupi . . . qui cum Germano uenit Britanniam, et lii. annos sacerdotio [=episcopate] functus est; qui tempore Attilae, qui Galliam uastabat, sicut in hymno eius canitur,

Dum bella cuncta perderent,
Orando Trecas muniit.' (Cf. AA. SS., *ut infra.*)

There are two churches in Glamorganshire dedicated to Lupus under the Welsh name of Bleiddian (=wolf-cub); H. & S. i. 21. Churches dedicated to St. Germanus are in Wales and Cornwall, ib. The abbey of Selby was also dedicated to him, and claimed to possess one of his fingers; Hardy, Cat. ii. 446, 447; cf. Introduction, p. cxxi. Both Lupus and Germanus were disciples of the school of Lérins; Werner, pp. 25, 26. On Lérins, cf. *infra*, Hab. § 2, p. 365, note.

inimica uis daemonum] This incident is cited by Adamnan in his life of Columba, ii. 34. If, as the ancient life of Lupus states, AA. SS. Jul. vii. 69, the two prelates left Gaul 'temporibus hibernis,' this is probably sufficient to account for the storms without any further hypothesis.

CHAPTER 18.

Pp. 36, 37. massam pulueris] For the wearing of relics on the person, cf. D. C. A. i. 611, ii. 1774, 1779. Contrast Alcuin to Ethelhard, archbishop of Canterbury: 'melius est in corde sanctorum imitari exempla, quam in sacculis portare ossa.' Mon. Alc. p. 719. Germanus seems to have built a church at Auxerre in honour of St. Alban. Cf. Bouquet, x. 172, A.D. 1025: 'ciuitas Autissiodorum exitialiter igne cremata est, et res humanae in fauillas redactae praeter ecclesiam B. Albani martyris a B. Germano constructam.' Wearing of relics.

CHAPTER 19.

Compare with this chapter the story told of Mellitus in ii. 7.

P. 37. quae . . . tegebantur] See note on ii. 14, p. 114.

CHAPTER 20.

P. 38. Saxones Pictique] As Bede distinctly says, c. 17, that the mission of Germanus was prior to the permanent settlement of the Saxons in Britain, this junction of the Saxons and Picts must be Alliance of Saxons and Picts.

anterior to that mentioned by Bede in c. 15, and corresponds very much to the yet earlier state of things described as existing 360–370 A. D. by Ammianus Marcellinus, and 398–402 by Claudian; when Saxons, Picts, and Scots were all attacking Britain; M. H. B. pp. lxxiii f., xcviii. The legend of the Hallelujah victory (for it can hardly be regarded as more than a legend) refers consequently to an earlier period than that to which the victories of c. 16 belong.

Date and scene of the Hallelujah victory.

ad gratiam baptismatis] On baptisms at Easter, *v.* ii. 9, p. 99, note. If Germanus and Lupus left Gaul in the winter of 429 (see on c. 17) this must be Easter 430.

ecclesia . . . frondibus contexta] See on ii. 14, p. 114.

p. 39. mediis montibus] If Bede really wrote 'mediis,' he has altered his author for the worse; for it is hard to see how a valley can be surrounded with mountains in the middle; whereas Constantius' 'editis' gives a good sense. 'The scene . . . is laid by Welsh tradition at Maes-Garmon, "Germanus' Field," a mile from Mold in Flintshire;' Bright, p. 19. If there is any truth in this, the Saxons must have sailed round to the west of Britain, as they can hardly have fought their way right across the island.

CHAPTER 21.

Second mission of Germanus.

Nec multo . . . tempore] About seventeen years. This second mission of Germanus is fixed to the year 447, if Constantius is right in making his journey to Italy and his death there in 448 follow immediately on his second return from Britain.

p. 40. Seuero] The date of his accession to the See of Trèves does not seem to be known. He is said to have died in 455.

primae Germaniae] 'Germania prima,' *or* 'Superior,' is the district immediately to the west of the Rhine from about Neuwied to Colmar.

Germanus and the Armoricans.

p. 41. pro pace Armoricanae gentis] Aetius had ordered Eocharich, chief of the Alani, whom he had settled at Orleans, to attack the revolted Armoricans. Germanus, according to Constantius, overawed Eocharich, and forced him to retire; and then set off to plead the cause of the Armoricans at the imperial court at Ravenna. His efforts were frustrated by their renewed revolt; cf. Martin, Hist. de France, i. 362, 363. He died at Ravenna, July 31, 448; though Bede in his Martyrology gives his day as Aug. 1, where he says of him: 'Britonum fidem per duas uices a Pelagiana haeresi defendit.' Other martyrologies give his day as Oct. 1, and Wandalbertus Prumiensis, at that date, says of him:

'Oceano fidei refugas et dogma nefandum
Reppulit, et signis te picta Britannia texit.'

cuius corpus, &c.] Germanus himself desired that his body should be carried back to Gaul, though Placidia was anxious to retain it in Italy. She herself vested the saint's dead body, according to Constantius. And so when his successor Heribald translated his remains in 841 : 'corpus . . . ita integrum repperit . . . ut quondam fuerat a uenerabili . . . Placidia . . . compositum ;' Pertz, xiii. 397. Other translations took place later in the same century ; AA. SS. Jul. vii. 275–278. Burial and translation of Germanus.

nec multo post, &c.] Aetius was assassinated in 454, and Valentinianus March 16, 455. The sixth year of Marcian began on Aug. 25, 455, so that Valentinian's death belongs strictly to his fifth year. Deaths of Aetius and Valentinian.

Hesperium concidit regnum] The end of the western empire is commonly dated at the overthrow of Romulus Augustulus by Odoacer in 476.

CHAPTER 22.

exteris, ciuilibus . . . bellis] 'utgefeohte, ingefeohtum,' 'out-fight and in-fights,' AS. vers.

Interea, &c.] It is not quite clear where Bede places this period of immunity from foreign war. Possibly between the Hallelujah victory in 430 and the permanent settlement of the Saxons, c. 449. In Gildas' narrative this passage comes after the mention of the battle of the Mons Badonicus, c. 493. But the Sax. Chron. assuredly gives no countenance to the view that there was any cessation in the attacks of the Saxons after 493. It records their unresting advance during the sixth century. Cessation of foreign attacks.

p. 42. Gildus] On the lives of Gildas *v.* Hardy, Cat. i. 151–156 ; S. C. S. i. 116–118. They are all several centuries later than Gildas' time, and it may be doubted whether we know any fact with reference to him beyond what he has told us, viz. that he was born in the year of the battle of Mons Badonicus, and wrote the De Excidio in the forty-fourth year after that event ; *v. s.* c. 16, note. W. M. says of him : 'cui Britanni debent si quid notitiae inter ceteras gentes habent,' i. 24. It is a pity that he could not write a little more clearly. Gildas.

flebili sermone] The work is entitled 'liber querulus.' Gildas' denunciations of the Britons are quoted in Wulfstan's homilies (ed. Napier, p. 166) as a warning to the English of that time : 'an þeodwita wæs on Brytta tidum, Gildas hatte ; se awrat be heora misdædum, hu hi . . . swa . . . God gegræmedon, þæt he let æt

nyhstan Engla here heora eard gewinnan, and Brytta dugeðe fordon mid ealle. And þæt wæs geworden þurh gelæredra regolbryce, and þurh læwedra lahbryce . . . Ac utan . . . warnian us be swilcan; and soð is þæt ic secge, wyrsan dæda we witan mid Englum sume gewordene, þonne we mid Bryttan ahwar gehyrdan.' 'There was a prophet of the people in the time of the Britons called Gildas. He wrote about their misdeeds, how they so angered God, that at the last He caused the army of the English to conquer their land, and utterly destroy the strength of the Britons. And that came about through the irregularity of the clergy, and the lawlessness of the laity. Come then, let us take warning by such, and sooth is it that I say; we know of worse deeds done among the English than we ever heard of among the Britons.' Alcuin uses Gildas similarly in writing to Archbishop Ethelhard in 793. H. & S. iii. 476; Mon. Alc. p. 206.

hoc addebant] This is a constant charge against the Britons. Cf. ii. 2, v. 22.

sed non tamen . . . destinauit] With these words Bede leads up to his proper subject.

CHAPTER 23.

With this chapter begins the real subject of Bede's work, Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum, to which the preceding chapters have been introductory.

XX et I] So Bede, Chron. Opp. Min. p. 193. It was really only a little over twenty years, Aug. 582 to Nov. 602; Gibbon.

Chronology of Gregory the First's reign.

anno . . . X] Gibbon gives Aug. 13, 582, as the date of Maurice's accession. His tenth year would be from Aug. 13, 591, to Aug. 12, 592. Bede says that Gregory died in 605; ii. 1, p. 73; v. 24, p. 353. He was buried on March 12; ii. 1, p. 79. At this time burial on the day of death was the rule (see on iv. 14, 19), and therefore Fl. Wig. i. 12 is right in treating this as the date of Gregory's death; cf. App. i. § 32. Both here and in ii. 1, p. 73, Bede gives the length of Gregory's reign as thirteen years, six months, ten days. This would give Sept. 3, 591, for his accession, which agrees with the statement here, that it was in the tenth year of the Emperor Maurice. But it appears that Bede is a year wrong in both dates, and that Gregory really ruled from 590 to 604. The latter date agrees with Bede's statement, ii. 1, p. 79, and in his Chron. Opp. Min. p. 194, that Gregory died in the second year of Phocas. See Bright, p. 36, and reff.

anno XIIII] Aug. 13, 595, to Aug. 12, 596, *v. s.* On Gregory's life

and many-sided activity see the notes to ii. 1, where the well-known story of the origin of the mission to Britain is given. Gregory's first idea for the conversion of the Teutonic tribes in Britain was to purchase and educate Angle slave boys for the purpose. In a letter to Candidus, 'eunti ad patrimonium Galliae,' Gregory directs him, 'quatenus solidi Galliarum in terra nostra expendi non possunt,' to devote any money which he may have in hand to purchasing 'pueros Anglos. qui sunt ab annis decem et septem, uel decem et octo, ut in monasteriis dati Deo proficiant.' He is to send a priest with them, to baptize any of them who might fall ill on the way. H. & S. iii. 4–5 date this letter 590 × 595. Jaffé. R. P. p. 115, fixes it to Sept. 595. Bede himself notices how 'gentiles ab errore conuersi, atque ad ueritatem euangelii transformati, melius ipsos gentium errores nouerant, et, quo certius nouerant, eo artificiosius hos expugnare atque euacuare didicerunt.' Opp. viii. 267, 268. Aidan adopted the same plan, iii. 5, p. 136, and Wilbrord ; see on v. 11 ; and it has played a great part in the work of the Central African mission.

Gregory's earlier scheme for the conversion of the English.

circiter] See on c. 15.

Augustinum] 'Augustinus minor, qui et apostolus Anglorum.' Ethelwerd, p. 520. Cf. the short account of the mission in Bede's Chron. Opp. Min. p. 193. On the later lives of Augustine, which add nothing but legendary matter to Bede, see Hardy, Cat. i. 192-202.

Augustine and his companions

alios . . . monachos] One of these was a certain John, Bede, Chron. *u. s.* (following Lib. Pontif. i. 312), who according to the Canterbury tradition, afterwards became abbot of St. Augustine's ; Elmham, pp. 127, 147. On the impulse given by Gregory to monasticism, cf. Werner, p. 27.

praedicare . . . genti Anglorum] On the effect of Christianity on the Anglo-Saxons, cf. Lappenberg, i. 132, 140, 141 ; E. T. i. 130.

aliquantulum] He got at any rate far enough to hear news of, perhaps to have interviews with Stephen, Abbot of Lérins, Protasius, Bishop of Aix, and Arigius, Patricius of Burgundy, whose seat was either at Marseilles or Arles. For in the letters to those persons which Gregory sent by Augustine on his second departure from Rome, he speaks of the good report which A. had made to him of them ; Opp. Min. pp. 231, 232 ; H. & S. iii. 8, 9. That there is nothing similar in the other commendatory letters sent at the same time (*v. infra*, p. 39) would seem to show that A. did not get much beyond Aix, or Arles at the furthest.

barbaram . . . gentem] Much the same complaint was made by the first missionary sent from Iona to Northumbria, iii. 5, p. 137.

p. 43. **Gregorius**] The AS. version, which usually omits all documents, gives a short summary of this letter in oratio obliqua.

'Seruus seruorum Dei.'

seruus seruorum Dei] Gregory was the first Pope to assume this style, which he did as a rebuke to the pride of the Patriarch of Constantinople, who had assumed the title of Universal Bishop. Cf. R. W. i. 108. Gregory did not use the title by any means uniformly, as may be seen by a reference to his letters. Cf. also my notes to Fortescue, pp. 252, 253. The style was not at first peculiar to Popes; cf. *e. g.* the letter of Laurentius, Mellitus, and Justus in ii. 4. Other instances are given by M. & L. p. 287. An abbot uses it in relation to his own monks: 'Frater R. seruus seruorum Dei apud Melros seruiencium,' N. & K. p. 308.

'Praepositus.'

praeposito] On the monastic sense of this title, *v.* Introduction, pp. xxviii f. It is used here in a more general sense. It is used similarly of an abbot in Hist. Abb. Anon. § 1, *infr.* p. 388. Augustine had, however, been 'praepositus' of the monastery of St. Andrew at Rome, which Gregory had founded 'in cliuo Scauri,' Ioann. Diac. i. 6, from which also his companions were mainly, if not wholly, taken, ib. ii. 30; cf. H. & S. iii. 13. A doubtful letter of Pope Vitalian to Archbishop Theodore, G. P. p. 51, speaks of Augustine as Gregory's *sincellus, i. e.* 'eiusdem cellae socius' (gloss *ad loc.*).

Systems of dating.

die X kal. Aug. . . . anno XIIII] *i. e.* July 23, 596, *v. s.* The indiction is also right for 596. Therefore Augustine must have left Rome the second time not earlier than July 23, 596. The mode of dating by imperial regnal years was introduced into papal documents by Pope Vigilius (537–555 A. D.); Jaffé, R. P. p. 76.

post consulatum] See the critical notes at the end of cc. 28, 30, 32; cf. Opp. vi. 1. 'P. C. patres conscripti, siue post consulatum.' The phrase is due to the fact that from the beginning of the fourth century the yearly appointment of consuls became irregular, and from time to time the designation of the year, instead of 'Coss. M. et N.' became 'post consulatum M. et N.'; D. C. A. i. 833.

Indictions.

indictione XIIII] The indictions are cycles of fifteen years; the origin of the system is not known. It has been traced to the quinquennial revisions of the Roman census (cf. Opp. vi. 244; Schürer, Gesch. d. jüdischen Volkes, i. 431, ed. 2). There are three kinds of indictions which come into consideration here: 1. The Constantinopolitan, which began on Sept. 1; 2. the imperial or Caesarean, which began on Sept. 24; 3. the Roman or pontifical, which began with the commencement of the year, whether Dec. 25 or Jan. 1. We must keep apart two questions which are sometimes confused, viz. the question as to the indiction used by Bede himself, and the question of that used in any document quoted by him.

As to the former, Kemble (C. D. I. lxxxi, followed by H. & S. iii. 14) asserts that Bede used the pontifical indiction, but he is clearly wrong. (*a*) It is doubtful if that system had been introduced in Bede's time; cf. Bright, p. 42; Nicolas, Chron. Hist. p. 7. (*b*) The author of the Hist. Anon. Abb. § 35 certainly uses the Caesarean indiction, 'viii kal. Oct. (Sept. 24) *incipiente indictione* xv'; and it is unlikely that two systems would be in use in the same monastery. (*c*) Bede's own words are decisive: 'Incipiunt indictiones ab viii kal. Oct. ibidemque terminantur,' Opp. vi. 244. Bede therefore used the Caesarean indiction. But this proves nothing as to Gregory's usage. He was the first pope to reckon by indictions, and he used the Constantinopolitan system (Bright, p. 42, following Bened. Edd. in Greg. Ep. i. 1; so Jaffé, R. P. pp. 93 ff.). The question does not affect the date of the present document, as on any system July, 596, is in the fourteenth indiction. In Opp. vi. 130 Bede gives the rule for finding the indiction: 'Si uis scire quota sit indictio, sume annos Domini, et adiice tria, partire per xv, et quod remanserit, ipsa est indictio anni praesentis.' Cf. Ducange, *s. v.* 'indictio,' D. C. A. i. 832–834.

CHAPTER 24.

The whole of this chapter is omitted in the AS. vers.; and the heading is not even in the Capitula.

Etherius.

Etherium Arelatensem archiepiscopum] Etherius was bishop of Lyons, c. 586–602; Gams; Bouquet, iii. 110; cf. ib. 325; D. C. B. ii. 231. Vergilius was archbishop of Arles. This is however the letter to Etherius; the mistake is in the title, not in the name. The letter to Vergilius is given from Greg. Epp. vi. 53 by Stevenson, Opp. Min. p. 230; H. & S. iii. 7. Letters almost identical with this to Etherius were sent at the same time to Palladius, Bishop of Saintes, Pelagius of Tours, and Serenus of Marseilles; H. & S. iii. 6. Other commendatory letters to Desiderius, Bishop of Vienne, Syagrius of Autun, Protasius of Aix in Provence, Stephen, Abbot of Lérins, Arigius, Patrician of Burgundy, Theoderic and Theodebert, Kings respectively of Burgundy with Orleans, and of Austrasia; and to Brunhild, their grandmother, are in Opp. Min. pp. 231–235; H. & S. iii. 7–11; cf. Bright, p. 43. When the second mission started under Mellitus in 601, Gregory furnished them with commendatory letters to *Theoderic*, *Theodebert*, *Brunhild*, and Clothaire, King of Soissons, who had also helped Augustine, Menna, Bishop of Toulon, *Serenus of Marseilles*, Lupus of Châlons-sur-Saône,

Commendatory letters.

Aigulfus of Metz, Simplicius of Paris, Melantius of Rouen, Licinius of Angers, *Desiderius of Vienne, Vergilius of Arles, Etherius of Lyons,* Arigius of Gap. H. & S. iii. 33 37; Opp. Min. pp. 236-238. (Names of persons and places which occur in the earlier list are given in Italics.) These letters, except that to the Bishop of Gap, which is rather far to the East, and Saintes, which is a great deal too far to the West, seem intended to provide for the reception of the missionaries along the various routes open to them, the final choice being left to be determined by circumstances. For Theodore's route in 668, 669, *v.* iv. 1, p. 203.

p. 44. **sacerdotes**] Probably here, as often, means 'bishops,' *v.* note, c. 28. So 'sacerdotali,' 'episcopal,' a little lower down.

Candidum] This is the same to whom the directions were sent about purchasing Angle slave boys; *v. s.* p. 37, and cf. D. C. B.

Patrimony of the Church.

ad gubernationem patrimonioli eccl.] For these posts Gregory preferred to employ ecclesiastics; cf. Ep. ix. 65: 'Cauendum ne secularibus uiris . . res ecclesiasticae committantur, sed probatis de uestro officio clericis.' On the property of the Roman Church and Gregory's administration of it, cf. Milman, Lat. Christ., bk. iii. c. 7; Church, Miscellaneous Essays, pp. 228-238.

CHAPTER 25.

Coming of Augustine.

peruenit Brittaniam] In 597; v. 24, p. 353. The coming of Augustine 'was in one sense a return of the Roman legions,' Green, M. E. p. 221.

Aedilberct . . . potentissimus] On Ethelbert's reign and power, *v.* notes to ii. 5, p. 89.

p. 45. **Humbrae . . . dirimuntur**] *v.* note on i. 15, p. 31.

The Hide.

familiarum] 'hida,' AS. vers. If, as both the Latin and Saxon names suggest (for hid is probably connected with *hiwan, higan,* 'members of a family'), the hide was originally as much land as would support a family, the extent of it would necessarily vary in different parts with the quality of the land, with the 'standard of comfort,' to use a modern term, of the different tribes, and with the varying circumstances of the conquests of the different districts. Hence there is a strong antecedent presumption against all attempts to find a uniform measurement for the hide throughout England. Kemble, Saxons, i. 101–104, 117, 118, has compared the hidage of some of the districts given by Bede here and in iv. 13, 16, pp. 231, 237. He puts aside as irrelevant the measurements for Anglesey and Man given in ii. 9, p. 97; where the former is said

to contain 960 'families,' the latter something over 300; though the acreage of the two is nearly equal; Anglesey, 193,453 acres; Man, 180,000 (Keith Johnston's Gazetteer). The greater fertility of Anglesey, which owing to its comparatively level character was the granary of North Wales, will go far to account for this discrepancy. Iona again Bede estimates at five 'families,' iii. 4, p. 133, the acreage being about 1630. The hidage of the North and South Mercians given in iii. 24, p. 180, can hardly be utilised without more knowledge than we possess as to the exact limits of the districts occupied by them.

Tanatos] Isidore's etymology of the name has been given above on c. 1. It must be borne in mind that Thanet at that time was really an island, entirely separated from the mainland. Cf. Stanley, Memorials of Canterbury, pp. 28-30, and the map, ib. p. 55. See also the curious old map of Thanet prefixed to Elmham. In the life of St. Mildred, Thanet is called 'flos et thalamus . . . regni.' Hardy, Cat. i. 377, 380. Thanet.

adplicuit] Probably at Ebbsfleet, the traditional landing-place of Hengist and Horsa. Sax. Chron., 449 A.D.; *v.* Bright, p. 45, and Stanley, *u. s.* The landing-place.

ferme XL.] Whether these forty represent the original comrades of Augustine only, or include the 'interpretes de gente Francorum,' is not quite clear. Probably the former.

acceperunt . . . Gregorio . . . interpretes] The primâ facie meaning of this passage seems to be that at this time the Frankish speech and the Kentish dialect were still so near akin that they were mutually intelligible. Fifty years later in Wessex this was not the case. Cenwalh got rid of the Frankish bishop Agilbert, 'pertaesus barbarae loquellae,' iii. 7, p. 140—a good instance of the common tendency to regard all foreign speech as barbarous. W. M. says: 'naturalis . . . lingua Francorum communicat cum Anglis, quod de Germania gentes ambae germinauerint.' This passage of Bede has however been understood as meaning only that these missionaries took with them some persons who, through trade or otherwise, had acquired some knowledge of the dialect of Kent. So Green, M. E. p. 112; Werner, p. 40. Frankish and Kentish speech.

In his letter to Theoderic and Theodebert (*u. s.* p. 39) Gregory says that he had given directions to Augustine and his fellows 'ut aliquos secum e uicino debeant presbyteros ducere.' In the same letter, and in that to Brunhild, Gregory says that the Angles had shown a desire for Christianity, 'sed sacerdotes (*i. e.* bishops) e uicino negligere.' It is therefore the Frankish and not the British bishops who are aimed at in this reproach; and it would seem that no attempt had been made by Neglect of the Frankish bishops.

them to utilise the marriage of Ethelbert with Bertha as an opening for missionary effort.

acceperunt . . . et mittens] A very loose construction.

antea fama . . . peruenerat] *v.* last note but one.

Bertha. **Bercta**] daughter of Charibert, King of Paris. Cf. Greg. Tur. iv. 26: 'Charibertus rex Ingobergam accepit uxorem, de qua filiam habuit, quae postea in Ganthia uirum accipiens est deducta;' ib. ix. 26: 'Anno xiiii Childeberti regis Ingoberga regina, Chariberthi quondam relicta, migrauit saeculo, . . . relinquens filiam unicam quam in Canthia regis cuiusdam filius matrimonio copulauit.' A note on the former passage in the ed. of G. T. in the M. H. G. (4to series) says that she was also called Ethelberg. No authority is given, but if it is true, it looks as if it were a name taken to indicate her adoption into her husband's family. On the significance of the marriage, cf. Green, M. E. pp. 210, 211; Lappenberg, i. 118; E. T. i. 115, 116.

Liudhard. **Liudhardo**] The later legendary lives call him 'praecursor et ianitor uenturi Augustini.' Hardy, Cat. i. 175, 176. Rudborne says: 'et haec erat causa quare tam cito Rex Ethelbyrtus paruit praedicationi S. Augustini.' Ang. Sac. i. 251, cf. Elmham, p. 109; W. M. i. 13: 'uita . . . regem ad Christi cognitionem inuitabat.' In other respects W. M., perhaps from the analogy of his own day, absurdly overestimates the Frankish influence. Liudhard does not seem really to have effected much; *v. s.* In the additions to Bede's martyrology he is mentioned at Feb. 4: 'Passio S. Liphardi [*i.e.* Liwhardi] martyris Cantorbeiae archiepiscopi.' Opp. iv. 33. But the story of his death as given in the lives, and implied in this entry, is clearly mythical and chronologically impossible. Nor can he ever have been archbishop of Canterbury. He was merely private chaplain to the queen. According to Canterbury tradition Laurentius removed his body into the church of the monastery of SS. Peter and Paul, where it was placed with that of Bertha in the 'porticus' of St. Martin. Elmham, p. 132; Thorn, ii. 2; cf. Stanley, *u. s.* p. 45.

malificae artis] See notes on c. 30, for Anglo-Saxon heathenism.

Prayers and preaching of Augustine and his fellows. p. 46. **laetaniasque canentes**] '7 wæron haligra naman rimende, 7 gebedo singende,' 'and they were telling the names of saints and singing prayers.' AS. version.

uerbum . . . uitae] According to Ælfric, Hom. ii. 128, the substance of Augustine's preaching to Ethelbert was: 'hu se mildheorta Hælend, mid his ágenre ðrowunge, þysne scyldigan middaneard alysde, 7 geleaffullum mannum heofonan rices infær geopenode,' 'how the merciful Saviour by His own passion redeemed

this guilty world, and opened the kingdom of Heaven to all believers.' (Cited H. & S. iii. 11.)

cum omni Anglorum gente] This must not be taken as implying any feeling of national unity, which was a much later growth (cf. 'Anglorum *populi*,' at beginning of this chapter), but only as referring to the common heathenism of the Teutonic tribes settled in Britain.

mansionem] 'in parochia S. Aelphegi ex opposito regiae stratae uersus aquilonem;' Thorn, col. 1759. 'Mansio signatur quae Stabelgate notatur;' Elmham, p. 91. Their residence.

imperii sui] *i. e.* of his overlordship which extended to the Humber; not merely of his *regnum* of Kent; *v.* ii. 5 note. So in c. 32, Gregory addresses Ethelbert as 'Rex Anglorum,' and speaks of 'regibus ac populis sibimet subjectis.' Ethelbert's 'imperium.'

hanc laetaniam] 'Jeosne letaniam 7 ontemn,' 'this litany and antiphon (anthem),' AS. version. On the antiphon itself, which is founded on Daniel ix. 16, and belongs to the Rogation Days, *v.* Bright, p. 48. It will be found in Martene, De Antiquis Ritibus (1788), iii. 189; and it, with several other of these antiphons, is embodied in the Latin hymn or prayer ascribed to St. Mugint. Liber Hymnorum, ed. Todd, i. 94 ff.

Alleluia] Omitted in AS. version.

CHAPTER 26.

datam . . . mansionem] See note to last chapter.

p. 47. **secundum ea, quae docebant . . . uiuendo**] On this see Introduction, p. xxxvi.

sancti Martini] Cf. Stanley, *u. s.* pp. 31, 32, 53, 54; Bright, p. 48. St. Martin died 397×401 (cf. Introduction, p. c, which would give 399), so that the dedication of this church must be later than 400; H. & S. i. 15, 37. There is no real authority for the statement often made that this church was the seat of a separate bishopric; H. & S. iii. 658. A document printed Ang. Sac. i. 150, boldly asserts that this see survived to the time of Lanfranc. To the popularity of the cultus of St. Martin in Britain Venantius Fortunatus (see on i. 7, p. 18) bears striking testimony, saying of him: 'Quem Hispanus, Maurus, Persa, Britannus amat;' cited H. & S. i. 13, where see note for references illustrating the connexion of St. Martin with the British Isles. Cf. Ven. Fort, Vita S. Martini, Lib. iv. vv. 621 ff. (M. H. G. 4to). For the legend of a church at Ely founded by St. Augustine, see Lib. Eliensis, p. 48; and cf. Elmham, p. 100. St. Martin.

Mass.

missas facere] 'mæssesong don,' AS. vers. On the Latin phrase cf. Bright, p. 50; according to whom it appears first in St. Ambrose, Ep. xx. 4, 'ego tamen mansi in munere, missam facere coepi.'

Augustine's miracles.

miraculorum . . . ostensione] On Augustine's miracles cf. *infra*, i. 31, ii. 1, 3, pp. 66–67, 78, 86. One definite instance, the healing of a blind man, is given in ii. 2, p. 82.

Baptism of Ethelbert.

baptizatus est] Traditionally on Whitsunday, June 2, 597; Elmham, pp. 78, 137. As to the place, Stanley, *u. s.* p. 36, conjectures St. Martin's; Elmham, p. 84, says Christchurch, which at that time was not built. On Whitsuntide and Easter as the regular times for baptisms *v.* note on ii. 9, p. 99. There is an AS. tract on Ethelbert's baptism in MS. C.C.C.C. 201, on which see Hardy, Cat. i. 176.

Wholesale conversions.

plures . . . confluere] In a letter to Eulogius, Bp. of Alexandria, written June, 598, Gregory says that the preceding Christmas Augustine, 'coepiscopus noster,' had baptized more than 10,000 Angli; H. & S. iii. 12, cf. ib. 4, note c. On the value and effects of such wholesale conversions, see notes to c. 30; ii. 14, 20.

Conversion and compulsion.

nullum . . . cogeret ad Christianismum] So Bede on Ezra vii. 13 says: 'Omnibus qui uelint ire Hierosolymam licentiam tribuit, nullum ire compellit; et Christiani principes nullum cogentes, ne sit incerta aut dubia uoluntas fidei, uniuersis quibus placuerit de suo regno Christum colere permittunt;' Opp. viii. 436. Yet *infra*, ii. 5, p. 90, he admits that some in Kent may have conformed 'uel fauore uel timore regio.' Eddius, speaking of Wilfrid's conversion of the South Saxons, says that the pagans deserted idolatry 'quidam uoluntarie, alii uero coacti regis imperio'; Vita Wilf. c. 41. He breathes no hint of disapproval.

Mythical transference of the Kentish capital.

in Doruuerni metropoli sua] The story that Ethelbert transferred his capital to Reculver, leaving Canterbury entirely to Augustine, Ang. Sac. i. 1, seems to me an obvious myth, based on that greatest of ecclesiastical myths, the Donation of Constantine; cf. the words of Goscelin's life of Augustine: 'baptizat nouum Constantinum Siluester nouus;' ib. ii. 61. Bede's words 'in D. metropoli sua' are distinctly against the idea that the capital was changed.

CHAPTER 27.

Augustine's consecration.

P. 48. **Interea**] It must have been before Christmas 597, as at that date Gregory speaks of him as 'co-episcopus noster'; *v. s.* c. 26 note. According to Thorn, col. 1760, Augustine was consecrated on Nov. 16, but this was not a Sunday in 597.

ab . . . Aetherio] A converse mistake to that noted above, c. 24. Here the office is right, the name wrong; it should be Vergilius. At the beginning of c. 28 Bede tries to solve the difficulty created by his own mistake by making Vergilius succeed Etherius as archbishop of Arles; cf. on Vergilius, Bright, p. 53. Gregory (in H. & S. iii. 12) speaks of Augustine as 'data a me licentia a Germaniarum episcopis episcopus factus;' cf. App. I. § 11, which speaks as if Gregory had consecrated Augustine.

Laurentium . . . et Petrum] On the former *v.* ii. 4, p. 86; on the latter, i. 33, p. 70. Both are mentioned in the letter of Gregory to Bertha which was sent at the same time as the responsa; H. & S. iii. 17; Opp. Min. p. 251. As Laurentius is styled 'presbyter' while Peter is called 'monachus,' it is probable that the former was not a monk; D. C. B. iii. 631. Laurentius and Peter.

nec mora . . . recepit] If Augustine sent off Laurentius and Peter 'continuo' after his own consecration, it is certainly not true that the answers to his questions were received 'without delay'; as the letters which accompanied them are dated June 22, 601. The Preface to the responsa, which is not in Bede (see it in H. & S. iii. 18), attempts to account for this delay by saying that at the time of the arrival of Laurentius and Peter Gregory was ill of the gout (cf. Jaffé, R. P. pp. 137, 142, 150), and could not compose the responsa in time for their departure, as they were anxious to set out at once; and he had no opportunity of sending them till the mission under Mellitus started in 601. As however four of the nine letters sent with Mellitus speak of Laurentius as accompanying him, H. & S. iii. 33 36; and as Bede, c. 29 *ad init.*, clearly implies that Laurentius and Peter accompanied Mellitus and brought the responsa. I am strongly of opinion that the Preface is a forgery. Date of the Responsa.

In 736, St. Boniface applied to Nothelm, then Archbishop of Canterbury, for a copy of the responsa, as none could be found in the Roman archives; H. & S. iii. 336. The document may have been re-discovered at Rome after 736; and it does not therefore follow that this was not one of the documents copied by Nothelm for Bede at Rome; Pref. p. 6, *sup.* On the other hand, the original or a copy may have been preserved at Canterbury, and Nothelm or Albinus may have transcribed this. Anyhow, Bede's copy is the most ancient and authentic in existence, and the additions to it in other MSS. and editions are of no authority, and some of them are palpable and clumsy forgeries; H. & S. iii. 32, 33. A little later, 744 × 747, Boniface sends to Egbert of York some letters of Gregory which he believed to be unknown in Britain; ib. 359. Similar answers of Gregory II and Gregory III to questions addressed

to them by St. Boniface are in Mon. Mog. pp. 88–94. We are reminded of the questions addressed to the Roman Emperors by the governors of provinces, and the imperial rescripts founded thereon; *e.g.* the famous rescript of Trajan in answer to Pliny's questions as to the treatment of the Christians. It is curious that all MSS. of the AS. version place these responsa at the end of Book iii. I have found no Latin MS. which favours this arrangement, so that it must be due to the translator's own fancy; who also abridges considerably.

Division of oblations.

mos . . . sedis apostolicae] This was the case as early as Gelasius I (492–496 A. D.); in Mansi, viii. 45. For this and for the decrees of various councils on the subject, *v.* Bright, p. 56.

quia tua fraternitas . . . suis] And therefore the separate provision for the bishop would not be necessary in Augustine's case. This part of Gregory's answer is cited by Bede in the prose life of Cuthbert, c. 16; Opp. Min. p. 80. Gregory himself when at Constantinople organised his household on the monastic pattern; *v.* ii. 1, p. 75, and note.

Clerks in minor orders.

p. 49. **clerici extra sacros ordines constituti**] 'preostas 7 Godes þeowas butan halgum hadum gesette,' 'priests and servants of God appointed outside of holy orders,' AS. version. It really means those in minor orders below the subdiaconate; *v.* Bright, p. 56. For another instance of the AS. 'preostas' meaning persons in minor orders, cf. Birch, i. 520.

canendis psalmis] On the importance of the psalter at this time see note on iii. 5, p. 136.

Mistranslation.

quod superest] Gregory treats the 'quod superest' of the Vulgate, which is really an adverbial phrase translating the πλήν of the original, as if it meant 'what remains,' 'the surplus.' (Cf. the AS. vers.: 'þætte ofer seo 7 to lafe, sellaþ ælmesse,' 'what is over and remains, give as alms.') Bede in his commentary on the passage does the same: 'quod necessario uictui et uestimento superest, date pauperibus.' Opp. xi. 150. The interpretation became traditional in the English Church, and is found in the AS. version of the Gospels: 'Ðæt to läfe is, syllaþ ælmessan,' 'what is over, give as alms'; also in Wycliffe: 'that thing that is ouer, gyue ye almes.'

Differences of Ritual.

diuersae consuetudines] On the differences of ritual which Augustine might have observed on his journeys through Gaul, *v.* Bright, p. 57; D. C. A. ii. 962. With Gregory's answer here cf. Ep. i. 43; where, speaking of the question of single or trine immersion in baptism, he says: 'quia in una fide nihil officit sanctae ecclesiae consuetudo diuersa.' With reference to this answer Goscelin, Ang. Sac. ii. 63, very beautifully paraphrases this

principle of variety in unity : 'Sic regina sponsa Domini uarietate circumamicta tam multimoda quam multifaria triumphat in gloria. Sic et una corona multicoloribus texitur floribus, et unum monile aureum uariis gemmarum illustratur splendoribus, et diuersis uocum discriminibus unum concentum reddimus.' On the other side, cf. Landulphus Senior (eleventh century) in his history of Milan, SS. RR. II. iv. 71 D: 'Papa Gregorius . . . omnes latinae linguae ecclesias per diuersa officia multum discrepantes uidit. Qui tantum . . . ad unitatem Romanae ecclesiae reuocauit, dicens . . . unum mysterium totius linguae esse debere latinae.' The idea of a unity of the Latin-speaking races is noteworthy. On Gregory's liturgical reforms, cf. D.C.B. ii. 788–790 ; D.C.A. *s. v.* Sacramentary.

Thefts from Churches.

de ecclesia furtu] This was one of the subjects of Ethelbert's legislation ; ii. 5, p. 90, and note *a. l.* According to Theodore's Penitential, iii. 2, restitution was to be made fourfold ; H. & S. iii. 179. In Egbert's Penitential penance only is enjoined (three years in the case of a layman).

p. 50. damnis] 'Fines.' Cf. Cic. de Off. iii. 5, 'eos morte, exsilio, uinclis, *damno* coercent.' So 'magnae pecuniae dampno obnoxius erit' ; Raine's Hexham, i. 20.

quaerere] We should expect *quaerat*, and so the AS. version translates ; but there is no variation in the MSS. The Benedictine Editors read : 'lucrum de damnis quaerat.'

Prohibited degrees.

frater et soror] We should certainly read 'fratris et sororis.' But here again there is no variation in the MSS. The AS. version is ambiguous, as broðor, sweostor, may be either nom. or gen. The civil law, 'terrena lex in Romana repuplica,' varied at different times as to the legality of marriages between first cousins. On the steps by which they were forbidden in the Church, *v.* Bright, p. 58. The 'quaedam terrena lex' alluded to by Gregory is a Constitution of Arcadius and Honorius passed in 405, and permanently embodied in Justinian's Code, legalising these marriages, D.C.A. i. 486 ; and on this and the whole subject of prohibited degrees cf. ib. ii. 1725 ff.

p. 51. tertia uel quarta generatio] *i. e.* second and third cousins. It was especially as to the authenticity of this permission of Gregory that St. Boniface desired to be informed by Nothelm ; *v. s.* p. 45. There is a letter of Felix, Bishop of Messana, to Gregory himself on the subject, and Gregory in his answer explains away his permission as being a concession to a newly converted race. After they are firmly established in the faith they are to be forbidden to marry up to the seventh generation H. & S. iii. 32, 33 ; Opp. Min. pp. 239–248. The authenticity of Gregory's letter is however somewhat doubtful (H. & S. *u. s.*), and it was a subject on which the tempta-

tion to forgery was very strong after the views on consanguinity had become stricter, and Gregory's permission was felt to be a stumbling-block. In favour of the view that the permission was temporary is the fact that the English Church did not continue to make use of it. Boniface, writing in 742, says that a Synod of London had condemned marriage within the third degree as incest; H. & S. iii. 51. Theodore's Penitential says that the Greeks allowed marriage within the third degree, the Romans within the fifth, though they do not dissolve marriages when made within the fourth degree: 'ergo in quinta generatione coniungantur; in quarta, si inuenti fuerint, non separentur;' H. & S. iii. 201. (It should be noted that this tells equally against Gregory's alleged prohibition of marriages within the seventh degree, as does the fact that Gregory II, writing to St. Boniface in 726, says: 'post quartam generationem iungantur;' Mon. Mog. p. 89.) On the other hand, as late as 1015 A. D. this permission of Gregory was quoted with effect against Gerard, Bishop of Cambrai, who wished to prevent the marriage of Rainer II, Count of Hainault, with the daughter of Hermann, Count of Verdun; Pertz, vi. 469. It would be interesting to know what was the 'inlicitum coniugium' of one of the 'gesiðs' of Sigbert of Essex, which Bishop Cedd visited with excommunication; iii. 22, p. 173.

cum nouerca] It seems strange that Augustine should have thought it necessary to ask the question in view not only of the O. T. passages which Gregory cites, but of 1 Cor. v. 1. But the question caused trouble elsewhere (cf. D.C.A. ii. 1727, 1728), and perhaps difficulties like that with Eadbald, ii. 5, p. 90, may have already arisen; and Augustine may have wished to have the weight of Gregory's authority to back him; cf. the final words of the eighth question, and the first words of the answer to it.

'Cognatus.' **cognata**] 'Sister-in-law,' broðor wiif, AS. vers., as is plain from the context, and the reference to John the Baptist; so in the interrogatio above *cognatis* means brothers- and sisters-in-law. Cf. Italian 'cognato,' 'cognata.' Another clear instance of this sense is in iii. 21, p. 170. In iii. 18, p. 162, the meaning is doubtful. In ii. 12, p. 109, it is used in its ordinary sense of 'relation.' It might be suggested that the clause above, 'et sacra lex . . . reuelare' should come in here after 'fuerat facta.' Then 'cognatio' would be the abstract of 'cognatus' in this specific sense (it is so used in ii. 9, p. 97), and the reference would be to Levit. xviii. 16. But there is no MS. authority for the alteration. Cf. Iohannes Ianuensis, cited by Ducange, 'et est Leuir Cognatus, scilicet frater mariti uel uxoris.'

Iohannes Baptista] Cf. Bede himself, Opp. xi. 327 : 'Iohannes Baptista, qui non pro Christi confessione, sed pro defensione ueritatis occubuit, ideo tamen pro Christo, quia pro ueritate martyrium suscepit.' So of Abel ; Opp. v. 128. See on iii. 14, p. 157. John Baptist a martyr.

in hoc enim tempore, &c.] If Gregory had intended the regulation as to prohibited degrees to be only temporary, would he not have added some words like these ?

p. 52. an debeat . . . episcopus ordinari] Consecration by a single bishop seems to have been common in the Celtic Churches. H. & S. i. 155 ; Rs. Ad. p. 349. That it was not universal, see on iii. 22, p. 173. St. Kentigern is said to have beenconsecrated by a single bishop from Ireland 'more Britonum et Scottorum tunc temporis.' And the decision of his biographer is, 'licet consecratio Britonibus assueta sacris canonibus minus consona uideatur, non tamen uim aut effectum diuini misterii, aut episcopalis ministerii amittere comprobatur.' N. & K. p. 182 ; cf. ib. 335-340. This is evidently Gregory's view ; he regards it as valid but irregular ; Bright, pp. 58, 59, who gives the decisions of various councils on the point. Honorius was consecrated by Paulinus alone, Deusdedit by Ithamar alone, ii. 16, p. 117 ; iii. 20. Consecration by a single bishop.

et quidem . . . debeant conuenire] The text is certainly corrupt. The readings of A_2 and O_3 (see additional critical notes) improve the sense somewhat, but these and other readings are probably only the expedients of scribes and editors to emend a text which they found unintelligible. If conjectures be admitted we might put a comma after 'potes,' and a full stop after 'adsistant,' reading 'nisi' for 'nam,' and omitting the words 'nulla sit necessitas ut' altogether. The AS. version reads : 'ne meaht þu on oðre wisan biscop halgian buton oðrum biscopum. Ac þe sculon of Gallia rice biscopas cuman,' *i. e.* 'thou canst not consecrate a bishop otherwise (than) without other bishops. But bishops ought to come to thee from Gaul.' The rest of the answer is much abbreviated.

pallium] This word has various usages in ecclesiastical Latin ; the only one with which we are concerned is that which denotes a vestment bestowed by the pope on archbishops as a special mark of their rank, indicating that they represent the Roman See. The form of it varied at different times. Ultimately it became fixed to the form in which it appears in the arms of several archiepiscopal sees ; a circular band passing over the shoulders, with pendents hanging down behind and before, so that the front and back views of it present the appearance of the letter Y. It was ornamented with a varying number of purple crosses, now fixed to four. It was and is composed of the wool of lambs reared in the History of the Pallium.

convent of St. Agnes at Rome, and after it is made, it is placed for a night on the tomb of St. Peter, and then kept until required.

Originally the bestowal of the pallium had no legal significance, but was merely a general mark of honour and favour conferred at first by the emperor, then by the pope in the emperor's name, at his desire, or at least with his consent, on certain distinguished prelates. Nor was the right to bestow it confined at first to the popes, nor its reception to metropolitans. Other patriarchs conferred it upon their metropolitans; and there are instances of its reception by simple bishops. Ultimately it became one of the chief instruments whereby the popes built up the fabric of their power. They gradually established the principles (*a*) that the pallium could only be bestowed by themselves; (*b*) that its possession was necessary to the exercise of metropolitan functions, and that till it was received none of those functions could be legally performed. Hence they acquired the power of confirming the appointment of all metropolitans, and of exacting submission from them as the price of confirmation. The pallium was sometimes refused to an unworthy prelate. Thus Mauger of Rouen 'tota uita pallii usu caruit, quod negaret sedes apostolica honoris huiusce priuilegium homini qui sacratum negligebat officium;' W. M. ii. 327. It was not, however, without a struggle that these results were achieved. John VIII in 878 complains: 'cum in Galliae partibus essemus . . . unum ualde prohibendum inuenimus; metropolitae, antequam pallium a sede apostolica suscipiant, consecrationem facere praesumunt, quod antecessores et nos canonico decreto ne fieret interdiximus;' Bouquet, IX. 162. (John VIII had in the previous year, 877, in the synod of Ravenna, ordered that all metropolitans must, under pain of deprivation, apply for the pallium within three months from their consecration.) There are not many known instances of the bestowal of the pallium by popes prior to Gregory the Great. Most of the earliest cases are in connexion with the see of Arles, which bears out Gregory's words here: 'In Galliarum episcopis nullam tibi auctoritatem tribuimus; quia ab antiquis praedecessorum meorum temporibus pallium Arelatensis episcopus accepit, quem nos priuare auctoritate percepta minime debemus.' Here the bestowal of the pallium certainly involves such an increase of authority, as would make it impossible to place the recipient under the jurisdiction of another prelate; and the archbishop of Arles was in some sense primate of Gaul at this time; cf. D. C. B. iv. 1160. In i. 29, p. 63, Gregory seems certainly to treat the reception of the pallium as necessary to enable Augustine to consecrate

bishops. Pope Honorius sent pallia to Honorius of Canterbury and Paulinus of York, to enable the survivor of them to consecrate the other's successor; ii. 17, 18. Alcuin in 797 begs Leo III to send the pallium to Eanbald II of York: 'quia ualde illis in partibus sacri pallii auctoritas necessaria est ad opprimendam improborum peruersitatem, et sanctae ecclesiae auctoritatem conseruandam.' Mon. Alc. p. 359. At certain periods, especially in the eleventh century, the popes attempted to enforce the rule that archbishops must come to Rome to receive the pallium in person; and it is noteworthy that the author of the Anglo-Saxon homily on St. Gregory represents him as commanding Augustine, 'þæt his æftergengas symle þæt pallium 7 þone ereehade æt þam apostolican setle Romaniscre geladunge feccan sceoldon,' 'that his successors should always fetch the pall and archiepiscopal authority from the apostolic see of the Roman Church;' ed. Elstob, p. 34. As early as 805 the English bishops remonstrated against this claim; which certainly had no basis in the history of Canterbury and York up to that time, and they hint pretty plainly that pecuniary exaction was the papal motive; H. & S. iii. 559–561. (Gregory I, in a synod of 595, had forbidden any payment to be made for the pallium; R. P. p. 114.) From the end of the tenth century we find many archbishops of Canterbury and York going to Rome for the pallium—Ælfric, Ælfheah (Alphege), Ethelnoth, Robert, Lanfranc, of Canterbury (Sax. Chr. *s. a.* 997, 1007, 1022, 1050, 1072); Ælfric, Kinsy, Ealdred, of York (ib. 1026, 1055, 1061). So of Dunstan: 'suscepto sacerdotio, prolixa itinera *quae summis sunt sacerdotibus solita,* Romanam . . . tetendit ad urbem;' Stubbs' Dunstan, p. 38. Gregory VII refused to grant the pallium to Lanfranc and to Bruno of Verona unless they came for it; Baronius, *ad ann.* 1070; R. P. p. 407. In March, 1095, Urban II writes to Guy of Vienne: 'contra ecclesiae morem absenti tibi pallium contribuimus;' ib. 462. In the next century there was a great contest between Honorius II (1124–1130) and Anselm V, Archbishop of Milan (1126–1135), on this point. 'Papa . . . dixit . . .: si uis frui auctoritate archiepiscopi, . . . necesse est ut stolam suscipias a manibus meis ad altare Sancti Petri.' Anselm consulted Robaldo, the administrator of the see of Alba, who replied: 'quod prius sustineret nasum suum scindi usque ad oculos, quam daret sibi consilium, ut susciperet Romae stolam, et ecclesiae Mediolanensi praepararet hanc nouam et grauissimam . . . mensuram;' SS. RR. II. v. 510. The popes ultimately abandoned this pretension, and the pallium is usually sent by a papal Nuncio. There was a tendency also on the part of the popes to restrict the use of the pallium to certain

special occasions. Thus Gregory I grants it to Augustine 'ad sola missarum solemnia agenda,' i. 29. So to Vergilius of Arles; Bouquet, iv. 14. So Boniface V to Justus, ii. 8. Honorius I (625–638) decreed that metropolitans who wear their pallium 'per plateas uel in litaniis' [*i.e.* in processions], shall be deprived of it; R. P. p. 158. Nicolas I in 866 rebukes Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, for the too indiscriminate use of his pallium; ib. 249, 250. John XII in 960 grants the pallium to Dunstan to be used only on certain great festivals and other high occasions, and asserts that this had been the custom of his predecessors; Stubbs' Dunstan, p. 297. See on the whole subject Ducange, *s.v.* Pallium; D. C. A. *s. vv.* Metropolitan, Omophorion, Pallium, Pope; Bright, pp. 60, 61, 67. See also the index to vol. ii. of the Benedictine edition of Gregory the Great's Works, where many references will be found to letters of his, in which the pallium is mentioned. Very strict rules about the pallium are found in the Pontificale Romanum, ed. Venice, 1572, ff. 36, 37.

p. 53. **epistulas**] This is the letter given in c. 28.

Bishops of Britain subject to Augustine.

Brittaniarum ... omnes episcopos] The reference to the need for instruction and correction shows that Gregory is thinking mainly of the bishops of the Celtic Churches in Britain, the British, and perhaps the Irish Church at Iona. But the phrase does not refer to them exclusively; it would include all bishops consecrated by Augustine and his future colleague of York (cf. the expression in c. 29, p. 64).

Question of the Primacy.

This concession, like that of c. 29, giving Augustine authority over the occupant of the see of York, was a purely personal concession to Augustine in consideration of his great services; the ultimate arrangement was to be equal division of authority between London (eventually Canterbury) and York. Of course the partisans of the claims of Canterbury tried to interpret both as permanent concessions to that see. London and York, with their history dating from Roman times, would naturally be the cities best known to Gregory; cf. Elmham, p. 95: 'eo quod ad illud tempus alterius obscurae urbis notitia Romanos non attigisset.' Cf. H. Y. I. xxii. It was largely owing to the apostasy of Essex, ii. 5, 6, that this plan was not carried out. By the time Essex was reconverted, iii. 22, the primacy was too firmly established at Canterbury to be removed. H. & S. iii. 67; cf. ib. 51. With the substitution of Canterbury for London this arrangement, itself probably based on Severus' division of the island into the provinces of Upper and Lower Britain (cf. Bates' Northumberland, p. 30), was carried out in the case of Honorius and Paulinus, ii. 17, 18. Then came the flight of Paulinus from Northumbria, and

no northern prelate received the pallium till Egbert in 735, *infra*, p. 361, Ee. § 1, note. Hence from 633 to 735, a date beyond the limits of Bede's history, the question of the relation between the two metropolitans could not arise; Theodore quietly stepped into the vacant place, and freely exercised metropolitan jurisdiction over the whole of that part of Britain occupied by the Teutonic settlers: 'Isque primus erat in archiepiscopis, cui omnis Anglorum ecclesia manus dare consentiret;' iv. 2, p. 204; cf. iv. 5, 17. Cenulf, King of Mercia, writing to Leo III in 798, speaks as if the primacy had been fixed at Canterbury by some formal decree: 'uisum est cunctis gentis nostrae sapientibus quatenus in illa ciuitate metropolitanus honor haberetur, ubi corpore pausat, qui his partibus fidei ueritatem inseruit,' *i.e.* Augustine; H. & S. iii. 522. But it was circumstances, not any formal resolution, which fixed the primacy at Canterbury.

How far the Celtic churches at this time admitted the jurisdiction of Rome is a very obscure point. Cf. Bright, pp. 61–63, 83. The British Church emphatically rejected Augustine's authority at Augustine's Oak; ii. 2, and notes; and as long as the Celtic Churches retained their separate Easter they were treated by Rome as schismatical. See Excursus on Easter question.

p. 54. **prohibere**] 'bewered beon'; *i.e.* prohiberi, AS. vers.; a better reading, found in some MSS.

si donum . . . uideatur] 'þætte scyle þære godcundan gife wiðcweden beon,' ib., which points to a reading 'si dono . . . contradici,' &c., which certainly yields a better sense. It is difficult to get much meaning out of the text as it stands.

nullo peccati pondere grauatur] Theodore's penitential, however, forbids a woman to enter a church for forty days after childbirth; H. & S. iii. 189.

p. 55. **quoadusque . . . ablactatur**] The time fixed in Egbert's penitential is forty days; H. & S. iii. 423.

prohiberi ecclesiam intrare non debet] Here again Theodore's rule is stricter: 'Mulieres menstruo tempore non intrent in æcclesiam neque commonicent, nec sanctimoniales, nec laicae;' H. & S. iii. 188, 189.

p. 56. **sanctae . . . communionis**] See last note.

religiosae uitae] This would seem to show that Gregory is thinking mainly of nuns; cf. last note but one.

p. 57. **nec . . . culpam deputamus esse coniugium**] Cf. Theodore, *u. s.*, where marriage seems to be distinctly treated as sinful, and penance is enjoined for it. Bede's own view is that of Gregory. The command 'be fruitful and multiply' was given by God, 'ne

Marriage and Virginity

quis honorabili connubio inesse peccatum . . . putaret,' Opp. vii. 22 ; cf. x. 116. Those who forbid marriage are 'maledictione digni,' vii. 26. Yet he regards continence (*i. e.* the abstinence of widowed persons from further marriage), and still more virginity, as a higher estate than marriage. 'In infimo habitat pudicitia coniugalis, supra uidualis, atque hac superior uirginalis,' vii. 102 ; cf. ib. 26, 208, 254, 255 ; ix. 107, 133 ; xi. 189 ; xii. 224, 225, 368. Yet virginity is not to be regarded as the whole of virtue : 'quia nil castimoniae custodia absque aliorum augmento bonorum ualeat,' vii. 346 ; viii. 282 ; x. 324. (Aldhelm's views are very similar, though more rhetorically expressed ; Opp., ed. Giles, pp. 10, 14, 15, 20.) It is hard to see how any one can condemn Bede's views on this subject without also condemning St. Paul, 1 Cor. vii. 25–40. The only point in which Bede differs from St. Paul is where, as in iv. 19, he commends the withdrawal of one party from the marriage bond *without* the consent of the other. This is in flat contradiction of 1 Cor. vii. 1–7, and is clearly unscriptural ; cf. M. & L. on iv. 19. It is noteworthy that Bede, following Jerome (Aduersus Heluidium, *sub fin.*), maintains the perpetual virginity not merely of Mary, but also of Joseph : 'nos . . . absque ullius scrupulo quaestionis scire et confiteri oportet, non tantum beatam Dei genitricem, sed et beatissimum castitatis eius testem atque custodem Ioseph ab omni prorsus actione coniugali mansisse semper immunem ;' Opp. v. 405 ; cf. ib. 385 ; x. 54, 83.

p. 58. ecce enim, &c.] Bede quotes this verse in the same form, Opp. vii. 388 ; x. 291. The text as commonly printed alters 'delictis peperit' into 'peccatis concepit' in conformity with the Vulgate. The reading of the text is that of the Roman Psalter ; see on v. 19.

portat] 'portat arbor,' several MSS.

oportet . . . copulam] A verb seems wanting after 'oportet.'

p. 59. abstinere] The AS. version inserts from the Bible narrative : 'þæt heo heora hrægl woosce 7 clænsode,' 'that they should wash and cleanse their garments, and abstain, &c.'

per sacerdotem dicitur] Cf. Bede on this passage, Opp. viii. 144, 145.

post inlusionem] Cf. Opp. viii. 134 ; Egbert's Penitential, ix. 6 ff. ; H. & S. iii. 425, 426 ; Vita Fursei, i. 17 ; Cod. Salmant., col. 91.

lotum . . . ei] Anacoluthic. Perhaps he had *sinit* or some similar word in his mind in beginning the sentence.

p. 60. nescientem pertulisse . . . quam fecisse] So Bede, of Lot : 'tale scelus . . . nesciens pertulit, magis quam fecit,' Opp. vii. 211.

Three modes of sin.

p. 61. tribus . . . modis] Bede, on James i. 15, 16, follows Gregory very closely. 'Tribus modis tentatio agitur ; suggestione, delecta-

tione, consensu. Suggestione hostis, delectatione autem, uel etiam consensu nostrae fragilitatis. Quod si, hoste suggerente, delectari aut consentire peccato nolumus, tentatio ipsa nobis ad uictoriam prouenit . . . Si uero . . . hostis suggestione . . . in uitio incipimus illicite delectari, delectando quidem offendimus, sed necdum lapsum mortis incurrimus. At si delectationem concepti corde facinoris etiam partus prauae sequitur actionis, nobis iam mortis reis uictor hostis abscedit,' Opp. xii. 164, 165 ; cf. x. 81, 82 (in Marc. ; repeated xi. 87, 88 in Luc.). In the Moralia, iv. 49, Gregory adds a fourth mode of sin : 'defensionis audacia.' I owe the reference to Moberly.

semen] This correction (*v.* critical notes) is strongly supported by Bede, Opp. vii. 60, 'semen [diaboli] est peruersa suggestio.' It was also suggested by Stevenson.

CHAPTER 28.

This chapter is not in the AS. vers., nor is the heading in the Capitula.

P. 62. commemorat] i. 27, p. 53.

Uergilium . . . successorem] *v.* note on i. 27, p. 48.

sacerdotum] A comparison with c. 27, pp. 52, 53, shows that 'Sacerdos.' here as often 'sacerdos' means bishop ; as its derivatives 'sacerdotalis,' 'sacerdotium' often mean 'episcopal,' 'episcopal office.' This is certainly the case, i. 24 ; i. 29, p. 64 ; ii. 2, p. 82 ('biscopum,' AS. vers.) ; ii. 4, p. 88 ; ii. 17, p. 119 ; ii. 18, p. 120 ; iii. 5, p. 137 ('biscope') ; iii. 27, p. 193 ('biscophad,' cf. v. 22, p. 346) ; iv. 17, p. 238 ('biscopa'). So iii. 27, p. 140, 'sacerdotali iure' ('on biscoplicum onwealde') ; 'sacerdotalis cura,' ii. 10, p. 101, of the pope. In many cases the AS. vers. retains the Latin word 'sacerd,' which is of course ambiguous like the original. It means, however, bishop in the following cases : iii. 17, p. 161 ; iii. 21, p. 171 (though just before, p. 170, 'sacerdotes,' 'sacerdotibus' occur, meaning presbyters) ; iv. 5, p. 215, 'consacerdos,' of various bishops. In iii. 23, p. 176, four brothers are mentioned who were priests, 'sacerdotes' ('sacerdas'), two of whom became bishops, 'summi sacerdotii gradu functi' ('biscopas'). [In a passage cited above, p. 51, 'summi sacerdotes' are archbishops.] On the other hand 'sacerdos' clearly means presbyter in the following cases : i. 27, pp. 59, 60 ('sacerd') ; iv. 25, p. 263 ; v. 6, p. 291 ; v. 10, p. 300 ; v. 19, p. 325 ('mæsse preost') ; iv. 14, p. 233 ; v. 21, p. 344 (not translated in AS. vers.). In iv. 27, p. 269, 'sacerdos,' as applied to Boisil, is translated 'mæsse preost' by the AS. vers. Ælfric, however, understood it

the other way; see note on iv. 28, p. 272. The meaning is doubtful in ii. 9, p. 98 (not translated); iii. 3, p. 132; iii. 19, p. 166 ('sacerdhad'). In iii. 30 *ad fin.* it seems to include both bishops and priests. In ii. 2, p. 84, 'sacerdotes' is expanded in the AS. vers. into 'sacerdas, 7 biscopas, 7 munecas,' 'priests, and bishops, and monks.' At the Council of Estrefeld in 702 x 703, Wilfrid's enemies endeavoured to induce him to promise that he would retire to Ripon, 'nec aliquid sacerdotalis officii attingeret,' *i. e.* 'and not attempt to discharge any episcopal function,' H. Y. i. 68; a passage which Canon Raine has misunderstood. A good instance of this meaning is Vita Fursei, i. 19; Cod. Salmant., col. 92: 'Populus contra regentem erigitur, clerus contra sacerdotem, monachi contra abbatem.'

die X . . . XIX] *i. e.* June 22, 601.

CHAPTER 29.

P. 63. cum praefatis legatariis] *i. e.* Laurentius and Peter, *v.* i. 27, p. 48, note.

Rufinianus. **primi et praecipui**] Of all these except Rufinianus we shall hear again in Bede. Elmham wrongly speaks of Rufinianus as accompanying Augustine and the first mission to Britain. He afterwards became abbot of SS. Peter and Paul's (or St. Augustine's) monastery, ib. 148, 150. He is said to have died 626, ib. 153, and his epitaph is given ib. 154.

MSS. sent by Gregory. **uniuersa . . . codices plurimos**] A list of these gifts is in Elmham, pp. 96 102; but 'is too late in date to be of any authority,' H. & S. iii. 60. On the strength of this list two MSS., Bodl. Auct. D. ii. 14, and C.C.C.C. 286, both copies of the Gospels, have been thought to belong to Gregory's benefaction; Elmham, pp xxv xxvii; Bosworth, Anglo-Saxon Gospels, p. x; H. & S. *u. s.* But the former was pronounced by Mr. Coxe to be not earlier than 650, Bright, p. 68. These 'codices plurimi' Elmham speaks of as 'primitiae librorum totius ecclesiae Anglicanae'; an interesting remark, which cannot, however, be literally true. Augustine must have brought some books with him, one of which, according to King Alfred, was Gregory's Pastoral Care, see on ii. 1; and Egbert in his Dialogue says that the English Church kept the first Ember Fast, 'ut noster didascalus beatus Gregorius in suo Antiphonario et Missali Libro, per pedagogum nostrum beatum Augustinum transmisit ordinatum et rescriptum;' H. & S. iii. 411; cf. ib. 412. A passage in a spurious charter of Ethelbert speaks of Augustine having deposited some at

least of Gregory's gifts in the monastery of SS. Peter and Paul (St. Augustine's). The tradition may be true, though the charter is spurious; K. C. D. No. 4; Birch, No. 6; H. & S. iii. 55.

sacerdotalia] 'episcopal,' *v.* c. 28, note.

quarum litterarum] This letter is cited by Bede, Ee. § 9, pp. 412, 413; it is omitted in the AS. vers.

pallii] See note on c. 27, p. 52.

p. 64. quem tamen . . . subiacere] This, however, as the next words show, was a purely personal grant to Augustine. On this and on the primacy question generally *v.* note on c. 27, p. 53. Primacy.

die X . . . anno XVIIII] Cf. the reference to this letter in Bede, Chron. Opp. vi. 323, Opp. Min. p. 194: 'Gregorius XVIII anno Mauricii indictione IIII scribens Augustino, Londini quoque et Eboraci episcopos, accepto a sede apostolica pallio metropolitanos esse debere decernit.' The eighteenth year of Maurice would give 600 A.D., which is clearly wrong, and inconsistent with the indiction; Stevenson reads 'decimo nono.' Cenulf, King of Mercia, cites this letter, when writing to Leo III in 798 with reference to the attempts of Offa to diminish the rights of Canterbury by converting Lichfield into a metropolitan see for Mercia. Date.

CHAPTER 30.

This chapter is not in the AS. vers., nor is the heading in the Capitula.

quam studiose . . . inuigilauerit] Cf. ii. 1, p. 79: 'tam sedulam erga salutem nostrae gentis curam gesserit;' cf. App. I. § 9.

p. 65. quid diu mecum . . . tractaui] There is an interesting letter of Daniel, Bishop of Winchester, to St. Boniface, advising him how to argue with his Gentile hearers, 'non insultando uel inritando eos, sed placide et magna moderatione;' Mon. Mog. pp. 71–74; H. & S. iii. 304–306. Bede himself, in his Exposition of the Acts, has some excellent remarks on the treatment of heathenism by Christian preachers. Commenting on St. Paul's speech at Athens (Acts xvii. 16 ff.), he points out how wisely he sets out from the unity and omnipotence of the Creator, and thence deduces the unreasonableness of idolatry, instead of attacking it directly: 'nam si primo destruere uoluisset ceremonias idolorum, aures gentium respuissent.' He shows with what tact St. Paul adduces the authority of Aratus, an authority which his hearers recognised, 'de falsis ipsorum, quibus contradicere non poterant, sua uera confirmans,' instead of arguing from the prophets to those, 'qui pro- Treatment of heathenism by Christian missionaries.

phetarum fidem non recipiebant.' 'Magnae quippe scientiae est. dare in tempore cibaria conseruis, et audientium considerare personas ;' Opp. xii. 70–72. (The letter of Boniface V to Edwin, ii. 10. violates this wise rule in the most fatuous manner.) At the same time Bede, speaking of the circumcision of Timothy by St. Paul, Acts xvi. 1 ff., remarks truly that, though the Apostles often conformed to the 'umbrae legales, quasi a Domino aliquando constitutae,' yet 'gentilis institutio, ut uere a Satana reperta, nunquam a sanctis est attacta' ; ib. 67. The difficulty is one of the most serious that Christian missionaries have to solve. It is probable that they have erred more often on the side of compromise than of iconoclasm. The way in which heathen practices and modes of thought continue to subsist alongside of, and enter into composition with popular Christianity, is a most fruitful subject for study ; cf. D. C. A. ii. 1542, and an interesting note in N. & K. pp. 315-318). The degree to which this is the case will depend very much on the period at which a people is converted, on the question whether their conversion is the result of individual conviction or of mere wholesale conformity, on the strength of the popular heathenism at the time, on the tact and courage of their teachers. Sometimes the heathen nature of these practices is dimly realised, and they are carefully kept out of view. Sometimes they are done openly, their real meaning having been utterly forgotten, or being veiled under a thin disguise of Christianity. (Thus the Council of Ratisbon in 742 complains of various ceremonies : 'quas stulti homines iuxta ecclesias ritu pagano faciunt, sub nomine sanctorum martyrum uel, confessorum ;' H. & S. iii. 385 ; *v.* next note, and note on ii. 15.) It is usually assumed that this letter, sent after Mellitus had started, indicates that Gregory had radically changed his view since writing the letter to Ethelbert in c. 32, which Mellitus took with him. I do not think that this is certain. Gregory might well urge on Ethelbert the desirability of destruction, and on Augustine the need for caution and compromise. In Kent the final steps were taken by Ethelbert's grandson, Erconbert, iii. 8. On the need of royal assistance to put down idolatry, cf. St. Boniface to Daniel, bishop of Winchester : 'sine patrocinio principis Francorum nec . . . presbiteros . . . defendere possum, nec ipsos paganorum ritus et sacrilegia idolorum . . . sine illius mandato et timore prohibere ualeo ;' H. & S. iii. 344 ; Mon. Mog. p. 159 ; cf. the procedure of Wilbrord, v. 11, note. In Northumbria the temples were destroyed, if we may judge from ii. 13, p. 113. A contrary instance, and one in conformity with Gregory's principles as stated here, would be the case of Ethelbert's idol fane outside the

Contamination of Christianity by heathenism.

walls of Canterbury, converted by Augustine into the Church of St. Pancras, if the Canterbury tradition may be trusted; Thorn, col. 1760; Elmham, pp. 79–81; Stanley, Memorials of Canterbury, pp. 37, 38. In this policy of compromise, papal Rome perhaps inherited something from heathen Rome, which readily equated the gods of other peoples with members of her own pantheon; cf. Scarth, *u. s.* p. 233.

fana idolorum] Nothing in the religious observances of the Jews struck the classical world with greater astonishment than the absence of any sculptured representation of the Deity (see Schürer, Gesch. d. jüdischen Volkes, ii. 551 ff.). Tacitus in a well-known passage, Germ. c. 9, attributes the same peculiarity to the Germans: 'ceterum nec cohibere parietibus deos, neque in ullam humani oris speciem assimulare ex magnitudine caelestium arbitrantur; . . . deorumque nominibus appellant secretum illud quod sola reuerentia uident.' (Cf. Hdt. i. 131, of the Persians.) Whatever may have been the case in Tacitus' time, this had certainly ceased to be true of our Saxon forefathers in the sixth century. We constantly hear of idols and idolatry in all the Saxon kingdoms—Kent, i. 30, 32; ii. 6; Essex, ii. 5; iii. 22, 30; Northumbria, ii. 10, 11, 13; iii. 1; East Anglia, ii. 15; Mercia, ii. 20; Sussex, iv. 13; v. 19; of the Saxons generally, ii. 1. We could have wished that Bede had told us more about these Saxon deities; but doubtless he would have thought it worse than idle to do so. In the De Temp. Ratione, c. 15, he does tell us of two Saxon goddesses, Rheda and Eostre, who gave their names to the months of March and April. Kent, as it was the first kingdom to be converted, so it was the first in which idolatry was forbidden by law under Erconbert, iii. 8. We hear of 'fana' or heathen temples, i. 30, 32; ii. 10, 11, 13, 15; iii. 30; of heathen sacrifices, i. 30; ii. 15. Ethelbert will not meet Augustine in a house for fear of magic arts, i. 25; the practice of augury is mentioned in ii. 10, 11, and charms and incantations in iv. 22, 27. Cf. the striking scene in Eddius, c. 13, where Wilfrid returning from Gaul after his consecration, is driven on to the coast of Sussex, and assailed by the heathen inhabitants: 'stans quoque princeps sacerdotum idolatriae . . . in tumulo excelso . . . maledicere populum Dei, et suis magicis artibus manus eorum alligare nitebatur.' The evidence of the Laws and Penitentials shows how hard these customs died; some of them indeed have survived to our own day (see last note). The following references do not go beyond the eighth century, because later enactments may be concerned with heathen customs introduced by the Danes. Theodore's Penitential (668 × 690) forbids sacrifice to idols, and various forms of divination and augury;

Anglo-Saxon heathenism.

H. & S. iii. 188–190. The Council of Clovesho (747) forbids: 'paganas obseruationes, id est diuinos, sortilegos, auguria, auspicia, fylacteria, incantationes, siue omnes spurcitias impiorum, gentiliumque errata,' ib. 364; cf. the very similar enactment of the Council of Ratisbon, held under St. Boniface in 742, ib. 385, cited above, p. 58. Among criminals who are never to be ordained, or if ordained are to be deposed, the dialogue of Egbert (732 × 766) enumerates 'idola . . . adorantes, per aruspices et . . . incantatores captiuos se diabolo tradentes,' ib. 410. Egbert's Penitential, in addition to sacrifice to idols, augury and divination, condemns 'emissores tempestatum,' ib. 420; and those 'qui . . . quarumcunque scripturarum inspectione futura promittunt, uel uotum uouerit in arbore, uel in qualibet re excepto ecclesiam; . . . uel V. feriam in honore Iouis, uel kalendas Ianuarias secundum paganam causam honora[uerit],' ib. 424. To much the same effect the legatine synod of 787, ib. 449, 458, 459. Kemble, Saxons, i. 523 ff., has collected some of the provisions of the secular law on this subject, but the only ones which fall within the limits named above are those of Witred of Kent, 696, against sacrifice to idols. On Saxon heathenism, cf. Kemble, *u. s.* pp. 327–444; and on witchcraft, &c. generally, Sir A. Lyall's interesting essay in his Asiatic Studies.

'Altare' and 'ara.'

altaria] Christian altars, as opposed to the heathen 'arae.' Bede always observes this distinction; thus 'arae' of heathen altars, i. 7, p. 19; ii. 13, *ad fin.*; iii. 30, *ad fin.*; 'altaria' of Christian altars, i. 15, *ad fin.* Only once is 'altaria' used of heathen altars, and then in the mouth of a heathen, ii. 13, *sub fin.* In ii. 15, the two things are instructively contrasted: 'altare ad sacrificium Christi, et arulam ad uictimas daemoniorum.'

Relics

reliquiae ponantur] On relics regarded as essential to the consecration of a church, cf. D. C. A. i. 431; ii. 1774, 1775. On relics generally, ib. 1768 ff. Relics were among the things sent by Gregory to Augustine by Mellitus, c. 29. Cf. the interesting parallel of Wilbrord in Frisia, v. 11, p. 301.

natalicii] *v.* Introduction, pp. lxvii, lxviii, *infr.* v. 24, p. 359.

Religious syncretism.

sollemnitatem celebrent] Cf. an interesting passage in the De Temp. Rat. c. 12; Opp. vi. 174, where Bede distinctly approves of the conversion of the lustrations of the Lupercalia into the Candlemas ceremonies of the same month of February. So in Syria the cultus of the sun-god Ἥλιος was transformed into that of the prophet Ἠλίας; Schürer, *u. s.* ii. 20, 21; and Welsh saints named Mabon are possibly only the Celtic Apollo Maponos in a Christian garb; Rhŷs, C. B. p. 302. On the transference of heathen myths and folk-tales to the ecclesiastical sphere, *v.* Introduction, p. lxiv.

gradibus . . . non . . . saltibus] This is a truth on which Bede is very fond of dwelling: 'paulatim deficere ad uitia, sicut et ad uirtutes proficere solet animus humanus,' Opp. viii. 133; 'nemo repente fit summus,' vii. 315; xi. 241; cf. ib. 188, and fq.

se quidem innotuit] 'siquidem' in H. H. p. 71. The change was probably made through not observing that *innotesco* is here used transitively; a sense noted by Salmasius, as cited in Andrewes' Dictionary. 'Innotesco' transitive.

solebat] *i. e.* 'populus,' though 'eis' has intervened.

ipsa . . . ipsa] = the same.

p. 66. Iuliarum] This word is omitted by two out of the four oldest MSS., M and N, and is clearly wrong, as it would make this letter earlier, instead of later, than those which Mellitus took with him. Probably the scribe carelessly copied 'Iuliarum' from the date of one of the other letters, or ignorantly inserted it, finding the month omitted in his archetype. But unless we are prepared to give up the whole date, it is not true that 'there are no means of correcting it,' H. & S. iii. 38. The last day of the nineteenth year of Maurice was Aug. 12, 601. 'Augustarum' therefore is the only possible correction, a correction actually made by O_1, followed by O_{10}; the true date is July 18, and the question of the indiction mercifully does not come in. Date.

CHAPTER 31.

This chapter is not in the AS. vers. nor in the Capitula.

Quo in tempore misit] *i. e.* the letter was *sent* with Mellitus, though it may have been *written* earlier. The Benedictine editors note that in some collections it is dated Jan. 1, but without any year or indiction. Bede only gives extracts from the letter. The whole is in H. & S. iii. 14–17. It begins and ends with the 'Gloria in excelsis,' and in the portions omitted by Bede, Gregory warns Augustine, firstly by the example of Moses, secondly by the fact that many who can say 'Domine . . . in tuo nomine multas uirtutes fecimus,' will hear at the last day the sentence 'recedite a me;' cf. iii. 25, p. 187. The true 'sign' is 'si dilectionem habueritis ad inuicem,' John xiii. 35. On Augustine's miracles, cf. *sup.* c. 26, p. 47, note; H. & S. iii. 36. Date and contents of the letter.

CHAPTER 32.

P. 67. Misit . . . eodem tempore] *i. e.* with Mellitus.

exemplar] The letter is omitted in the AS. vers.

p. 68. fanorum aedificia euerte] *v.* note on c. 30.

'Quisquis' and 'quisque.'

quaeque uos ammonet] 'Quisque' for 'quisquis' as commonly in the Latinity of this period; *e. g.* ii. 4, p. 88; iii. 11, p. 150; iii. 19, *ad fin.* The confusion probably arose in the first instance from the similarity of the plurals 'quaequae' and 'quaeque,' which in many MSS. would be indistinguishable, and then spread from the plural to the singular; 'quisquis' is, however, used quite correctly, v. 21, p. 334.

Belief in the approaching end of the world.

p. 69. adpropinquante . . . mundi termino] So Gregory in a letter to the clergy of Milan, dated April, 593; Jaffé, R. P. p. 103; and in one to Venantius, Aug. 599, ib. 135. So Bede himself: 'huius mysteria lectionis et hodie . . . innumera per loca compleri uidemus et audimus; sed appropinquante mundi termino, crescentibus malorum cumulis, magis magisque complenda . . . tremula expectatione formidamus,' Opp. viii. 217; and on Luke xiv. 17, 'quid hora coenae nisi finis est mundi? in quo nimirum nos sumus,' xi. 199; cf. vii. 35; ix. 295; Mon. Mog. p. 307. Charters frequently begin with the words 'Appropinquante iam mundi termino,' or similar phrases; *e. g.* K. C. D. Nos. 11, 128, 672; Birch, Nos. 37, 205; spurious charters probably, but the phrase would not have been inserted had it not been characteristic of genuine documents. In the Formulae Marculfi, and in the Formulae Veteres Sirmondicae, the formula for the 'donatio ecclesiae' begins: 'mundi terminum adpropinquantem ruinis crebrescentibus iam certa signa manifestant. Ideirco, &c.'; Bouquet, iv. 487, 523; cf. H. H. p. xix. About the year 1000 A. D. the belief that the end of the world was near was very strong, it being thought that that year would mark the end of the thousand years of Rev. xx. 2, 3, 7; cf. Wulfstan's homilies, ed. Napier, pp. 18, 19, 25, 79, 91, 92, 95, 151, 156, 189, 191, 192, 202, 272, 297, and especially ib. 83, 243, where Rev. xx. 7 is expressly cited. For other references, cf. Napier's dissertation on Wulfstan, pp. 64, 65.

immutationes aeris] Cf. Vit. Pros. Cudb. c. 27, 'nonne uidetis . . . quam mire mutatus ac turbatus sit aer,' Opp. Min. p. 102, and iv. 3, pp. 210, 211.

de animabus . . . praeparati] How consonant this is to Bede's own cast of thought is shown in Introduction, pp. lxvi, lxvii.

suspecti] 'alert,' 'expectant,' cf. i. 15.

Presents sent by Gregory.

parua . . . exenia] The charter cited above, c. 29, professes to give a list of these presents, and says that Ethelbert gave them to the monastery of SS. Peter and Paul: 'missurium . . . argenteum, scapton aureum, . . . sellam cum fraeno, armilcaisia oloserica, camisiam ornatam, quod mihi xenium de domino papa Gregorio

. . . directum fuerat.' Here again a true tradition may be embodied, or it may be an invention based on c. 33 : 'diuersis donis ditauit,' p. 70. With the list of presents, cf. ii. 10, 11, *ad fin.* pp. 104, 106. At the same time with this letter to Ethelbert, Gregory sent one to his wife Bertha, thanking her for her kindness to Augustine, of which he had heard from Laurentius and Peter, and saying that her good deeds had reached not only to the ears of the Romans, but even to the Emperor at Constantinople; H. & S. iii. 17, 18; Opp. Min. p. 251.

CHAPTER 33.

P. 70. ut praediximus] c. 26, *ad fin.*

in nomine . . . sacrauit] This is Christ Church, Canterbury. According to MS. F of the Saxon Chr. *s. a.* 995, the dedication took place on the mass-day of SS. Primus and Felicianus, June 9, after the return of the emissaries who brought Gregory's responsa, c. 27. This MS. of the Chronicle is very late (twelfth century), but being a Canterbury book it may preserve a true tradition as to the date. If so, the dedication cannot be earlier than 602, as the messengers did not leave Rome till after June 22, 601 : *v. s.* on c. 27. June 9 was a Sunday in 603, which might point to that year. The further story that Ethelbert sent special messengers of his own with those of Augustine, to consult Gregory as to whether the new church should be filled with clerks or monks, and that the pope, to his great joy, decided in favour of monks, bears too obviously the mark of later controversies to be worth anything. The statement that the Church was dedicated 'in the name of Christ *and St. Mary*,' may also be a later development. Cf. my edition of the Chron. I. xii. 128, 129, 285, 286. On the original Christ Church, Canterbury, cf. Stanley, Memorials, pp. 39 ff.; Bright, pp. 53, 54. Foundation of Christ Church, Canterbury.

monasterium] This is the monastery better known by its later name of St. Augustine's. As being intended for a burial place it had to be outside the city. Elmham's work so often cited is a history of this monastery, to which he belonged; cf. especially pp. 77, 81, 83, 111, 115, 117, 118; Stanley, pp. 41–43; Bright, pp. 91, 92. St. Augustine's, Canterbury.

poni corpora possent. Quam . . . consecrauit] *v. inf.* on ii. 3, p. 86; v. 8, p. 294. There is a spurious bull professing to be addressed by Boniface IV to Ethelbert in 611 on this subject; H. & S. iii. 67–69; from Elmham, pp. 129–131; cf. the spurious charter, ib. p. 319.

Petrus presbiter] He had been one of Augustine's messengers to Gregory; c. 27, and notes. It was perhaps on some similar Abbot Peter.

errand that he met his death, which is said to have taken place in 607; Elmham, p. 126, who also gives his epitaph. There is a life of him by Eadmer in MS. C. C. C. C 371, f. 416; Hardy, Cat. i. 206, 207. Elmham cites a life of Peter, probably Eadmer's, p. 111. His day is given as Jan. 6 in some authorities; in others as Dec. 30. AA. SS. Jan. i. 334; Mab. AA. SS. ii. 1.

Ambleteuse. **Amfleat**] Ambleteuse, a little north of Boulogne. Here James II landed in 1689 on his flight from England.

Heavenly light. p. 71. **lux caelestis**] Cf. the similar miracles in the case of Oswald, iii. 11, p. 148; and of the two Hewalds, v. 10, p. 300; cf. S. D. ii. 8. These legends are perhaps only an exaggeration of a natural phenomenon. Cf. Raine's Hexham, i. 40.

Bononia] Boulogne, in the Church of St. Mary; Elmham, p. 126.

CHAPTER 34.

This fragment of Northumbrian history comes in rather awkwardly in the midst of the account of the conversion of South-Eastern Britain. It would have come in better before ii. 9, in connexion with the mission to Northumbria. But Bede no doubt wished to prepare the way for the connexion of Ethelfrid with the fulfilment of Augustine's prophecy in ii. 2, pp. 83–85.

Ethelfrid. **Aedilfrid . . . Brettonum**] This character of Ethelfrid as a cruel enemy of the Britons has survived in a curious way in Welsh tradition. The Triads represent him as a cannibal. Cf. Rhŷs, Arthurian Legend, pp. 73, 74; D. C B. ii. 222, 223. The pedigrees in Nennius, § 57, call him Ædlfred Flesaur, an epithet the meaning of which is unknown. Henry of Huntingdon speaks as if 'ferus,' 'the fierce,' had become his standing epithet; pp. 54, 78. Cf. W. M.'s rhetorical amplification of Bede, i. 46–48, and the character given of him in the twelfth-century life of St. Oswald; S. D. i. 362, 363. Mr. Skene, C. S. i. 236, 237, gives the extent of his dominions; but he cites no authority.

tribunis] 'aldormonna,' 'aldermen,' AS. vers.

Aedan mac Gabrain. **Aedan . . . inhabitant**] *i.e.* Aedan mac Gabrain, King of the Dalriadic colony of Scots or Irish, which settled in Alba c. 500 A.D.; *v.s.* c. 1, note. About 560 the Scottish (Irish) colonists under Gabran, the father of Aedan, seem to have experienced a severe check at the hands of the Picts, Gabran himself apparently being slain; Tigh. *sub anno.* Aedan, who came to the throne in 574, re-established their power. He was the first of the Dalriadic princes of Alba who underwent a solemn ecclesiastical inauguration. This he received at the hands of Columba, Abbot of Iona;

a fact which illustrates the conventual and non-episcopal organisation of the Irish Church at this time (see on iii. 3, 4). Columba, it is said, acted in obedience to a direct revelation, being himself in favour of Eogan, Aedan's brother, whose death is mentioned by Tighernach, *sub anno* 595; Rs. Ad. pp. 197–199. He was also the first prince who made himself independent of the mother-country.

According to the traditional account preserved in the preface to the Amra Coluimcille (elegy on Columba), by Dallan mac Forgaill (in LU. facs. pp. 5 ff.; Rawl. B. 502, ff. 54a–56a, MSS. of the eleventh century, but made up of earlier materials), an arrangement was come to at the convention of Druim Cett in 574, partly through the mediation of Columba, by which the Dalriads in Alba were freed from tribute to the king of Ireland, but continued liable to military service; cf. Rs. Ad. pp. 37, 92. We find Aedan giving hostages to Baedan mac Carell, king of Ulster; P. & S. pp. 127–129. It is probably in consequence of these two facts, the ecclesiastical coronation and the emancipation from the mother-country, that some later authorities speak of Aedan as the first to establish a monarchy in Britain, *e. g.* Vita Tripart. p. 162; P. & S. p. cxii. He certainly is not the first who bears the title of king, as Dr. Reeves seems to imply; Adamn. p. 436; cf. Tigh., *sub ann.* 505, 538, 560, 574. Aedan was evidently an enterprising and aggressive prince. We find him making an expedition to the Orkneys in 579 or 580, Ann. Ult.; to Man in 582 or 583; Tigh., cf. P. & S. pp. 167, 345, 401. He fought a battle at Leithrig in 590, Tigh., cf. P. & S. p. 345, the result of which is not stated, and the locality of which is not known; and one in Circhend, in 596, in which four of his sons were slain, and he himself defeated according to Tigh.; though Adamnan says that he was victorious, 'quamlibet infelix'; ed. Reeves, pp. 33–36 and notes; if the two accounts are rightly referred to the same event. On the importance of this struggle, *v.* Rhŷs, Rhind Lectures, pp. 62–64, 78, 86, 90, 91; cf. also S. C. S. i. 143, 160–163, 229, 239; P. & S. pp. cix–cxii; Rhŷs, C. B. p. 170. It was inevitable that Aedan should be alarmed at the growing power of Elthelfrid, and try to check it. But the result was disastrous to himself. His death is placed in 605 by the Ann. Ult.; in 606 by Tigh. and Chron. Scottorum; in 607 by Ann. Camb.; cf. Rhŷs, Rhind Lectures, pp. 84–87.

Aedan figures largely in Irish tradition. There is a curious Irish tale about his birth in Rawl. B. 502, f. 47 b, which exists, as far as I know, nowhere else. A lost tale called 'Echtra Aedain mic Gabrain,' 'The adventures of Aedan, son of Gabran,' is cited in an ancient list of tales printed by O'Curry, MS. Materials, p. 589. In

Welsh tradition he is known as 'Aeddan Fradwr o'r Gogledd,' 'Aedan the traitor of the North,' one of the three traitors (with Ethelfrid himself and the mythical Gwrgi) through whom the Cymry lost the crown of the Isle of Britain ; Triads, iii. 45.

Battle of Degsastan.

Degsastán] Probably Dawston, in Liddesdale ; S. C. S. i. 162, 163. Dalston near Carlisle has also been suggested, but philology is against this. (Cf. the form 'Daisastan' in some of the later MSS.) It is just possible that the name Degsastan may be due to the battle, and be a corruption of 'æt Ægðanes stane,' 'at Aedan's stone' ; cf. the form of the name in Chron. 603, MSS. B. C. 'æt Egesan stane.' Pearson, Historical Maps, suggests Theekstone, north of Ripon ; and Mr. Bates, Dissington, north-west of Newcastle ; History of Northumberland, p. 53 ; cf. Bright, p. 85.

in qua . . . peremtus est] Tighernach's entry of the battle is as follows : '*Cath* (praelium) Saxanum *la* (per) h-Ædan, ubi cecidit Eanfraich frater Etalfraich *la* Maeluma mac Baedain, in quo uictus erat' ; *s.a.* 600. He evidently confuses Theodbald, Ethelfrid's brother (slain, as Bede relates), with Eanfrid, his eldest son ; iii. 1, p. 127. The presence of Maeluma, evidently a son of the Baedan, king of Ulster, mentioned above (cf. F. M. 606 ; Ann. Ult. 609 for Maeluma's death ; on his name cf. Rhŷs, Rhind Lectures, pp. 27, 28), shows that Aedan had help from the mother-country ; and Degsastan was to some extent an anticipation of Brunanburh ; especially if there is any truth in the tradition preserved by Fordun, iii. 30, that Aedan was allied with the Britons under a king Malgo [Maelgwn]. And it may have been Aedan's loss of this battle which caused him to be regarded in Welsh tradition as one of 'the three base traitors of the Isle of Britain' ; Triads, *u. s.* Sig. Gembl. confuses this battle with that of Chester, and places it in 615. His entry, 'Edilfridus . . . regem Scottorum Ean . . . in bello extinguit,' is interesting for the phonetic writing of Aedan's name ; Pertz, vi. 322.

Chronology of Ethelfrid's reign.

p. 72. quod . . . perfecit] If the battle took place in 603 in Ethelfrid's eleventh year, we must place his accession in 592 or 593, and his death in 616 or 617 ; ii. 14, p. 113, would place his death between April, 616, and April, 617 ; ii. 20, *ad init.*, taken strictly, would fix it to 616 ; 593 and 617 are the dates given in the Sax. Chron. MS. E., which makes a curious addition to Bede's account of the battle ; *v.* note *a. l.*

Focatis] Phocas succeeded Nov. 2, 601 ; Gibbon.

regum Scottorum] This must be interpreted strictly of the kings of the Dalriadic colony ; *v.* c. 1, note. It would not, of course, be true of the kings of the Picts ; *v. infra*, iv. 26.

Divisions of Books.

There does not seem any very natural reason for dividing the

books here. But as Bede says, twice quoting St. Augustine: 'Nescio quo enim modo, ut Augustinus ait, ita libri termino reficitur lectoris intentio, sicut labor uiatoris hospitio,' Opp. x. 374; xii. 341; cf. xi. 52: 'Historia quae tertii nostri . . . caput est libri, etsi ob laborem legentium minuendum a nouo inchoatur exordio, rerum tamen nectura secundi libri finem respicit'; and Dante, Conv. iv. 4, *ad fin.*: 'li lunghi capitoli sono nemici della memoria.'

BOOK II. CHAPTER 1.

Gregory's date.

P. 73. **His temporibus**] On the date of Gregory's accession and death see i. 23, p. 42, note. It is noteworthy that the Annales Laureshamenses and the Chronicon Moissiacense both make Gregory's death a date from which to reckon other dates; at 785 both have the entry: 'a transitu Gregorii Papae usque praesentem fiunt clxxx,' Pertz, i. 32, 297, which gives 605.

de quo nos conuenit] From here to 'grege numerari,' p. 78, is omitted by the AS. vers.

Gregory the apostle of the English.

nostrum . . . apostolum] The Church of England long retained a grateful sense of what she owed to Gregory. Bede speaks of him as 'uigilantissimus, iuxta suum nomen, nostrae gentis apostolus.' Opp. x. 268. Aldhelm, Bede's contemporary, calls him 'peruigil pastor et paedagogus noster; noster inquam, qui nostris parentibus errorem tetrae gentilitatis abstulit, et regenerantis gratiae normam tradidit'; Opp. ed. Giles, pp. 74, 55, 160. In 747 the Council of Clovesho, repeating unconsciously a phrase of Bede's, Opp. ix. 388, ordered that the 'dies natalitius' of Gregory, 'Papa, et pater noster,' should be kept as a festival in the English Church; H. & S. iii. 368; cf. App. I. § 32. Archbishop Egbert, Bede's pupil, speaks of him in his dialogue as 'noster didascalus'; H. & S. iii. 411. Alcuin in a letter written 797–798 calls him 'praedicator noster'; H. & S. iii. 519; Mon. Alc. p. 367; and an episcopal profession of c. 800 quotes him as 'pater noster in Deo'; H. & S. iii. 530. Cf. Pertz, xii. 883, 911. And this personal gratitude of the English Church to Gregory resulted in a feeling of grateful devotion to the see over which he presided, which it took long years of oppression and plunder to obliterate from English minds. The author of the Gesta Abbatum Fontanellensium speaks of 'Angli, qui maxime familiares apostolicae sedis semper existunt'; Pertz, ii. 289. Thietmar in his Chronicle calls the English 'tributarii Sancti Petri . . . et Sancti Gregorii spirituales filii,' and resents on that ground their payment of tribute to the Danes; Pertz, iii. 847, 848.

Cf. Jaffé, R. P. p. 312. The Chronicle two centuries later, 785 D. E., speaks of 'the peace which St. Gregory sent us through Augustine.'

primum . . . pontificatum] On Gregory's cares of office, cf. Gibbon, v. 355 ff.; Church's Essay. Writing to John, patriarch of Constantinople, on his election, he says: 'uetustam nauim, uehementerque confractam suscepi'; Oct. 590; Jaffé, R. P. p. 92.

erat autem, &c.] On the lives of Gregory *v.* Hardy, i. 202–206. His mother's name was Silvia, ib. 203; Sax. Chron. B.C. 606; App. I. § 1. In the notes to the Félire of Aengus, ed. Stokes, p. 63, there seems to be an attempt to give Gregory an Irish pedigree.

Felix] Felix III (or II), Bishop of Rome, 483–492. The term 'atauus' is not, however, to be taken strictly; Smith and Stev.

p. 74. **mortem . . . ingressum uitae**] Cf. Introd. pp. lxvii, lxviii.

Active and contemplative life.

defectum . . . per curam pastoralem] Cf. the reluctance of Cuthbert to undertake the episcopal office, iv. 28, p. 272. Aldhelm's biographer Faricius says of him: 'is sane impeditus rebus saecularibus, in episcopio, ut mos est omnium, uti de B. Martino Turonensium praesule legitur, haud postea tantum ualuit in uirtutibus, quantum prius ualebat;' Opp. ed. Giles, p. 369; so St. Kentigern, N. & K. pp. 181, 182. There seems to us something unworthy in this tendency to depreciate and to decline the practical work of the Church; and the words of Synesius (the hunting bishop of Kingsley's Hypatia) have to our ears a healthier ring about them: 'Since God has laid upon me not what I sought, but what He willed, I pray that He . . . will guide me through the life He has assigned me. How shall I that have spent my youth in philosophical . . . contemplation . . . bear the continued pressure of anxiety? . . . How shall I still turn my thoughts to those intellectual beauties . . . without which life is no life to me? . . . I know not. But to God . . . all things are possible. . . . If He abandon me not, I shall realise that the episcopacy is not a descent from philosophy, but an ascent to a higher form of it'; D. C. B. iv. 776. But the superiority of the contemplative life (uita contemplatiua, theorica, speculatiua) over the practical life (uita actiua, actualis) was an accepted doctrine all through the Middle Ages. Bede himself holds it, Opp. vii. 229, 421–424; viii. 206; ix. 241, 250; x. 329; xii. 127, 443; though with his usual good sense he maintains that the two ought not to be dissevered. Commenting on Luke v. 16, he says: 'quod in urbe miracula facit, in deserto . . . orando pernoctat, utriusque uitae nobis, et actiuae . . . et contemplatiuae, documenta praemonstrat; ut nec contemplationis studio quis proximorum curam negligat, nec cura proximorum immoderatius obligatus, contemplationis studia derelinquat'; Opp. x. 398, cf. xi. 64,

and what he says below of Gregory: 'sed nos credere decet,' &c. The two lives are commonly figured by the two sisters, Mary and Martha, Opp. xi. 129, 131; occasionally by SS. John and Peter, v. 262, 263. The monastery offered to some extent a sphere for the contemplative life, but its full realisation was only reached by the anchorite, or the still more rigorous 'inclusus,' compared with whom the monk was regarded as belonging to the active life; 'uita diuinae speculationis illos maxime recipit, qui post longa monasticae rudimenta uirtutis secreti ab hominibus degere norunt,' Opp. v. 263. And so when Cuthbert retired from the monastery of Lindisfarne to become an anchorite on Farne Island, Bede says that he rejoiced, 'quia de longa perfectione conuersationis actiuae ad otium diuinae speculationis iam mereretur ascendere'; Vita Cudb. Pros. c. 17; cf. Introduction, p. xxx, and Morison's St. Bernard, pp. 192 ff.

cum diacono suo Petro] Dial. i. prologus; cf. Ep. i. 6, 'Dum contemplationis dulcedinem alte describitis, ruinae meae mihi gemitum renouastis, quia audiui quid intus perdidi, dum foris ad culmen regiminis immeritus ascendi.'

domum . . . curauit] *i.e.* he organised his pontifical household on the monastic model; cf. this and what follows with his advice to Augustine, i. 27, p. 48.

p. 75. **apocrisiarius**] 'nuntius, legatus . . . Nomen inditum legatis quod *ἀποκρίσεις* seu responsa principum deferrent,' Ducange. The Latin name is 'responsalis,' which is found as a gloss here in some MSS. In the case of the Roman see it meant a standing official, like the later nuncio, who represented the see at the court of Constantinople. The post was usually held by a deacon. Gregory held it both under Benedict I and Pelagius II. In the letter to Leander, bishop of Seville, prefixed to the Moralia, Gregory says: 'cum me in urbe Constantinopolitana sedis apostolicae *responsa* constringerent.' On Gregory's sojourn at Constantinople, cf. the parallel passage, Opp. Min. pp. 192, 193.

'Apocrisiarius.'

Leander, bishop of Seville.

regularis] *i.e.* monastic.

sicut ipse scribit] In the letter to Leander cited above.

hortati sunt eum] 'Rogatus maxime a Leandro . . . Hispalensi episcopo, qui pro causis Wisigothorum . . . eo tempore Constantinopolim aduenerat,' Paul. Diac. Vita Greg. c. 8. On Leander, cf. D. C. B. iii. 637 ff.; Werner, p. 17; Bede, Chron. Opp. Min. p. 193.

librum . . . Iob . . . mystica interpretatione] This is the famous 'Moralia' of Gregory. In Irish sources he is sometimes called 'Grigoir moralium,' 'Gregory of the Moralia,' Lismore Lives of Saints, p. 299; Mart. Doneg. Nov. 12. He began it, as Bede says, at Constantinople, and finished it afterwards. For a curious legend

Gregory's Moralia.

connected with the 'Moralia,' cf. D. C. A. ii. 986. On the allegorical interpretation of Scripture, *v.* Introd. § 14; Milman, Lat. Christ. Bk. iii. c. 7.

Eutychius. **Eutycius**] This passage occurs in almost identical words in the commentary on Lk. xxiv. 39, which Bede quotes here; Opp. xi. 384, 385; cf. vi. 322; and Ignat. ad Smyrn. c. 3, with Lightfoot's notes.

Gregory's 'Cura Pastoralis.' p. 76. **Pastoralis**] The 'Regula curae Pastoralis.' This is one of the works which Bede urges Archbishop Egbert to study, *infr.* p. 406. Alcuin, writing in 796 to Eanbald II, one of Egbert's successors, says: 'quocunque uadas, liber Sancti Gregorii Pastoralis tecum pergat'; H. & S. iii. 505; Mon. Alc. p. 339. In 797 he urges its use on Hygbald, bp. of Lindisfarne, ib. 355. He recommends it to Arno of Salzburg, ib. 330, Calvinus, ib. 566, and an unnamed correspondent, ib. 882. Its study 'was enjoined upon all bishops at their ordination in France under Hincmar,' H. & S. *u.s.* Theganus in his 'Vita Hludowici Imp.' (*i.e.* Louis I, 'le Debonnaire,' †840), gives as one of the characteristics of bad prelates: 'librum Sancti Gregorii qui praetitulatur *Pastoralis* nolunt accipere'; Pertz, ii. 595. Alfred translated it into Anglo-Saxon; and in the preface which he prefixed to it he breaks into something like verse in praise of Gregory. He says that Augustine brought the book with him to Britain, which is likely enough; ed. Sweet, pp. 8, 9.

Gregory's Dialogues. **libros . . . Dialogorum**] Just as the Irish called him 'Gregory of the Moralia,' so the Euchologium Graecum calls him *ὁ δοῦλός σου Γρηγόριος τοῦ Διαλόγου*: cited Ltft. App. Ff. II. i. 6; and in the 'Liudprandi Legatio' he is quoted as 'Gregorius, qui a uobis appellatus est Dialogus'; Pertz, iii. 351. On the character of this work and its vogue in the Middle Ages, see Milman, *u.s.* This also was translated into Anglo-Saxon under Alfred, but the translation has not yet been printed; Earle, Anglo-Saxon Literature, pp. 193 ff.; Wülker, Grundriss, pp. 437 ff.

ad exemplum uiuendi] Cf. Pref. p. 1.

excepto] *i.e.* 'besides,' 'not counting.'

inserentes] i. 27.

'Synodicus Libellus.' p. 77. **libello . . . synodico**] 'Synodica epistola, quam Pontifices recens electi ad alios Pontifices mittebant, in qua fidei suae rationem exponebant,' Ducange; cf. Greg. Epp. i. 4, 26. Gregory's synodical epistle is given at the beginning of the second book of his life by John the Deacon; Opp. iv. 46, 47, Editio Benedictina.

Gregory a scribe. **tanta condere uolumina**] Gregory, among his other accomplishments, seems to have been a great scribe: 'Papa Innocentius [1203] . . . bibliotecam [= bibli] beati Gregorii manu scriptam episcopo Lyuoniensi mittit'; Pertz, xxiii. 247.

crebris . . . doloribus] Cf. Jaffé, R. P. pp. 137, 142 : 'mei molem corporis in tantam podagrae dolor ariditatem redegit' ; ib. 150 : 'ego in tanto gemitu et occupationibus uiuo, ut ad dies quos ago me peruenisse poeniteat, solaque mihi consolatio sit mortis exspectatio.' See on i. 27, p. 48. His illnesses.

scriptura teste] Cf. the account of Bede's own death, Introduction, pp. lxxv, clxii.

dare pauperibus] On Gregory's charities, cf. Bright, pp. 35, 36 ; Church, Misc. Essays ; Stanley, Memorials, p. 22 : 'The long marble table is still shown at Rome where he used to feed twelve beggars every day. There is a legend that on one occasion a thirteenth appeared among them, an unbidden guest, an angel whom he had thus entertained unawares.' His charities.

p. 78. ipse dicit] Moralia, xxvii. 11. That this really refers to Augustine's success, and not to the Hallelujah victory under Germanus more than a century and a half previously, i. 20, as Ussher thought, is clear. Whatever may be the exact date at which Gregory finished the 'Moralia,' *v. s.*, such a passage might easily have been added after the news of Augustine's success had reached Rome. It is quoted in this sense by both of Gregory's biographers, Paul. Diac. c. 21 ; Iohan. Diac. ii. 39. So Aimon of Fleury, Bouquet, iii. 104 ; cf. ib. 253. And the words 'clarescentibus miraculis' seem, as Bede remarks, to allude to Augustine's miracles, i. 26, 31 ; cf. Elmham, p. 107, who also notices the frequent references to the mission of Augustine in Gregory's letters. Allusion to Augustine's success.

alleluia resonare] In fulfilment of his own prophecy, *infr.* p. 80.

tria uerba . . . superadiecit] This addition to the Canon of the Mass was part of Gregory's revision of the Gelasian Sacramentary. Greg. Opp. iii. 3, 285 ; Palmer, Orig. Liturg. c. 1, § 6 ; cf. Sax. Chron. E. 591 ; *supr.* i. 27, p. 49, note. Addition to the Canon of the Mass.

p. 79. secretarium] This 'was a Roman law-term for the justice-room of a magistrate. . . . Ecclesiastically, the word has two senses : (1) a room where bishops received the greetings of their people, transacted business, held meetings of clergy, or sat in synod.' (Wilfrid's first appeal to Rome was heard in the 'secretarium' of St. John Lateran ; Eddius, c. 29 *ad fin.*) (2) 'a vestry or sacristy' ; Bright, p. 293, who gives many illustrations. It is in the latter sense that it is used here, and in iii. 14, 26, pp. 154, 190. Bede uses the word metaphorically in the former sense of the courts of heaven : 'coelestium mansionum secretaria,' 'secretarium laudis aeternae' ; Opp. ix. 327 ; xii. 363. The AS. vers. has here 'beforan þam husul portice.' Cf. D. C. A. *s. v.* 'Secretarium.'

quarto Id. Mart.] March 12.

Gregory's epitaph.

epitaphium] 'byrgenleoð,' AS. vers., which, contrary to its usual practice, translates the epitaph. It is printed in the Appendix to Avitus' Works; M. H. G. Auct. Ant. VI. ii. 190; cf. Gruteri Inscriptt. n. 1175; Liber Pontif. i. 313, 314; Dei Rossi, Inscr. Christ. Urbis Romae, ii. 52, 78, 79, 112, 209. Two small fragments of the epitaph have been discovered in recent times. Cf. ib. for the fate of Gregory's tomb.

implebatque actu, &c.] Cf. Introduction, p. xxxvi.

magistra] -ri; Avitus, *u. s.*

hisque Dei] H. H. p. 77, gives the last two lines thus:

'Sic Consul Domini factus, laetare, Gregori;
Namque triumphalis iam tibi laurus adest.'

Travelling merchants.

aduenientibus . . . mercatoribus, &c.] Cf. the quaint story in the Monk of St. Gallen's Gesta Caroli, i. 1: 'contigit duos Scottos de Hibernia cum mercatoribus Brittannis ad litus Galliae deuenire, uiros et in saecularibus et in sacris scripturis incomparabiliter eruditos. Qui cum nihil ostenderent uenale. ad conuenientes emendi gratia turbas clamare solebant: si quis sapientiae cupidus est, ueniat ad nos et accipiat eam; nam uenalis est apud nos.' Pertz, ii. 731; Mon. Carol. p. 631.

Date of the incident of the slave-boys.

pueros uenales] Canterbury tradition fixed the number to three; Thorn, col. 1757. 'The date . . . is fixed to 585 × 588 by the fact that after his long stay at Constantinople he returned to Rome in 585 or 586. . . . On the other hand, Ælla, whom the slaves owned as their king, died in 588'; Green, M. E. p. 216. Bede, in a rather condensed passage in his Chron., seems to speak as if Ælle was still alive at the time of Augustine's mission; Opp. Min. p. 193. Bede is the first to represent the fair-haired strangers as slaves. The old life, App. I. § 9, does not call them so.

p. 80. candidi corporis] 'niger Aethiops et Saxo candidus.' Opp. viii. 29.

Anglus Angelus Angulus.

angelicam . . . faciem] Thietmar Chron. 1016 A. D.: 'Angli, ab angelica facie, . . . siue quod in angulo istius terrae siti sunt, dicti'; Pertz, iii. 847, a passage copied by the Saxon Annalist, ib. vi. 669. Cf. *sup.* note on i. 15, p. 31.

The Deiri.

Deiri] On the relations of Bernicia and Deira, *v.* iii. 1, note. In the Chron. Monast. Watinensis (Watten between Calais and St. Omer) we find the phrase 'Britannia Deirorum insula'; Pertz, xiv. 164. It is curious to find this tribal name surviving in such prominence in an eleventh-century Chronicle.

Aelli] *v.* notes on Sax. Chron. *ad ann.* 560.

at ille adludens, &c.] The AS. vers. is here very quaint and

beautiful: 'ond þa plegode he mid his wordum to þæm noman,' 'and then he played with his words upon the name.' Anglo-Saxon Version.

ad pontificem] Paul the Deacon says the pope was Pelagius II (578–590); John the Deacon (following App. I. § 10) makes him Benedict I (574–578). Of course, if the note cited above from Green is correct, it must be Pelagius.

concedere . . . uoluit] The AS. vers. here distinctly perverts the meaning of the original: 'þa ne wolde se papa þæt þafian, ne þa burgware þon ma, þætte swa æðele wer, 7 swa geþungen, 7 swa gelæred, swa feor fram him gewite,' 'Then would not the pope permit that, much less the citizens, that so noble a man and so capable, and so learned, should depart so far from them.' Did the translator misread 'noluit' for 'uoluit'?

p. 81. adiuuans] 'to Godes willan 7 to ræde Ongelcynne,' 'to God's will and the profit of the English race,' adds the AS. vers.

CHAPTER 2.

Interea] After and probably in consequence of the reception of Gregory's 'responsa,' perhaps in 602 or 603. It is most unsafe to argue from the order of Bede's chapters that it must have been after the battle of Degsastan in 603; i. 34. The object of that chapter is to lead up, not to this conference, but to the battle of Chester. See note on i. 34, *ad init.* Date.

adiutorio . . . regis] So Ethelbert's supremacy would seem to have extended not only over the Saxon kingdoms, but over the Britons also. Palgrave remarked this long ago, E. C. p. 454. Mr. Green sees traces of a political revival of the Britons about this time; M. E. pp. 229 ff. Ethelbert's supremacy.

colloquium . . . prouinciae] We must distinguish between this preliminary conference at Augustine's Oak, at which only bishops and teachers (siue = et, as constantly in Bede; *v.* note on c. 4) of the 'nearest province of the Britons' were present, and the later conference, p. 82, the place of which is not mentioned, at which a much greater portion of the British Church, including the northern monastery of Bangor, was represented. It is commonly assumed that by 'proxima prouincia' is meant what we call South Wales, though up till a much later time than the present the whole of modern Wales was included in the territory of the North Welsh, the term South or West Welsh being applied to the Britons of Cornwall. It is a question whether the latter may not have been represented at one or both of these conferences, though the possibility does not seem to have occurred to those who have written on the subject, and it would much upset their learned speculations Conferences of Augustine with the British bishops.

as to who the seven British bishops were who attended the second conference. The advance of the West Saxons had by this time broken the territorial continuity of the North and the West or South Welsh; see map in F. N. C. i. 34.

Position of Augustine's Oak.

in loco . . . appellatur] We have nothing to guide us to the position of 'Augustine's Oak,' except the vague statement of Bede that it was on the border of the West Saxons and the Hwiccas, as that border existed in his day. Aust, on the Severn, opposite Chepstow, has been most commonly suggested, and it suits Bede's description and the conditions of the case fairly well; H. & S. iii. 40, 41: 'Aust itself probably derives its name from Traiectus Augusti.' It is, however, 'called æt Austin in a charter of 691 or 692; K. C. D. No. 32' (= Birch No. 75); H. & S. *u. s.* So that it is possible that two totally different series of events may have combined to preserve the name; cf. D. C. A. i. 152. Mr. Green, however, would place it somewhere near Malmesbury; M. E. pp. 224, 225; and Mr. Moberly kindly sends me the following note: 'Perhaps the spot called "The Oak" in Down Ampney, near Cricklade. This would be on the border-line between the Hwiccas and Wessex; about a mile north of the Thames, at the south-east corner of the Hwiccas; at their nearest point to Kent, from which Augustine came. Close by is a spring still thought to be curative of weak eyes (cf. Augustine's miracle in the text).' Smith, *a. l.*, speaks of two letters on the subject as existing among Fulman's Collectanea, but I cannot find them.

The Hwiccas.

Huicciorum] On the Hwiccas see Green, M. E. pp. 129, 130; D. C. B. iii. 181, 182.

paschae] On the Paschal question, *v.* Excursus.

alia plurima] *v.* note *infra.*

suas . . . uniuersis] This is a common form of argument on this question; cf. c. 19, p. 122; iii. 25, pp. 181, 184, 188; v. 15, p. 315. But how would it have worked *e. g.* in the Arian controversy, when it was 'Athanasius contra mundum,' and 'ingemuit totus orbis et Arianum se esse miratus est'? (Jerome).

habitare . . . domu] This is a favourite text with Bede; *e. g.* Opp. viii. 377. It is not the Vulgate version, which has 'qui inhabitare facit unius moris in domo,' but it is that of the so-called Roman Psalter; see on v. 19, p. 323.

Place of the second Conference.

p. 82. **uenerunt**] Some time would be required to make known the result of the first conference, and to arrange the second. Nothing is said as to the place of the latter. The impression is given that it was at the same place as the first, and this is commonly assumed, *e. g.* D. C. A. i. 152.

VII Brettonum episcopi] Much has been written on the question who these seven bishops were, and what sees existed in Wales at this time; H. & S. i. 121–123, 142–149; Bright, pp. 75, 76, and reff. But it is all in the highest degree uncertain, and rests largely upon the statements of lives of saints written in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, which are quite valueless as evidence for the state of things existing in the sixth and seventh centuries. Bede himself only gives the number seven as traditional, 'ut perhibent.' We do not know the extent of the district from which they came; whether *e. g.* it included the West Welsh (*v. s.*), and what was the eastern boundary of the North Welsh at this time. The statement of H. H. p. 78, and Sig. Gembl. *s. a.* 602, that Scots and Picts were present at the conference deserves no credence. Bede would certainly have mentioned their presence had it been a fact, and he always carefully distinguishes them from the Britons, *e. g.* ii. 4, p. 87. The power of Ethelfrid of Northumbria would have effectually barred their coming. Representatives of the Strathclyde Britons might be included under the term 'Brettonum episcopi.' They were not at this time cut off from the North Welsh. That was the result of the battle of Chester and the events which followed it; cf. Rhŷs, Celt. Britain, pp. 126 ff. On the whole, the conclusion of H. & S. iii. 41, is the only safe one: 'there is no trustworthy evidence to show who these bishops were.' Seven British bishops.

Bancornaburg] This is perhaps a contraction of 'Bancorwarenaburg,' *i. e.* the 'burg' of the inhabitants of Bancor, *v. infra*, p. 84, *i. e.* Bangor-is-coed in Flint, about twelve miles south of Chester. Nothing seems to be known of the subsequent history of the monastery; Dugdale, Monast. vi. 1628. Possibly it never recovered from this blow. Bangor-is-coed.

Dinoot] A document exists in Welsh which professes to contain the substance of his answer to Augustine, but it is clearly spurious, and posterior to the time of Geoffrey of Monmouth; H. & S. i. 122, 149. His name is the Latin Donatus; Rhŷs, C. B. p. 304. Dinoot.

anachoreticam . . . uitam] See on c. 1, above p. 69.

p. 83. **in multis**] Cf. 'alia plurima,' *supra*. Among these points would be the tonsure, v. 22, p. 347; consecration of bishops by a single bishop, and certain peculiarities of ritual in the Mass and in the Ordinal which have been traced in the British Church; H. & S. i. 102, 112, 113, 140, 141, 154, 155. But Gregory's responsa, Nos. 2 and 6, would warrant Augustine in treating these as unessential. Peculiarities of the British Church.

conpleatis] What the defect of the British Church was in the matter of baptism has never been made out. The suggestions made are: (1) Single instead of trine immersion. But Gregory him- Defective Baptism.

self leaves this an open question ; Epp. i. 43, cited above on. i. 27, p. 49. (2) The omission of chrism, or of confirmation. The argument against this view from Patrick's Epistle to Coroticus in H. & S. i. 154 is of doubtful value, for that letter resembles closely some of the spurious Patrician documents ; *v.* Zimmer. Kelt. Beiträge, iii. 76 ff. ; Vita Tripartita, p. c. (3) The points suggested by Dr. Rock, cited H. & S. II. xxii, come so obviously under Gregory's permissible variations of ritual as not to be worth discussing. The use of the word 'conpleatis' here, and the fact that confirmation was distinctly regarded as a completion of the rite of baptism (see note on Ep. ad Egb. § 8) inclines me to think that the omission of confirmation is what is hinted at.

Failure of the Britons to convert the English.

genti Anglorum . . . praedicetis] This was of course a question not of ecclesiastical discipline, but of religious policy. Bede is very strong on this neglect of the British Church to convert her conquerors ; v. 22, p. 347. And 'it is remarkable that while Scots (Irish) were the missionaries *par excellence* of nearly all Europe north of the Alps, and in particular of all Saxon England north of the Thames, not one Cumbrian, Welsh, or Cornish missionary to any non-Celtic nation is mentioned anywhere. . . . The same remark applies also to the Armorican Britons' ; H. & S. i. 154. Nynias is, however, a notable exception, iii. 4, and some others are mentioned ; Rhŷs, C. B. pp. 172, 173. For 'genti Anglorum,' Elmham has 'nationi A.' p. 105 ; so Bede below.

Augustine rejected by the British Church.

neque illum . . . habituros] Bede does not record any formal discussion on this point, but it lay at the root of the whole situation ; and these words show that Augustine's claim, whether formally or informally raised, was emphatically rejected, and with it the authority of the Roman see on which that claim rested.

Augustine's prophecy.

fertur . . . praedixisse] The fact that the battle of Chester took place 'multo tempore' after Augustine's death is sufficient to refute the absurd charge that he had anything to do with the fulfilment of his own prophecy ; Milman, Bk. iv. ch. 3 ; Stanley, p. 53 ; to say nothing of the fact that he could have had no relations with the heathen Ethelfrid. It required no great gift of prophecy to perceive that the Saxons were gaining upon the Britons, and that the best chance of improving the relations between them lay in the conversion of the invaders. And as a fact the character of the conflict was greatly changed by the conversion of the Saxons, *v.* F. N. C. i. 32–34 ; though the exterminatory character of even the earlier contests has been very much exaggerated by Mr. Freeman and his school ; cf. Rhŷs, C. B. pp. 110, 111.

post haec] Beyond this and the fact that it was 'multo tempore'

after Augustine's death, Bede gives us no means of dating the battle of Chester. The date 605 in Sax. Chron. E. is a mere inference, and a wrong one, from the order of Bede's narrative. Tighernach and Ann. Camb. date it 613. The former says: '*Cath* Caire Legion ubi sancti occisi sunt, et cecidit Solon *mac* Conain Rex Bretannorum et Cetula rex cecidit. Etalfraid uictor erat, qui post statim obit.' The former prince appears in Ann. Camb. as 'Selim filius Cinan.' He was apparently king of North Wales. Who Cetula was I am unable to say. Now, as we have seen, p. 66, Tighernach antedates the battle of Degsastan by three years. It is probable that the same is the case here, and that the true date is 616. With this agrees his statement that Ethelfrid died immediately after the battle; for, as we have seen from the data in i. 34, Ethelfrid's death must be placed in 616 or 617. And this will allow a sufficient interval from the death of Augustine, which probably occurred in 604 or 605. For the possible cause of the battle see notes to c. 9. The result of it was the separation of the North Welsh from the Britons of Strathclyde. H. H. has some reason to call it 'bellum bellorum maximum,' p. 55; Rhŷs, C. B. pp. 115, 126–129; Green, M. E. pp. 204, 243. Date of the battle of Chester.

p. 84. **ciuitatem Legionum**] 'Legionum ciuitas, quae nunc simpliciter Cestra uocatur, . . . ad id temporis a Britannis possessa'; W. M. i. 47 (speaking of this battle). 'Cestra legionum ciuitas dicitur, quod ibi emeriti legionum Iuliarum resedere. Collimitatur aquilonalibus Britannis. Regio farris et maxime tritici, ut pleraque Aquilonalium, ieiuna et inops, pecorum et piscium ferax. Incolae lac et butirum delitias habent; qui ditiores sunt carnibus uiuunt, panem ordeitium et siligineum pro magno amplectuntur. Transmittitur a Cestra Hiberniam, reuehunturque ciuitati necessaria, ut, quod minus natura soli habet, labor negotiantium apportet;' G. P. p. 308. On the long desolation of Chester after this battle, cf. Green, M. E. p. 142; Sax. Chron. 894 *ad fin.* Chester.

perfidae] *i. e.* 'heretical,' see note on i. 7, p. 18; so 'perfidi' at end of the chapter.

tantus . . . numerus monachorum] For the size of some of the Irish monasteries, cf. Rs. Ad. p. 336. Of the Bangor monks, W. M. (i. 47) says: 'Quorum incredibilem nostra aetate numerum fuisse indicio sunt in uicino coenobio tot semiruti parietes ecclesiarum, tot anfractus porticuum, tanta turba ruderum, quantum uix alibi cernas; uocatur locus ille Bancor, tunc monachorum famosum receptaculum, nunc mutatus in episcopium' (cf. G. P. p. 326); 'confounding possibly the ruins of a Roman town, Bouium (Smith, *ad loc.*), . . . and certainly Bangor near Chester, with the bishop's see. Size of Celtic Monasteries.

Leland (Itin. v. 30, ed. 2) testifies that the ruins [rather, foundations] of Bangor-is-coed were partially visible in his time;' H. & S. i. 37, 38.

de labore manuum] On manual labour in monasteries, *v.* Introduction, p. xxv.

Three days' fast.

ieiunio triduano] From this comes the Irish expression *trédenus* for a three days' fast; so it was evidently a well-known institution in the Celtic churches; cf. iv. 14, 25. It was of Jewish origin; Esther iv. 16.

Brochvael.

Brocmailum] The Saxon Chron. F. Lat. calls him Scrogmagil, *a.* Scrocmail, E. Scromail, *s. a.* 605. Professor Rhŷs tells me that he no longer holds the view which he put forward in Celtic Britain, p. 127, as to this Brocmail, or Brochvael. It is noteworthy that these passages which reflect so severely on Brochvael, 'Erant autem plurimi . . . protegeret,' 'Brocmail ad primum . . . reliquit,' are omitted in the AS. vers. Dr. T. Miller, the latest editor of that version, remarks (I. lvii ff.) on the way in which the translator omits passages in the original which seem to reflect on the Irish missionaries from Iona, while he preserves Bede's bitter language against the Britons; and he says, 'we must look for the seat of such feelings, not in the royal court of Alfred, but in one of the Mercian monasteries.' The omissions in the present chapter confirm the supposition. The monastery may have been near the Welsh border, and may have had various reasons for wishing to conciliate Brochvael's descendants. The statement cited by Stevenson that a Cornish prince fought on the British side at Chester rests only on Geoffrey of Monmouth.

Bede's prejudices.

nefandae militiae] 'þare mánfullan þeode,' AS. vers. It shows Bede's national and ecclesiastical prejudices that he should apply such an epithet to men who were only defending their own country against attack.

quamuis . . . sublato] Omitted by AS. vers. but in all the Latin MSS. Some have tried to bolster up the charge against Augustine by representing these words on the authority of the AS. vers. as a later insertion.

CHAPTER 3.

Mellitus.

P. 85. **Mellitum**] He was not one of the original companions of Augustine, though Bede seems to say so, Opp. Min. p. 193; but, with Justus, formed part of the second mission sent by Gregory in 601, i. 29. To him Gregory addressed the letter in i. 30. He became missionary bishop to the East Saxons in 604; joined with

Laurentius and Justus in writing to the prelates of Ireland about the Paschal controversy, ii. 4; went to Rome to consult Boniface IV on the affairs of the English Church, where he was present at a council held Feb. 27, 610, and brought back its decrees and letters of the pope to Britain, ib.; was expelled from his see on the death of Sæbert, and retired with Justus to Gaul, ii. 5. They returned after a year, but Mellitus failed to obtain restitution of his see, ii. 6. He became archbishop of Canterbury in succession to Laurentius, Feb. 3, 619, and died April 24, 624; ii. 7. For the later lives of him, *v.* Hardy, Cat. i. 219, 220. Neither Laurentius nor Mellitus seem to have received the pallium, and perhaps for this reason they abstained from consecrating suffragans; D. C. B. iii. 593. Bede, however, distinctly calls Mellitus and Laurentius 'archiepiscopus,' c. 6 *ad fin.*; c. 7 *ad init.*, p. 93; while the pope himself addresses Laurentius as 'dilectus archiepiscopus,' c. 4, p. 88.

Iustum] See last note. On his return from Gaul he was restored to Rochester, ii. 6; succeeded Mellitus as archbishop of Canterbury, 624, ii. 8; received the pallium, ib.; consecrated Paulinus, 625, ii. 9; and died (probably in 627), ii. 18; cf. D. C. B. iii. 592, 593. He is not called a monk by Bede. On the later lives of him, cf. Hardy, *u. s.* pp. 222, 223. Justus.

quorum metropolis Lundonia . . . est] So in iv. 6, p. 218, London belongs to the East Saxons. On the early history of London, cf. Green, M. E. pp. 98–113. There is no record how or when it came into possession of the Saxons. Cf. Lappenberg, i. 114; E. T. i. 112. London.

Saberct . . . Ricula] His father's name was Sledda according to the pedigrees in Fl. Wig. i. 250; H. H. p. 49. Cf. W. M. i. 98. There is no pedigree of the East Saxon kings in Sax. Chron. or in Nennius. Ethelwerd calls him 'Sigebyrht,' M. H. B. p. 505; and in v. 24, p. 353, several MSS. read 'Sigberchto' for 'Sabercto.' This is possibly due to a confusion with later East Saxon kings of that name, iii. 22. R. W. has the converse mistake, i. 203. Sæbert.

sub potestate . . . Aedilbercti] Some of the old regnal lists actually make Ethelbert king of the East Saxons; S. D. ii. 379, 380.

Dorubreui] The foundation of a separate see at Rochester has been thought to point to a previously existing kingdom of the West Kentings, for the boundaries of the earliest bishoprics were, as a rule, coincident with those of the kingdoms. See on iii. 21, and cf. v. 23, p. 350, where Bede speaks of Canterbury and Rochester jointly as 'ecclesiae Cantuariorum.' Kemble enumerates the later instances of divided sovereignty in Kent, Saxons, i. 148, 149; but it is hardly safe to argue from them to earlier times, and the theory must be pronounced to be very doubtful; D. C. B. iii. 602. Theory of two kingdoms in Kent.

Rochester.

Hrofæscæstræ] In iv. 5, p. 215, it is called 'Castellum Cantuariorum quod dicitur Hrofescæstir.' 'Rofa est oppidum situ nimium angustum, sed quia in edito locatum, fluuio uiolentissimo alluitur, hostibus sine periculo non accessibile,' G. P. p. 133. Yet it was sacked by Ethelred of Mercia in 676, iv. 12, p. 228; cf. the name of the place called 'Hrofesbreta,' also near the Medway, K. C. D. iii. 386; Birch, i. 364.

St. Andrew's at Rochester.

beati Andreae] 'cuius honorem illa sedes adorat,' G. P. p. 134. 'Perhaps after Gregory's monastery at Rome,' Stev. In the sacristy, 'secretarium' (*v. s.*) of this church Paulinus was buried, iii. 14, p. 154.

territoria] 'bocland,' 'book-lands,' AS. version. The Textus Roffensis (twelfth cent.) says: 'Anno . . . DC. rex Ethelbertus fundauit ecclesiam S. Andreae Apostoli Rofi; et dedit ei Prestefeld, et omnem terram quae est ad Meduwaie usque ad Orientalem portam ciuitatis in australi parte, et alias terras extra murum ciuitatis uersus partem aquilonalem;' Ang. Sac. i. 333. The date is certainly wrong. Rochester tradition may have preserved the facts about the lands. There is a charter of Ethelbert's to Rochester, dated 604, which Kemble believes to be genuine; K. C. D. No. 1; Birch, No. 3.

p. 86. cuius supra meminimus] i. 33, p. 70.

dedicata] By Laurentius, ib. The translation took place on Sept. 13; Ang. Sac. i. 52.

'Porticus.'

porticu] Here, as often, porticus means a side chapel. 'Haec porticus erat in ueteri ecclesia ubi nunc est capella beatae uirginis:' Thorn, col. 1765. Cf. Dunstan's buildings at Glastonbury: 'ut latitudo longitudini conquadraret, alas uel porticus quas uocant adiecit;' Stubbs' Dunstan, p. 271.

Cuthbert the first archbishop buried in Christ Church.

in qua . . . tumulata] Cuthbert (740–758) was the first archbishop who was buried in Christ Church, Canterbury, and not at St. Augustine's; and this, according to the angry Augustinians, was only effected by the device of concealing his death until after the interment had taken place; Elmham, pp 317, 318. Cf. Ang. Sac. i. 3, 83, 85. Cuthbert had obtained a papal privilege to this effect; Mon. Angl. i. 82, 128.

habet haec] *i. e.* the 'porticus'; and so it is understood by Thorn, *u. s.*, though the AS. vers. takes it of the 'ecclesia': 'in middre þære miclan cirican,' 'in the middle of the mickle church.'

per omne sabbatum] 'æghwylce Sæternes dæge,' 'every Saturday,' AS. vers.

'Agendae.'

agendae eorum . . . celebrantur] 'heora gemynde 7 forðfore mid mæssesonge mærsode syndon,' 'their commemoration and obits

are celebrated with mass'; 'eorum,' *i. e.* of the archbishops. 'Agenda,' from the phrase 'agere missas,' means a mass; 'agenda mortuorum,' or, as here, 'agenda' simply, signifies the 'missa pro defunctis;' *v.* Ducange.

VII Kal. Iun.] *i. e.* May 26. Cf. Martyrology, Opp. iv. 72, at this day: 'Depositio S. Augustini primi Anglorum episcopi.' Neither in the epitaph nor in the text of Bede is the year given. It cannot be earlier than 604, nor later than 610; *v. s.* p. 85; *inf.* c. 4, p. 88. The death of Augustine is not mentioned in the Sax. Chron. except in F. (twelfth cent.), which puts it at the impossible date of 614, which may be a mistake for 604 (though Thorn, col. 1765 says that some placed A.'s death in 613), and would confirm that date, which is adopted by H. & S. iii. 4, and Wharton, Ang. Sac. i. 91, from Fl. Wig. Other authorities give 605, which is adopted by Smith, *ad loc.*, and Bright, p. 92. R. W. says 608; i. 109. In the Félire of Aengus his day is wrongly given as May 24. In the notes he is called 'Augustinus librorum,' which is possibly due to a confusion with the great St. Augustine. The Council of Clovesho, 747, ordered that May 26th 'dies depositionis Sancti Augustini, . . . qui genti Anglorum . . . scientiam fidei . . . primus adtulit, . . . feriatus habeatur, nomenque eiusdem . . . doctoris nostri . . . in Laetaniae decantatione, post Sancti Gregorii uocationem semper dicatur;' H. & S. iii. 368. It was 'on Sce Agustinus mæssedæg' in 946 that King Edmund was murdered; Sax. Chron. D. *ad ann.* and notes *ad loc.* On the translation of Augustine's relics in 1091, *v.* Hardy, Cat. i. 195–197. Gocelin wrote an account of it, which is cited by W. M. ii. 389. Date of Augustine's death.

CHAPTER 4.

Laurentius] He was one of Augustine's original companions, and had carried his questions to Gregory, and brought back the responsa in 601; i. 27, and notes. His consecration as Augustine's successor, letters to the Celtic churches, mission of Mellitus to Rome, are related in the present chapter; his intended flight from England on the death of Ethelbert and the outbreak of persecution under Eadbald, and his miraculous detention, in c. 6; his death in c. 7. On the later lives of him, *v.* Hardy, Cat. i. 217–219. One of these is by Gocelin, whose lives of Augustine, Laurentius, Mellitus, and Justus are alluded to by William of Malmesbury; G. P. p. 6. In G. R. ii. 389 he gives an account of him, and calls him, as a writer, 'nulli post Bedam secundus,' a praise which is ill-deserved. Laurentius, Mellitus, and Justus are all named in the 'Commemoratio pro defunctis' in the Stowe Missal, Justus being the latest Laurentius.

saint there mentioned; *v.* MacCarthy, Stowe Missal, pp. 165, 217. 'The growth of the church under Laurentius seems to have been very slow, his aim, like that of Augustine, being probably to reconcile the British Christians before attempting any great mission among the heathen kingdoms;' D. C. B. iii. 362.

Uncanonical Consecration.

adhuc uiuens ordinauerat] Strictly speaking this was uncanonical; cf. Bright, pp. 92, 93. One of the acts of a synod held under Pope Hilarius in Nov. 465 was: 'interdicunt episcopis ne successores suos designent;' Jaffé, R. P. p. 49. Pope Zacharias in 743 refused, with some emphasis, a request of St. Boniface that he might be allowed to do this: 'Te autem ut tibi successorem constituere dixisti et te uiuente in tuo loco eligatur episcopus, hoc nulla ratione concedi patimur; quia contra omnem aecclesiasticam regulam uel instituta patrum esse monstratur;' Mon. Mog. p. 119.

Tradition about St. Peter.

exemplum . . . Petri] The tradition that St. Peter consecrated Clement as his successor during his own lifetime comes ultimately from the Clementine Homilies and Recognitions; Ltft. App. Ff. I. i. 64, 158. As, however, in some of the early lists of Roman bishops, Clement appears in the fourth place, Linus and Cletus (=Anacletus) being interposed between him and St. Peter, a tradition grew up, based on a suggestion of Epiphanius (ib. 169, 310, 329) that St. Peter had consecrated Linus and Cletus to act as suffragans under him; Clement being consecrated to succeed him at his death. This is the view of Rufinus, Praef. in Recognitiones, ib. 67, 175; and of the Liber Pontificalis, ib. 191, 192 (cf. ib. 76, 163). Just as here Bede quotes the case of Clement to justify Augustine in consecrating Laurentius in his own lifetime; so in Hist. Abb. § 7 he quotes the case of Linus and Cletus to justify Benedict Biscop in appointing Eosterwine and Ceolfrid as abbots respectively of Wearmouth and Jarrow under himself. He probably took the story from Lib. Pont. (*v.* ed. Duchesne, I. xxxiv f., cii, cxv) which he certainly used both in his H.E. i. 4; ii. 1, 4; pp. 16, 73, 74, 78, 79; and in his Chronicle; and quotes, Opp. iv. 105 (=Lib. Pont. i. 171), x. 251 (=Lib. Pont. i. 155), under the title 'Gesta Pontificalia'; *v. s.* on i. 4.

The Scots of Ireland.

p. 87. **Scottorum qui Hiberniam . . . incolunt**] As opposed to the Dalriadic colony in Alba, the 'Scotti qui Brittaniam inhabitant,' i. 34; ii. 5; iv. 26; pp. 70, 71, 90, 267; cf. on i. 1, p. 13.

in . . . ipsorum patria] See on i. 1, p. 13.

cuius uidelicet] From here to 'satagit,' p. 88, is omitted in the AS. vers.

'Vel' and 'siue.'

fratribus episcopis uel abbatibus] 'Brethren whether bishops or abbots.' From use in such passages, 'uel' and 'siue' come practically to mean 'and.'

Scottiam] Ireland ; see on i. 1, p. 13 ; H. & S. think that Iona is included in the term, ii. 108. This would be quite in accordance with Bede's usage. See on iii. 24, p. 179. It certainly does not include the Scots on the mainland of Britain. Scottia.

Dum nos, &c.] This passage is wrongly punctuated in all the editions, which put no stop after 'introisse,' and a colon after 'cognosceremus.' But the 'antequam cognosceremus' is clearly contrasted with 'sed cognoscentes' below. The general sense is this : 'Being sent by the apostolic see, and having chanced to come to Britain ; before we had any experience, believing that both Britons and Scots walked canonically, we venerated them both equally ; but on coming to know the Britons, we concluded that the Scots were better. However, we found the Scots very like the Britons.' Whether this exordium was likely to conciliate the persons to whom it was addressed may be doubted.

p. 88. **Daganum**] He has been identified with bishop Dagan, of Inbher Daeile (now Ennereilly), county Wicklow, whose death is given by the F. M. and Chron. Scot. under the year 639, and who is commemorated at Sept. 13 in the Félire and Martyrology of Donegal. He is also commemorated at March 12, which Colgan thought to be the day of his translation. The Bollandists mention him at March 12, AA.SS. Mart. ii. 104 ; cf. ib. 286, and note, where he is mentioned in the Life of St. Mochaemoc ; and a reference given to Sept. 13. When however they reached that date they decided to omit him, partly on account of the uncertainty in which his life is involved, partly on account of his paschal errors. Dagan.

Columbanum] The Apostle of Burgundy, the founder of Luxeuil, and afterwards of Bobbio, and of the monastic rule which bears his name. He went to Gaul 585 × 590. He was a strong upholder of the Celtic Easter, tonsure, &c., against the Gallican clergy. Mellitus and Justus may well have heard of the controversy as they passed through Gaul in 601. In 602 a synod was held on this subject. In 610 he was expelled from Burgundy, and ultimately settled at Bobbio, where he died in 615 ; *v.* Hardy, Cat. i. 210–214 ; Greith, Altirische Kirche, bk. iv ; D. C. B. ; Bright, pp. 96–98. His life by Jonas of Bobbio has been often printed. It is printed as if it were the production of Bede, in the Cologne edition of his works, iii. 199. Columban.

misit . . . sacerdotibus] Later legends represent Laurentius as cultivating good relations with the Celtic churches, but this is diametrically contrary to all that Bede tells us ; H. & S. iii. 61, 62. Relations with the British Church.

sed quantum . . . declarant] There is 'something of condensed bitterness' in this remark ; Bright, p. 98. On the relations between

the English and Celtic churches, *v.* Excursus on the Easter and tonsure controversies.

Date of Mellitus' mission.

his temporibus] I can find nothing to fix the date of Mellitus leaving Britain; Bright, p. 99, says 608, but he gives no authority. Elmham gives 611, which is impossible; see below. He also says that the object of Mellitus' going to Rome was to obtain papal privileges for St. Augustine's, pp. 128–131.

Bonifatio] Boniface IV, 608–615.

Roman Council.

synodum] Jaffé, R. P. p. 155, seems to know no other authority for this Council beyond these words of Bede.

de uita . . . ordinaturus] What purports to be the decree of the Council on this subject exists in two forms, but they are both admittedly spurious; H. & S. iii. 62–64.

anno . . . Martiarum] Both the regnal year and the indiction agree in giving the date Feb. 27, 610.

subscribens confirmaret] 'mid Cristes rodetacne wrat 7 fæstnode,' 'wrote and confirmed with the sign of Christ's rood,' AS. vers.

Malmesbury's forged documents.

epistulis . . . direxit] The letter to Laurentius is lost. What purports to be the letter to Ethelbert is given in G. P. pp. 46, 47, with the wrong date of 615. It is the first of a series of documents given by Malmesbury, which lie under the gravest suspicion of having been forged in support of the claims of Canterbury to superiority over York. They were first produced by Lanfranc at the Council of London in 1072. It is to be hoped that he had nothing to do with their composition. The arguments against their authenticity are well stated, H. & S. iii. 65, 66. The conclusion there come to, that 'the genuineness of the Malmesbury series' is 'exceedingly questionable,' errs, if at all, on the side of leniency. The statement of Elmham, p. 134, that Mellitus went to Rome a second time in 615 is probably a mere inference from the erroneous date in G. P. After 'direxit' the AS. vers. inserts 'to frofre 7 to trymnisse rihtes lifes,' 'to comfort them and confirm them in right living.'

The Pantheon.

Pantheon] To the same effect in the Chron., Opp. Min. p. 194: 'ut ubi quondam omnium non deorum, sed daemoniorum cultus agebatur, ibi deinceps omnium fieret memoria sanctorum.' This was a striking instance of that policy which Gregory I recommended to Augustine, i. 30; cf. Gregorovius, Gesch. d. Stadt Rom, ii. 102–109. This passage is omitted by the AS. vers. The account is partly taken from Lib. Pontif. i. 317, and some of the words ought to have been printed in italics. See Corrigenda to vol. i.

CHAPTER 5.

P. 89. annus XXI . . . missus est] This is probably correct, especially if the first sending of Augustine, before he turned back to Gregory, i. 23, p. 42, be meant; but it is certainly incorrect when Bede below, p. 90, says that Ethelbert died: 'post XX et unum annos acceptae fidei,' for Augustine did not reach Britain till 597. Chronology.

L et VI annis] This would place his accession early in 560 or even in 559. The Sax. Chron. E. *ad ann.* 616 copies Bede's statement, but yet places his accession in 565, and there says that he reigned fifty-three years. MS. F. places his accession and death in the same years as E, and says in both places that he reigned fifty-three years. W. M. i. 13 notes this discrepancy between Bede and the Chron. We may adopt his conclusion: 'uiderit lector quomodo hanc dissonantiam componat; nam nos eam, quia admonuisse suffecerit, in medio relinquimus.' It may be that VI has been misread into III.

gaudia subiit] Elmham gives his epitaph, p. 142.

imperium huiusmodi] The Sax. Chron. at 827 repeats this list of seven kings, and adds to them another, Egbert; 'and he was the eighth king that was Bretwalda.' The nature of the authority exercised by these kings has been much discussed. Palgrave saw in it a shadow of Roman influence, an idea which Mr. Freeman vehemently contested. It is safe to say that it indicates no definite constitution, but only a *de facto* hegemony. See notes to Sax. Chron. *ad loc. cit.*; Palgrave, E. C. i. 562–568; Kemble, Saxons, ii. 8–22; Lappenberg, i. 127–130; E. T. i. 125–128; F. N. C. i. 27,28, 134–139, 542–556. The Bretwaldas.

Aelli] On him see Sax. Chron. *ad ann.* 477, 485, 491, 827, and notes.

lingua ipsorum] Note that Bede here takes account of differences of dialect. The Northumbrian form, Caelin, occurs twice in iii. 23, pp. 175, 176. Dialects.

Ceaulin] For him see Sax. Chron. *ad ann.* 556, 560, 568, 577, 584, 592, 593, 827, and notes; Green, M. E. pp. 202, 206–210.

tertius . . . Cantuariorum] For the rise of Kent on the temporary ruin of Wessex, cf. Green, M. E. pp. 211–214. Mr. Green's view, however, ib. pp. 214, 308, that Ethelbert's supremacy is to be limited to the Anglian as opposed to the Saxon tribes south of the Humber, seems to me quite untenable. The phrase 'gens Anglorum' above is a general one, including, not excluding, the Saxon (and Jutish) tribes. Rise of Kent.

Reduald] On him, see c. 12, p. 107. 'Raduald . . . illam super Anglos regnandi potentiam quartus accepit, ut sub nutu eius alii Redwald.

Anglorum reges regnarent,' Sig. Gembl. *ad ann.* 616; Pertz, vi. 322.

qui etiam . . . praebebat] 'Who even during Ethelbert's life was gaining the leadership for that same race of his,' viz. the East Angles. The decline in the power of Kent became still more obvious after Ethelbert's death, *v.* c. 6 *ad fin.* p. 93. Elmham, in connexion with this passage, gives a curious account of the strenuousness of the East Anglians in his own day, which won them the name of '*Stout-heris*, quod lingua Germanica *magni domini*, sonat,' p. 140. 'Orientalis . . . insulae pars, quae usque hodie lingua Anglorum Estangle dicitur;' Lib. Eli. p. 12.

Edwin. **Aeduini**] On the extent of his power, cf. c. 9, p. 97, and notes. 'Eduinus post Radoaldum potentius caeteris super Anglos principatur,' Sig. Gembl. *u. s. ad ann.* 628; Alcuin [eighth cent.] says of Edwin, De Sanctis Ebor. vv. 120–124:

'Imperioque suo gentes superaddidit omnes,
Finibus atque plagis qua tenditur insula longe.
Iamque iugum regis prona ceruice subibant
Saxonum populus, Pictus, Scotusque, Britannus.'

And W. M. adds to Bede's list of his dominions, 'Scotti, Picti, sed et insulae Orchadum,' i. 49, 50. Bede just below seems to assert that Oswy was the first to reduce the Picts and Scots, and this is probably correct; *v.* S. C. S. i. 252. But in iii. 6, p. 138, he says of Oswald, 'omnes nationes . . . Brittaniae, . . . id est Brettonum, Pictorum, Scottorum, et Anglorum . . . in dicione accepit,' a statement which is copied by Sig. Gembl. *u. s. ad ann.* 635, p. 323; Adamnan calls Oswald 'totius Britanniae imperator,' Vit. Col. i. 1.

Oswald. **Osuald**] See last note.

'Rex Christianissimus.' **rex Christianissimus**] An interesting anticipation of what became, at any rate from the time of Charles V (1364–1380), a formal and hereditary title of the French kings, though much earlier instances of its use occur; *v.* Ducange, *s. v.* 'Christianitas.' The title is used (also of Oswald) in iii. 9 *ad init.*, while in Eddius, c. 17, it is applied to Egfrid and Elfwin, H. Y. i. 25; and in App. I, § 16, to Edwin. Isidore gives it to Sisebut, King of the Goths, D. C. B. iii. 310.

Oswy. **Osuiu**] See last note but two, and next note.

'Imperium' and 'Regnum.' **Osuiu . . . regnum**] Note that all through this passage Bede carefully distinguishes between the immediate dominions or 'regnum' of any king, and the 'imperium' or overlordship which he might exercise over other Saxon kingdoms or Celtic tribes. Edwin, Oswald, and Oswy were equal in respect of their 'regnum.' Oswy had the widest 'imperium'; cf. iv. 3, p. 206, and see notes on iii. 24.

p. 90. **iudiciorum**] 'doma,' 'dooms,' AS. vers. which is the word which Bede doubtless had in his mind. It is the genuine native name for 'laws,' 'lagu' being due to Scandinavian influence. This is another indication that in early times the distinction between general rules and individual decisions, between laws and judgments, was not felt (*v.* Maine's Ancient Law, c. 1). Ethelbert's 'Dooms' are printed in Thorpe, Ancient Laws, i. 2–25; Schmid, Gesetze, pp. 2–10; H. & S. iii. 42–50. 'Dooms.'

iuxta exempla Romanorum] This shows that the reduction of native custom to writing was, like so much else, the result of the introduction of Christianity bringing Roman civilisation in its train. 'It was long before the rival states followed the example of Kent. There is nothing to warrant us in believing that written law reached Wessex before Ine, or Mercia before Offa, or that it ever reached Northumbria at all.' Green, C. E. p. 20. Roman influence.

cum consilio sapientium] The first recorded instance of the legislative action of the witenagemót; cf. Kemble, ii. 205, 206, 241. Yet the AS. vers. does use the technical phrase 'witan,' or 'witenagemót,' but the vague 'mid snotera geþeahte,' 'with the counsel of prudent men.' Witena-gemót.

quae . . . hactenus . . . ab ea] 'þa nu gena oð þis mid him hæfde 7 haldne syndon,' 'which now still to this day are held and observed among them,' AS. vers. As the translator nearly always alters anything in his original which he considers as applying only to Bede's own time, he apparently regards Ethelbert's legislation as still in force in his day. W. M. commends it as 'nihil super aliquo negotio in futurum relinquens ambiguum' (!); i. 13. Ethelbert's Laws.

primitus posuit] This is the first of Ethelbert's dooms. It orders church property to be restored twelvefold, bishop's elevenfold, priest's ninefold, deacon's sixfold, clerk's threefold. In this respect the priest is on a level with the king, No. 4; and the clerk with the freeman, No. 9, or theft from a dwelling, No. 28. Cf. on i. 27, pp. 49, 50.

erat autem] For the Kentish pedigree, cf. Nenn. § 58; Fl. Wig. i. 248; W. M. i. 12. The last follows Bede; the two first agree in reversing the order of the two generations between Hengist and Eormenric. Eormenric was a name in the Gothic royal house: 'Ermanrici regis Gothorum . . . occisio,' Ann. Quedlinburg. Pertz, iii. 31; cf. ib. v. 81. MS. F. of the Chron. places Ethelbert's birth in 552, which would make him only eight years old at his accession in 560, which is hardly likely. In 568 he was defeated by Ceawlin of Wessex (Sax. Chron. *ad ann.*), which is probably the foundation of W. M.'s remark that in his early years as king: 'adeo uicinis Ethelbert's descent.

regibus fuit ridiculo, ut uno et altero pulsus praelio uix suos terminos tutaretur,' i. 13. On the later lives of him, cf. Hardy, Cat. i. 214–216.

Saxon patronymic in '-ing,'

Oiscingas] The Saxon termination -ing (pl. -ingas) indicates descent or derivation; cf. 'Uuffingas,' c. 15, p. 116, of the East-Anglian kings. W. M. notes that this termination is common also to the Franks as shown *e. g.* by the name Merouingi, i. 70.

supra] i. 15, pp. 31, 32, though Oisc is not mentioned there.

Eadbald.

recipere noluerat] It is common to speak of Eadbald 'apostatising,' 'relapsing,' &c., but this shows that he had never become Christian; though like the sons of Sæbert (*infra*) he may have conformed more or less during his father's life. His conversion and baptism are related in c. 6.

Marriage with stepmother.

uxorem patris] Ethelbert's second wife, as Bertha seems to have died before him, *supra*, though the Saxon life of St. Mildred makes 'Byrhte' the name of Eadbald's wife, Hardy, Cat. i. 382; Cott. Calig. A. xiv. After the dissolution of his incestuous marriage he married Emma, daughter of the king of the Franks, W. M. i. 15, whose name occurs in a spurious charter of Eadbald's, K. C. D. No. 6; Birch, i. 20; H. & S. iii. 70. It is certainly not true that marriage with a stepmother was 'inter gentes inaudita'; in some tribes it was the regular rule; *v.* F. N. C. i. 558; cf. *supra*, i. 27, pp. 50, 51, note. At a later time it was one of the evil customs which St. Margaret put down in Scotland; H. & S. ii. 158; Pinkerton, Lives of Scottish Saints, ii. 170.

Date of Sæbert's death.

p. 91. **mors Saberti**] The date may be fixed within a year or two. Mellitus became Archbishop of Canterbury in Feb. 619, c. 7; prior to this he had been a year in Gaul, c. 6. Therefore his expulsion cannot be later than Jan. 618. The death of Sæbert must be earlier than that date, and Bede's words 'auxit procellam' seem to imply that it was subsequent to the death of Ethelbert, Feb. 616. Therefore Sæbert died in 616 or 617.

His heirs.

tres . . . filios . . . heredes] H. H. p. 57, says: 'duo filii eius successerunt in regnum,' and W. M. i. 98, and the pedigree in Fl. Wig. i. 250, 262, give their names as Sexred and Sæward, though in the text, i. 13, Fl. follows Bede.

celebratis . . . sollemniis] *i. e.* when the celebrant had communicated, and the distribution of the elements to the laity was commencing; Bright, p. 101.

Saba . . . consuerant] Cf. 'Edwine, qui et Eda dictus est.' S. D. ii. 65. There is a paper by Kemble on these shortened names, Proceedings of the Archaeological Soc. 1845.

The Gewissi.

p. 92. **gentem Geuissorum**] 'a West Saxonibus,' W. M. i. 98;

'wiđ West Seaxna þeode,' 'against the people of the West Saxons,' AS. vers., which never uses the term 'Gewissas.' Nor does it occur in any Saxon source. It seems to have been antiquated even in Bede's time; cf. iii. 7 *ad init.*: 'Occidentales Saxones, qui antiquitus Geuissae uocabantur.' It survives in Celtic sources both Welsh and Irish, *e. g.* Ann. Camb. 900: 'Albrit (Alfred) rex Giuoys moritur'; so Brut y Tywysogion: 'Alvryt brenhin Iwys'; Ann. Ult. 1040: 'Aralt ri Saxan Giuais moritur,' 'Harold (Harefoot) king of the Gewis Saxons.' It is found in charters both spurious and genuine, K. C. D. Nos. 115, 1033, 1035; Birch, Nos. 200, 389, 390. It is probably connected with the 'visi-' of 'Visigoths,' meaning 'west,' and hence would indicate the western confederation of Saxon tribes. This derivation was suggested by Smith on iii. 7, and is confirmed by modern philology; cf. Kluge's Dictionary, *s. v.* 'West.' Asser derives the name from a certain 'Gewis' (who occurs in the West-Saxon pedigrees, Sax. Chron. B. C. *s. a.* 552, and Preface to MS. A); 'Gewis a quo *Britones* totam illam gentem Gegwis nominant,' M. H. B. p. 468. (Note that this is regarded as a specially British appellation of the West Saxons, which illustrates the passages given above from Celtic sources.) The two names are no doubt connected, but 'Gewis' is probably an eponymous hero manufactured out of the tribe name. The West Saxons were at this time under Cynegils and Cwichelm; cf. H. H. p. 57. The battle does not seem to be mentioned in the Sax. Chron.

CHAPTER 6.

stratum parari] 'þæt he hine gerestan meahte,' 'that he might repose himself,' inserts AS. vers. This story is quoted in the spurious charter cited above and below, and by Alcuin in his letter to Archbishop Ethelhard reproaching him for having deserted his see of Canterbury during the usurpation of Eadbert Praen; H. & S. iii. 519; Mon. Alc. p. 367. Bede himself cites the case of Jerome being scourged in a vision for his devotion to classical literature, Opp. viii. 59; Bright, p. 104, quotes from Eusebius, v. 28, the story of Natalius, who 'having become a bishop among heretics was scourged all night long by angels, and showed his bruises next day to the orthodox Roman bishop and church.' This, as Bright remarks, may have helped to shape the tradition about Laurentius. Cf. the story of St. Columba being scourged by an angel, Rs. Ad. p. 198. Other instances, D. C. A. ii. 1774; Stubbs' Dunstan, pp. 30, 31, 57, 97, 243; App. I, § 19. Legend about Laurentius.

p. 93. **ecclesiae rebus**] W. M. i. 14 speaks of his benefactions to

St. Augustine's (SS. Peter and Paul), as does the spurious charter, K. C. D. No. 6; Birch, i. 19, 20, cited above.

post annum] On the date, cf. *supra*.

Decline of Kent.

non enim . . . reddere] On the decline of Kentish power already beginning under Ethelbert, *v. s.* c. 5, p. 89, note. The AS. vers. renders very freely: 'Ond heo Eadbaldes . . . worda ne gemdon, forðon his rice ne wæs ofer heo swa swa his fæder hæfde,' 'but they paid no heed to Eadbald's words, for his power over them was not such as his father had.' W. M. represents this as the result of a regular rebellion against him: 'regulis quos pater sub iugum miserat rebellantibus, regni mutilatus dispendio,' i. 14. But this is merely 'his own heightened and telling way of putting things.'

Church of the Virgin.

ecclesiam . . . fecit] It was to the east of the church built by Ethelbert, the monastic cemetery coming in between. Subsequent extensions united the two churches, Elmham, p. 144.

CHAPTER 7.

Papal letters.

P. 94. scripta exhortatoria] These have not been preserved; see however note to c. 8. As Bede uses a similar term, 'exhortatorias litteras' of the letter of Gregory encouraging the companions of Augustine to proceed, i. 23, p. 43, it is probable that the object of these letters was to encourage Mellitus and Justus to persevere in the face of the difficulties that beset them, and that they had nothing to do with the question of the location of the primacy, as some have thought, H. & S. iii. 71, which indeed was not a practical question at this time, *v.* note to c. 8. It is not clear whether Bede means by 619 to indicate the date of the letters, or of Boniface V's accession. Anyhow the letters must be 619 × 624, ib.

Bonifatio . . . Deusdedit] Deusdedit died Nov. 618. Boniface V was not consecrated till Dec. 619; cf. R. P. pp. 155, 156; H. & S. iii. 71.

Mellitus.

Mellitus . . . podagra grauatus] And this is, no doubt, the reason why in Goscelin's life of him, the miracles wrought at his tomb are specially concerned with the cure of this disease; Hardy, Cat. i. 219.

Nobility of birth and nobility of mind.

erat . . . nobilior] Bede is very fond of this contrast; iii. 19, p. 164, of St. Fursa (though the words there are partly taken from the life of Fursa); iv. 9, p. 222, of a nun at Barking; iv. 20, p. 248, of Ethelthryth; iv. 23, p. 252, of Hild; Hist. Abb. § 1, of Benedict Biscop, p. 364; ib. § 8, of Eosterwine, p. 371; Vita Cudb. Pros. c. 23, of Elfled, 'regalis stemmata nobilitatis potiori nobilitate summae uirtutis accumulabat;' Opp. Min. p. 94. So of Joseph of

Arimathea: 'magnae . . . dignitatis ad saeculum, sed maioris apud Deum meriti, Opp. x. 251; xi. 371. Contrast, 'Reduald natu nobilis, quamlibet actu ignobilis,' *infra* ii. 15, p. 116.

per culpam incuriae] The same phrase occurs iii. 17, p. 160, of the royal vill in which Aidan died; iv. 25, p. 262, of the destruction of Coldingham. Similar stories are told of St. Cuthbert, Vit. Pros. c. 14; Vit. Anon. § 20; and of Alcuin, Vita Alc. in Mon. Alc. pp. 26, 27. On the frequency of fires in these times, see note on ii. 14, p. 114. Fires miraculously quenched.

confidens, &c.] Cf. on i. 14, p. 29.

martyrium] 'Martyria uocabantur ecclesiae, quae in honore aliquorum Martyrum fiebant,' Walafridus Strabo in Ducange. 'Martyria' also means the tomb, relics, &c. of martyrs. In Irish 'martra' simply means relics generally; *e. g.* 'martra na noem,' 'relics of saints.' 'Martyrium.'

IIII Coronatorum] In the Martyrology at Nov. 8, we find: 'vi. Idus. Romae sanctorum quatuor Coronatorum. Claudii, Nicostrati, Symphoriani, Castorii, et Simplicii.' To this one MS. of Florus' additions to the martyrology adds: 'Quatuor Cor. nomina haec sunt: Seuerus, Seuerianus, Uictorianus et Carpophorus; quorum dies natalis per incuriam neglectus minime reperiri poterat; ideo statutum est ut in eorum ecclesia horum quinque [*i. e.* Claudii, &c. *v. s.*] sanctorum qui in missa recitantur natalis celebretur, ut cum istis eorum quoque memoria pariter fiat,' Opp. iv. 250, 251; cf. Ltft. App. Ff. I. i. 251; H. Y. i. 463. Their church at Rome on the Caelian Hill is mentioned as early as the time of Gregory I, but was entirely rebuilt by Honorius I (625–638), Gregorovius, Gesch. d. Stadt Rom, ii. 120, 121. Another rebuilding of it is recorded under the year 847; Pertz, xxiv. 144; cf. ib. 117; D. C. A. i. 461, 462. 'Quatuor Coronati.'

tempestates . . . aeriarum] 'stormas 7 hreonisse þara werigra gasta,' 'storms and tempests of the evil spirits,' AS. vers.; cf. Eph. ii. 2.

p. 95. die . . . Maiarum] April 24, 624.

CHAPTER 8.

The AS. vers. appends the first words of this chapter as far as 'Bonifatio' to the preceding chapter, and omits the remainder here, and the heading from the capitula.

ista est forma] In G.P. pp. 47–49, is a spurious letter of Boniface to Justus (the second of the Malmesbury series, *v. s.* on ii. 4, p. 88), parallel to this genuine one given by Bede. That it is parallel, and not a later letter, genuine or spurious, is proved by the fact Parallel spurious document.

that the former part of that letter is obviously modelled on the corresponding part of this. The latter part is totally different, and consists of a false assertion that Gregory had fixed the primacy at Canterbury: 'ubi caput totius gentis Anglorum a diebus paganorum habetur,' and decreeing that: 'in Doribernia ciuitate semper in posterum metropolitanus totius Britanniae locus habeatur, omnesque prouintiae regni Anglorum prefati loci metropolitanae ecclesiae subitiantur.' Now apart from the fact that there was no 'regnum Anglorum' at this time, the location of the primacy was not a practical question. London had relapsed into Paganism, and Northumbria had not been attacked. Roman Christianity in Britain was confined to Kent with its two sees of Canterbury and Rochester.

'Fastigium.'

fastigiorum uestrorum] 'Fastigium' seems to be used here as a title, 'your sublimities.' This sense is not noted by Ducange. The Durham MS. reads 'uestigiorum' (on an erasure) which is certainly a very ingenious emendation.

Text corrupt.

dum . . . praeparauit] The sentence seems corrupt, and can hardly be construed as it stands. It would improve it somewhat to read 'quod ei resignare' for 'ei quod signare'; 'while by bestowing an abundant return on the exercise of your faithful trafficking with the talents committed to you, he prepared that which ye might render to him with multiplied interest'; cf. c. 11, p. 106: 'ut fructum . . . creditorum tibi beneficiorum Redemtori tuo multiplicem resignares.' It is noteworthy that the composer of the spurious letter seems to have found a difficulty here; for while he follows his original very closely as far as 'mysterium,' he omits 'magno . . . exspectastis,' and continues: 'Ut enim proficerent, uestris meritis est eorum saluatio procurata, Domino dicente,' &c., after which he diverges entirely.

p. 96. Adulualdi] This is meant for Eadbald.

Two letters possibly conjoined.

pallium] *v.* on i. 27, p. 52; ii. 3, p. 85. At this point in the letter there is a curious transition from the plural pronouns, 'uos,' 'uester,' to the singular 'tu,' 'tuus.' It may be that in the earlier part of the letter Romanus is intended to be included, whereas the part about the pallium would concern Justus exclusively. It may perhaps be allowable to make a bolder suggestion, viz. that parts of two different letters have been conjoined, and that the former part is really the 'scripta exhortatoria' addressed to Mellitus and Justus, c. 7, p. 94. To this description it answers very well, and the congratulations on the conversion of Eadbald would certainly come more appropriately in 619 than in 624, some six years after the event. If the scribe who copied the letters from the papal or archi-

episcopal registers accidentally turned over two leaves, he might easily join the beginning of one letter to the end of another. The original heading may have been : 'dilectiss. fratr. Mellito et Iusto.'

CHAPTER 9.

P. 97. **Aeduino**] Aelle of Deira, the father of Edwin, the king mentioned in ii. 1, p. 80, died in 588, Sax. Chron.; and Ethelric of Bernicia, the father of Ethelfrid, annexed his kingdom. (The twelfth century life of Oswald says that Ethelric was the slayer of Aelle ; but I have found no earlier authority for this ; S. D. i. 363.) Edwin was then only three years old, having been born in 585 ; c. 20, p. 124. He took refuge subsequently, according to Welsh tradition, with Cadvan, King of Gwynedd ; and it is possible that this was the cause of the battle of Chester. Cf. Lappenberg, i. 144 ; E. T. i. 145; Rhŷs, C. B. p. 128. The life of Oswald has preserved this residence of Edwin at the court of Cadvan, though it places it wrongly after the battle of Chester: 'Postea Cadwanus cis Humbram regnans, Edwinum . . . nutriuit cum Cadwallone filio suo,' S. D. i. 345. After that battle Edwin fled to Redwald king of the East Angles ; and, in conjunction with him, defeated and slew Ethelfrid on the Idle in 616 or 617, *v.* i. 34 ; ii. 20. He in his turn took possession of the whole of Northumbria, expelling Ethelfrid's sons ; *v. infra*, c. 12, note. Edwin.

Paulino, cuius supra meminimus] *i. e.* i. 29, p. 63, where he is mentioned as one of those sent by Gregory in 601 with the second mission. Since then we have heard nothing of him. But the story of Edwin's interview with the mysterious stranger at the court of Redwald, c. 12, pp. 108, 109 *infra*, is best explained by supposing that Paulinus had been sent on a mission to East Anglia. He may have gone thither with Redwald, after the latter's baptism in Kent, and left it again after he relapsed more or less into idolatry, ii. 15, p. 116 ; cf. App. I, § 16 *ad fin.*, which strongly supports this view. Hence his knowledge of Edwin would be a reason for choosing him for the Northumbrian mission, and hence both he and Edwin would be interested in the conversion of East Anglia ; though ultimately it was due mainly to the Burgundian bishop, Felix, ib. Paulinus' work in Northumbria is narrated in cc. 9, 10, 12–14 ; his preaching in Lindsey, c. 16 ; his reception of the pallium, c. 17 ; his consecration of Honorius as Archbishop of Canterbury, c. 18 ; his retirement to Rochester after the defeat and death of Edwin in c. 20 ; and his death there, Oct. 10, 644, iii. 14, p. 154. 'Huius laudem semper hac- Paulinus.

tenus prae se tulit antiquitas, et in immensum extulit,' G. P. p. 134. On the later lives of Paulinus, *v.* Hardy, Cat. i. 229. 230.

Extent of Edwin's power.

quod nemo Anglorum ante eum] Cf. the prophecy of the stranger to the exiled Edwin, 'ut . . . omnes, qui ante te reges in gente Anglorum fuerant, potestate transcendas'; c. 12, p. 109. Bede's Chron. Opp. Min. p. 195; and App. I, § 12.

omnes Brittaniae fines] 'praeter Cantuariis tantum,' c. 5 *supra*, p. 89.

prouinciae habitabant] A curious phrase.

Meuaniae insulae.

Meuanias insulas] *i. e.* Man and Anglesey. It is commonly thought that it was from this conquest that the latter got its name. Above, c. 5, p. 89, they are called 'Brettonum insulae.' In the AS. version both here and c. 5, we have 'Monige Bretta ealond,' where 'Monige' as well as 'ealond' is plural (='Monae insulae'), a fact which has escaped the editor, Dr. Miller; the singular would be 'Monig, Mona insula.' Curiously enough W. M. i. 50 gives the name Anglesey to both: 'Insulae Meuaniarum quas nunc Anglesei, id est, Anglorum insulas dicunt.' I have found no other authority for applying this name to Man. This passage of W. M. shows that the explanation of Anglesey as 'Anglorum insula' is very old, though Mr. Henry Bradley objects that in that case we ought to have 'Engla-ig,' Academy, June 2, 1894. The Icelandic name is 'Önguls-ey,' *i. e.* 'anguli insula,' Orkneyinga Saga, pp. 70, 73. For Man, cf. M. H. B. p. xix.

situ amplior] This is correct; Anglesey is rather the larger of the two; see above, pp. 40, 41. The AS. version omits 'quarum prior . . . tenet.'

familiarum] See on i. 25, p. 45.

Witenagemót.

p. 98. examinata a prudentibus] Here again we seem to have a glimpse of the witenagemót; and here the AS. version has 'wise witan' for 'prudentes.' The actual deliberation on the point is recorded in c. 13, where see notes. Cf. Bede on Ezra v. 5: 'Dux iste Syriae, qui regem de opere domus Dei non accusando instigat, sed consulendo interrogat, eorum recte imaginem exprimit, qui adhuc in gentilitate positi, fidem et opera mirantur ecclesiae; nec se credituros abnegant, si hanc ueram esse ac iustam diuinitatis culturam intelligere possint'; Opp. ix. 414, 415.

Spread of Christianity by royal marriages.

Paulinus, qui cum illa ueniret] His position would at first be like that of Liudhard at the court of Kent, i. 25, p. 45. Other instances of the spread of Christianity by royal marriages are: Peada and Alchfled, iii. 21, pp. 169, 170; and to some extent Ethelbert and Bertha, i. 25, p. 45.

die XII Kal. Aug.] July 21; this was a Sunday in 625.

p. 99. Cuichelmo] In iii. 7 *ad init.*, we find Cynegils king of the West Saxons. He and Cwichelm seem to have reigned conjointly, and are mentioned together, Sax. Chron. *s. a.* 614, 628. W. M. says: 'regni infulas aequa lance induerunt,' i. 21. He makes them however brothers, instead of father and son, as do the Chron. A, B, C, 648, and Fl. Wig. i. 256. H. H. is inconsistent, pp. 55, 58. He associates Cynegils with Cwichelm's treachery, p. 57. Cwichelm probably wished to recover for his house the hegemony which Ceawlin had held. W. M. thinks that he might shield himself under Coroebus' maxim, Aen. ii. 390, 'Dolus an uirtus quis in hoste requirat,' i. 22. Cwichelm was baptized in 636, a year after Cynegils, and died the same year. Cynegils evidently survived him some time, iii. 7 *ad init.* Cwichelm's name still survives in Scutchamfly Barrow, Berkshire; the 'Cwichelmeshlæw' of the Chron. 1006. Westminster's statement (following R. W. i. 126), that Edwin slew Cwichelm there is a mere inference from the name, and a wrong one, for Cwichelm outlived Edwin. Cwichelm and Cynegils.

sicam] 'hand-seax,' AS. vers.

primo die paschae] In 626 Easter-day fell on April 20.

uilla regalis] Various conjectures have been made as to its position; but I do not see that there are any data for determining it.

minister regi amicissimus] 'se cyninges þegn him se holdesta,' 'the king's most loyal thane,' AS. vers. On the 'comitatus' and the devotion of its members to their lord, cf. iii. 14, p. 155, note. Comitatus.

die sancto pentecostes] Whit Sunday in 626 was on June 8. Strictly speaking the baptism was on the eve: 'in sabbato pentecostes,' as Bede himself says, v. 24, p. 353; cf. Bright, p. 113.

Easter and Pentecost were from early times regarded as specially suitable seasons for the administration of baptism. Tertullian at the end of the second century mentions this custom, though he adds that no time is unsuitable for baptism. And some of the early fathers urge their readers not to delay their baptism unnecessarily under pretence of waiting for one of these seasons. In the East, and in those churches of the West which came under Eastern influences, Epiphany was also a favourite time. (See note on iv. 19.) Christmas was also observed in some churches, including those of Scandinavia. It is with reference to baptisms at Christmas that an Icelandic proverb is quoted in Laxdæla Saga (p. 176, ed. 1826): 'hátíðir eru til heilla betztar,' 'high seasons are most auspicious.' The Roman Church from the fourth century onwards tried to limit the administration of baptism to Easter and Pentecost. Siricius in 385 complains that men rush to baptism at Christmas, Epiphany and other seasons. Except in the case of infants, or Baptisms at Easter and Pentecost.

when necessity is urgent, they are to be restricted to Easter and Pentecost, unless they give in their names forty days before; Labbé, ii. 1018. And this gives us a clue to the motive of the restriction, viz. that regular courses of instruction might be provided for adult catechumens cf. Gregory I in R. P. p. 124). Wherever Christianity was a missionary religion, these would be the most numerous class. With the establishment of Christianity the necessity for the restriction passed away, and it has been generally abandoned both in East and West. Leo I in 447 writes much to the same effect as Siricius, grounding the limitation to those festivals on the correspondence between the trine immersion in baptism, and the three days' burial in the tomb, and on the baptism of 3000 on the first Christian Pentecost, Acts ii. 41; Labbé, iii. 1297 ff. So, too, Gelasius I. 492–496; R. P. p. 60. Bede alludes to the custom; Opp. v. 75, 281; vi. 257. In vi. 233, he quotes from Pachasinus, Bishop of Lilybaeum in the fifth century, a legend of a certain font which was miraculously filled with water every Easter Eve, and thus determined the true Easter. In ii. 14 we find Edwin, and in v. 7 Cædwalla, baptized at Easter. Many of the references given on the latter passage to illustrate the use of 'white weeds' in baptism, illustrate this custom also.

Edwin's campaign against the West Saxons.

p. 100. aduersus gentem Occidentalium Saxonum] The Sax. Chron. E. says that Edwin slew five kings (cf. on iv. 12) and much people. But whereas the Chron. makes the West Saxon campaign precede the baptism of Eanfled, the latter being the result of it, Bede makes the baptism of Eanfled precede the campaign, Edwin's own cessation from idolatry being the result of his success, though he still hesitated some time before formally adopting Christianity. Apart from the earlier authority of Bede, there would hardly be time for a campaign to be undertaken and completed between Easter and Pentecost 626.

CHAPTER 10.

The AS. vers. gives the heading of this chapter among the capitula, but in the text only gives the first few words, omitting the letter; c. 11 is omitted wholly; c. 12 is given in the text; but there is no fresh heading for it in the capitula, and it seems to be treated as part of c. 10.

Date.

litteras] There is a difficulty about the date of this letter and the one to Ethelberg in the next chapter, which Dr. Bright has pointed out, p. 114. Paulinus was consecrated July 21, 625.

Boniface V died October 25, 625. Yet in the letter to Ethelberg the Pope speaks of Edwin's delay, 'distulerit,' p. 105, to obey the voice of the preachers. Considering the time required for Paulinus to reach Northumbria, and for messengers to reach Rome, there is little margin for 'delay' left out of three months. Dr. Bright suggests that these letters should be assigned to Honorius, the successor of Boniface. To this there is the objection that in c. 11, p. 104, the writer seems to speak of himself as the Pope who had received the news of Eadbald's conversion. This might be Boniface V, who succeeded 619, but could hardly be Honorius. We might, however, take the 'nos' in that passage as meaning simply 'the papal see.'

quia . . . infundit] There seems some corruption here; 'profert' for 'proferetur' would be an improvement; 'since His humanity having opened, &c. . . . mercifully pours into the minds of men by secret inspiration the things which it brings forth from itself,' *or* 'which it reveals concerning itself.' Text corrupt.

p. 101. inserentes . . . propinentur] An impossible construction; we should probably read 'propinemus.' For 'propino' in this sense, 'to give *or* furnish,' cf. c. 8, p. 96; 'remedia' = 'means.' The two words recur c. 11, *ad init.*

eius . . . subdi] There is some corruption here, which I do not see how to mend. Mansi, x. 551, reads 'dilatandae subsidiis' for 'dilatandi subdi,' which is not much clearer.

gentibus . . . subpositis] The sense requires 'gentium subpositarum,' and so Mansi, *u. s.*, or 'gentis subpositae,' as in c. 11, p. 104.

p. 102. eorum, quos colunt] 'eorum qui eam (*or* eas) colunt' would be rather better.

p. 103. qui . . . inuidus] *sc.* 'Diabolus,' supplied from 'diabolicae.'

habuit . . . potuit] The sense requires 'habuerunt,' 'potuerunt'

constructioni] seems corrupt; 'constructione' would yield a certain sense. So H_1 and Mansi, x. 552. On the argument of this letter, see i. 30, note.

CHAPTER 11.

P. 104. multae] 'multa' would be slightly preferable.

innotescens] 'making known'; cf. i. 30, p. 65.

in uestri] 'uestra' seems required. The corruption may be due to 'uestri' in the next line.

p. 105. pars corporis uestri] Cf. c. 10, p. 101.

p. 106. **conuersatione**] 'conuersione,' the reading of C, seems certainly preferable.

releuetis] Here again the reading of C. 'reueletis' is preferable. Unfortunately it reads 'reueletur' two lines below, where 'releuetur' is certainly right. But the two words were very likely to be confused.

CHAPTER 12.

Bede's explanation of the facts.

P. 107. **ut uerisimile uidetur**] Note that Bede only puts this forward as his own way of accounting for the facts; viz. that Paulinus received a special revelation of the nature of the mysterious occurrence which befell Edwin in East Anglia. Perhaps the analogy of St. Paul and Ananias in Acts ix. 10 ff., may have been present to Bede's mind. A less miraculous theory is given above, c. 9, p. 97, note. According to a later tradition, the stranger who appeared to Edwin was St. Peter; S. D. i. 206. Cf. on this chapter App. I. § 16.

per diuersa . . . regna . . . uagaretur] See above on c. 9, and *infra* on c. 14.

Construction of 'peto.'

quae petebatur] 'The things which he was asked;' 'peto' construed with double accusative, of which the accusative of the thing remains in the passive construction; so iii. 5, *ad fin.* p. 137; v. 21 *ad init.*: 'misit architectos, quos petebatur,' 'which he was asked for;' Opp. vi. 317: 'petiti auxilia Romani,' 'the Romans being asked for help.' In iii. 23, p. 176, the accusative of the thing is replaced by an infinitive: 'petiit . . . Cynibillum . . . conplere,' 'he asked C. to complete.'

p. 108. **fidissimus . . . illius**] 'Sum cyninges þegn his freond se getreowesta,' 'a king's thane a most faithful friend of his,' AS. vers.

ille . . . magis quam ignobilior quisque] Cf. c. 15, p. 116: 'Reduald natu nobilis, quamlibet actu ignobilis.' 'Quisque' for 'quisquam.'

tot annorum] Since 588, *v.s.* If I am right in placing the battle of Chester in 616, this must have taken place in 616 or 617. Anyhow it must be 613 × 617.

caeco . . . igni] 'Vulnus alit uenis, et caeco carpitur igni,' Verg. Aen. iv. 2.

p. 109. **omnes . . . transcendas**] Cf. *sup.* on c. 9, p. 97.

ut ferunt] Note how careful Bede is not to give this as more than a tradition.

p. 110. **nulla ratione . . . uendere**] Cf. the stories in Eddius, cc. 27, 28.

The Idle.

Idlæ] The Idle is a tributary of the Trent. We have seen above,

on i. 34, that this battle was fought before April 12, 617, c. 14 *ad init.* H. H. p. 56, has preserved, as he often does, an English proverb with reference to this battle: 'Amnis Idle Anglorum sanguine sorduit.' But when he professes to give an account of the manœuvres by which the battle was lost and won, he is simply drawing on his own imagination; and such things should not be quoted as history. Henry of Huntingdon.

successit] He in his turn expelled the sons of Ethelfrid. The Sax. Chron. E. 617, gives their names, Eanfrid, Oswald, Oswiu, Oslac, Oswudu, Oslaf, and Offa. Nennius, § 57, pedigrees, gives the same list, except that for Oslac he gives Osguid (Oswith). They took refuge with the Picts and Scots, iii. 1. Oswald certainly spent part of the time of his exile at Iona, iii. 3; perhaps also in Ireland; cf. Zimmer, Kelt. Beiträge, i. 207; iii. 13. Of him and Oswiu (Oswy) we shall hear more. For Eanfrid, *v.* iii. 1. Ethelfrid's sons.

CHAPTER 13.

P. 111. cum amicis . . . esse] 'þæt he wolde mid his freondum 7 mid his wytum gesprec 7 geþeaht habban,' 'that he would have speech and counsel with his friends and wise men;' so below 'habito . . . consilio,' 'þa hæfde he gesprec 7 geþeaht mid his witum,' AS. vers. Debate in the Witenagemót.

primus pontificum] 'ealdorbisceop,' 'chief bishop,' AS. vers.

nullus . . . tuorum] 'nænig þinra þegna,' 'none of thy thanes,' AS. vers. The gross materialism of Coifi's counsel should be noted as throwing light on the subsequent apostasy after the defeat of Edwin at Hatfield, 633, *infra* c. 20, iii. 1. Those who adopted a religion with the idea of gaining material advantages would naturally abandon it in the hour of adversity. Thus the coming of the plague caused part of Essex to apostatise, iii. 30; cf. iv. 27. It is disappointing to find Bede applying the term 'uerba prudentia' to such a speech as Coifi's. Is it accidental that the AS. vers. omits the laudatory epithet? In iii. 3 *ad init.* Bede seems to regard success in war as at any rate a witness to spiritual truth; cf. iii. 7, p. 141. The same idea underlies the whole system of ordeals, trials 'by wager of battle,' &c. War is only an ordeal on a larger scale. Materialistic arguments.

p. 112. alius optimatum] 'oþer cyninges wita 7 ealdormann,' 'another royal counsellor (wise man) and alderman,' AS. vers. The spiritualism of this counsellor, his sense of the deep mystery of human existence, is in strong and dramatic contrast with the materialism of the last speaker. Seeking after God.

talis . . . uita . . . praesens] 'Nota pulcram comparationem de breuitate uitae,' marginal note in O_1.

cum ducibus ac ministris tuis] 'mid þinum ealdormannum 7 þegnum,' 'with thy aldermen and thanes,' AS. vers.

prorsus ignoramus] Cf. 'a philosophis . . . caeterisque gentium magistris, quia nil certae beatitudinis in futurum sciunt promittere, et hi quos habuere separantur, uidelicet conuersi ad fidem, spemque dominicae promissionis certissimam.' Opp. ix. 124. 'Populus gentium . . . habuit doctores, qui . . . huius solum uitae gaudia nouerant, de aeternis nihil certum dicebant,' ib. 435.

merito esse sequenda] Cf. Bede on Cant. iii. 3: 'Dixit gentilitas, quae in sponsam Christi erat . . . permutanda, *num quem dilexit anima mea uidistis*, cum uenientibus ad se doctoribus libentissime auditum accommodabat, et inhianter, an ueritatis esset uia quam praedicabant, dignoscere curabat,' Opp. ix. 254

Age and office.

ceteri . . . consiliarii] 'oþre aldormen 7 þæs cyninges geþeahteras,' 'other aldermen and royal counsellors,' AS. vers. The idea of age as a necessary qualification for office and counsel comes out in both languages. Cf. such words as γερουσία, senatus, senator, sieur (=senior), seigneur (=seniorem), signore, señor, &c.; cf. F. N. C. i. 582.

diuinitus admoniti] Omitted AS. vers.

altaria] See note on i. 30, p. 65.

Destruction of pagan fanes, &c.

p. 113. destruere . . . fanum] Cf. on i. 30, 32.

'O nimium tanti felix audacia facti!'

exclaims Alcuin of Coifi's exploit, De Sanctis Ebor. v. 186.

cum omnibus septis] The τέμενος or sacred enclosure.

Godmunddingaham] Goodmanham, near Market Weighton; cf. Greenwell, British Barrows, pp. 286-331. Dr. Greenwell says: 'the whole district is replete with archaeological interest.'

aras] 'Vidi Hecubam, . . . Priamumque per aras
Sanguine foedantem, quos ipse sacrauerat ignes.'
Verg. Aen. ii. 501, 502.

CHAPTER 14.

nobilibus] 'æþelingum,' 'ethelings,' AS. vers.

p. 114. circiter] *v.* note on i. 15, p. 30.

Baptism of Edwin.

baptizatus est] Cf. Bede, Chron. Opp. Min. p. 195. The Ann. Camb. under 626 say: 'Etguin baptizatus est, et Run filius Urbgen baptizauit eum.' The story is repeated in (an evident gloss in) Nenn. § 63, 'Si quis scire uoluerit quis eos [*sc.* Eadguin . . . et xii millia hominum cum eo] baptizauit, Rum map Urbgen baptizauit eos.'

To which two MSS. add the further gloss 'sicut mihi Renchidus episcopus et Elbodus episcoporum sanctissimus tradiderunt, . . . *i. e.* Paulinus Eboracensis archiepiscopus eos baptizauit,' ed. Stevenson, p. 54 and note. This last idea is a desperate attempt to reconcile what the scribe rightly felt to be irreconcileable, the account of Bede and that of Nennius. The whole story may be dismissed as a fable intended to claim for the British Church a principal share in the evangelisation of Northumbria. The Irish annals know nothing of it; and it is negatived, not only by the narrative of Bede, but by the whole attitude of the British Church towards the Saxons and Angles. I cannot agree with Skene, C. S. ii. 199, that 'the tradition seems to indicate that the Cumbrian Church did play a part in the conversion of their Anglic neighbours.' A very unlikely suggestion is made by Raine, H. Y. I. xix, whose description of York at this time is, however, of great interest.

die . . . paschae] Here again the eve is meant, Bright, p. 118; *v.s.* on c. 9, p. 99.

de ligno . . . de lapide] Building in stone was largely due, like so much else, to Roman influence. Thus Naiton, King of the Picts, 'architectos sibi mitti petiit, qui iuxta morem Romanorum ecclesiam de lapide in gente ipsius facerent,' v. 21, p. 333. So Benedict Biscop got from Gaul 'cementarios qui lapideam sibi aecclesiam [at Wearmouth] iuxta Romanorum, quem semper amabat, morem facerent,' Hist. Abb. § 5, p. 368. Candida Casa [Hwitern] got its name, 'eo quod ibi ecclesiam de lapide, insolito Brettonibus more, fecerit,' iii. 4, p. 133. We hear of stone churches at Lincoln, c. 17, p. 117; at Lastingham (replacing an earlier church of wood), iii. 23, p. 176. That wood was the ordinary building material of the Saxons is shown by the fact that their word for 'to build' is 'getimbrian'; cf. Anglo-Saxon Glossaries, ed. Wülker, i. 126. Aldhelm died in a wooden church at Doulting, Somerset, which was afterwards replaced by a stone one, G. P. p. 382; cf. ib. 153; a similar instance, W. M. i. 265. At Glastonbury, a stone church and a wooden church existed side by side, Stubbs' Dunstan, p. 271. A wooden church at Chester-le-Street continued to the eleventh century, S. D. i. 92; another at Wilton, F. N. C. ii. 509. One at Greenstead in Essex survived to our own day, Lingard's Anglo-Saxon Church, ii. 338, cited by M. & L. p. 269. Wooden buildings were also characteristic of the Celts both British and Irish. Cf. the passage from iii. 4 cited above. So in the life of St. Kentigern: 'More Britonum ecclesiam . . . de lignis leuigatis . . . edificare . . . inchoabant; quum de lapide construere nondum poterant, nec usum habebant,' N. & K. p. 203. Thus Finan at

Building materials.

Lindisfarne 'fecit ecclesiam . . . more Scottorum, non de lapide, sed de robore secto totam conposuit, atque harundine texit,' iii. 25, p. 181; *i. e.* not only the roof but the walls were covered with a rush thatch. This is shown by what follows: 'Sed episcopus . . . Eadberct, ablata harundine, plumbi lamminis eam totam, hoc est, et tectum, et ipsos quoque parietes eius, cooperire curauit.' Skins were sometimes used for the same purpose, Vita Cudb. c. 46; Opp. Min. pp. 135, 136.

The Welsh word for to build, 'adeiladu,' indicates a yet earlier stage of the art of construction, meaning literally 'to weave,' and referring originally to the primitive mode of constructing buildings by wattling. A temporary church of this kind seems mentioned in i. 20, p. 38: 'ecclesia . . . frondibus contexta conponitur,' cf. H. & S. i. 37. So in 995 a temporary church of this kind was made at Durham to receive St. Cuthbert's relics: 'facta citissime de uirgis ecclesiola,' S. D. i. 179. For dwelling houses it continued to be used, iii. 10, 16 (where see the AS. vers. cited in the note). At the end of the eleventh century, Benedict Biscop's monastery of Wearmouth was so utterly ruined, that some monks whom Bishop Walcher settled there, are represented as 'de uirgis facientes habitacula.' On buildings of wood and wattle among the Celts, both British and Irish, see much curious information collected by Dr. Reeves in his Adamnan, pp. 106, 177, 178; Petrie, Round Towers, pp. 125–160. Duleek, in Ireland, obtained its name 'Daim-liag,' 'the house of stone,' from the fact that there, as at Candida Casa, this was a previously unknown phenomenon.

Frequency of fires.

From this use of wood, &c., resulted the frequency of fires, *e. g.* i. 19; ii. 7; iii. 10, 17; iv. 25; Opp. Min. p. 75. The church at Campodonum, *infra*, was evidently of wood. When burnt by the pagan Mercians after Hatfield: 'euasit . . . ignem altare, quia lapideum erat,' p. 115. After the flight of Paulinus in 633, and the location of the Northumbrian see at Lindisfarne, the church of

Church of York.

York fell into decay. Wilfrid, on gaining possession of his see in 669, restored it magnificently, Eddius, c. 16. Though of stone it was burnt down in 741, Sax. Chron. D. E. *ad ann.* S. D. ii. 38. It was rebuilt by Archbishop Ethelbert, 766 × 780, the works being superintended by Eanbald, who succeeded him, and Alcuin. On the site of Edwin's baptism an altar was erected, covered with silver, and adorned with gold and silver, and dedicated to St. Paul, 'doctor Mundi'; De Sanctis Ebor. vv. 1487–1519. The cathedral was burnt again in 1069, restored by Archbishop Thomas I (1070–1100; burnt once more in 1137, and rebuilt in its present form in the reign of Edward I. Smith, *a. l.*

impia nece] *v.* c. 20; 'impius' as often ='pitiless.'

in quibus . . . Merciorum] This implies that Edwin during his exile had resided at the court of Mercia. As Osfrid, a son by this marriage, had a son Yffi, who was baptized before 633 (*infra*), though probably not much before, as he died 'in infantia' after the battle of Hatfield, *infra* c. 20, Osfrid himself can hardly have been born later than 612, which proves that Edwin's Mercian sojourn must have preceded the battle of Chester. Whether or not it preceded Edwin's sojourn at the court of Cadvan of Gwynedd, c. 9, note, I do not find any evidence to show. Edwin's residence in Mercia.

Considering the subsequent alliance of Penda and Cædwalla against Edwin, it is not impossible that the kings of Mercia and North Wales may have been allied in his favour. If so, it may be safely assumed that their object was less to help him, than to check the growing power of Northumbria under Ethelfrid. On the subsequent fate of these sons, Osfrid and Eadfrid, *v.* c. 20, pp. 124, 125.

Cearli regis Merciorum] He does not appear in the pedigrees, Sax. Chron. 626 (MSS. B. C.); Fl. Wig. i. 251, 252, 264; S. D. ii. 369. According to Fl. Wig. i. 268, Qwenburg was the daughter of Creoda, the grandfather of Penda, which would identify Cearl and Creoda. But considering that Penda was born about 575, ten years before Edwin, it is extremely unlikely that Edwin should have married his aunt. Hen. Hunt. p. 54, makes 'Cherlus,' the cousin and successor of Penda's father, which is certainly more probable on genealogical grounds; and this interruption of the direct line of succession would account for the mature age of Penda at his accession. Cf. on all this, c. 20, and notes. Cearl of Mercia.

albati] 'under crisman,' 'under chrism,' AS. vers. So v. 7, 'In albis,' p. 292, for 'in albis adhuc positus,' where see note.

Uuscfrea . . . Yffi] on their fate, *v.* c. 20, pp. 125, 126.

alii . . . uiri] 'monige æðelingas þæs cynecynnes,' 'many ethelings of the royal race,' AS. vers. Among these was Edwin's cousin and successor in Deira, Osric. Bede does not mention him here, perhaps because of his subsequent apostasy; iii. 1, pp. 127, 128. Ethelings baptized.

in uillam regiam] 'in þone cynelican tun,' 'to the royal township,' AS. vers. Below, of Campodonum, it translates the same words by 'cyninges bold,' 'king's residence.'

p. 115. **Adgefrin**] *Ad* is the preposition, as is shown by the form in the AS. vers., Ætgefrin. This practice of prefixing a local preposition so that it becomes part of the place-name, is very common in Anglo-Saxon, and occurs constantly in the charters. Sometimes the name thus formed is a descriptive phrase, as in Noke, which is for Place-names compounded with prepositions.

Attenoke, corrupted from 'æt þám áce,' *i. e.* 'at the oak.' Atterbury probably is for 'æt þære byrig,' *i. e.* 'at the borough' (so that there was more than mere wit in Bishop Atterbury's remark, that if he went into the West country, he would be in danger of being called 'To-therbury'). But the usage is by no means confined to these cases. In Bede we have 'locus . . . uocatur Ad Candidam Casam,' iii. 4, p. 133 (when it refers to the church itself, it is 'Ecclesia . . . quae Candida Casa uocatur,' v. 23, p. 351); 'monasterium quod uocatur Ad Caprae Caput,' 'Æt Rægeheafde,' AS. vers., iii. 21, p. 170; 'in uico regis . . . qui uocatur Ad Murum,' 'Æt Walle,' ib.; 'locus qui dicitur Adbaruæ, id est Ad Nemus,' 'Æt Bearwe,' iv. 3, 6, pp. 207, 218; 'locus qui uocatur Ad Lapidem,' 'Æt Stane,' iv. 16, p. 237; 'locus qui dicitur Adtuifyrdi,' 'Æt Twyfyrde,' iv. 28, p. 272. Sometimes the preposition is 'in,' and in these cases the second part of the name seems to be either a district as 'monasterium quod uocatur Inderauuda, id est In silua Derorum,' 'In Dera Wuda,' AS. vers., v. 2, 6, pp. 283, 292; or a tribal name, as is suggested by the frequent occurrence of the patronymic termination '-ing' in these names; 'locus qui dicitur Ingetlingum,' iii. 14, p. 155; so iii. 24, p. 179 (AS. vers. identical); 'in *regione* quae uocatur Infeppingum,' 'in þæm þeodlande, þe is nemned In Feppingum,' iii. 21, p. 171; 'in *regione* quae uocatur Incuneningum,' 'In Cununingum,' AS. vers., v. 12, p. 304. Bede's own monastery seems to be another case of this kind; it was 'in loco qui uocatur Ingyruum,' 'on Gyrwum,' AS. vers., v. 21, 24, pp. 332, 357. There certainly was a tribe of Gyrwas in the fen country; Bede's 'prouincia, regio Gyruiorum,' 'Gyrwa mægð, lond,' AS. vers., iii. 20, iv. 6, pp. 169, 218; cf. iv. 19, 'princeps . . . australium Gyruiorum,' 'Suðgyrwa aldormon,' AS. vers., p. 243. Here too may belong '*prouincia* quae uocatur Inundalum,' 'in prouincia Undalum,' 'on Undalana mægðe,' AS. vers., v. 19, pp. 322, 330. The 'locus qui uocatur Inhrypum,' iii. 25, p. 183; v. 1. 19, pp. 281, 325 (AS. vers. identical), is probably not a tribal name, for when the AS. vers. wishes to express the people of the district, it suffixes the termination '-sætan,' 'settlers,' translating 'Hrypensis ecclesia,' iv. 12 *ad fin.* by 'Hrypsetna cirice.' Of names outside Britain we have 'uicus . . . qui uocatur In Conpendio' (Compiègne), iii. 28, p. 194; 'insula . . . Hreni, quae lingua eorum uocatur In litore,' v. 11, p. 302.

For other instances see the index, *s.vv.* 'ad' and 'in.'

The phenomenon occurs in later Greek: Istamboul, or 'Stamboul, the name of Constantinople, is a corruption of *εἰς τὴν πόλιν*; Standia of *εἰς τὴν Δίαν*; Stingo of *εἰς τὴν Κῶ*, &c.

Yeverin. Adgefrin] Yeverin in Glendale, which thus preserves the

ancient name of the river, which is now called the Beaumont Water, and is a tributary of the Till.

confluentem . . . plebem] These wholesale conversions seem to have been followed by no less wholesale apostasy, c. 20, and notes ; cf. i. 26, note. On their effect in contaminating Christianity with heathenism, *v.* i. 30, note ; D. C. A. ii. 1211. They are perhaps connected, as Lappenberg suggests, with the fact that in primitive society the individual counts for little, the family, the tribe for much, i. 182 ; cf. Maine, Ancient Law. It was Christianity which first fully recognised the true individuality of man. Wholesale conversions.

Maelmin] Smith, following Camden, ii. 1097, ed. 1753, says Millfield, near Wooler. Mr. Moberly in a private communication to me suggests Mindrum higher up the glen, on the borders of Northumberland and Roxburgh ; while Mr. C. J. Bates thinks it was Kirknewton, where a church dedicated to St. Gregory suggests a connexion with the early missions. History of Northumberland, p. 55. Cf. Murray's Durham and Northumberland (1873), p. 313. Maelmin.

Cataractam] 'bi Cetrehtune,' AS. vers., though in c. 20 *ad fin.* it is 'neah Cetrehtan,' and in iii. 14, p. 155, 'from Cetrehtweorþige.' The place meant is Catterick, five miles S. E. of Richmond, Yorkshire. Catterick.

in prouincia Berniciorum] Yet in spite of these successes of Christianity, no church, altar, or even cross was erected in Bernicia till after the battle of Hefenfelth, 634, iii. 2, p. 130. And in Deira, with the exception of York, which was unfinished at Edwin's death (*v. s.*), Campodonum, mentioned below, seems to be a solitary instance of a church built under Edwin. On the relations, political and geographical, of Bernicia and Deira, *v.* iii. 1, note ; and on the names, the former of which is connected with the Brigantes, and the latter, probably, with the Welsh word 'deifr' = waters, see Rhŷs, C. B. pp. 90, 113, 114, 291. Bernicia and Deira.

Campodono] 'Donafeld,' AS. vers., where the latter part of the Saxon name evidently translates the former part of the Latin name. Various identifications have been proposed for this name ; that most in favour is Slack near Huddersfield. Campodonum.

fecit basilicam] The context seems to suggest Paulinus as the nominative to 'fecit.' The AS. vers. says, 'het Eadwine þær cirican getimbran,' 'Edwin commanded a church to be built there.'

Loidis] The district of Leeds. The royal residence was at Oswinthorp, Thoresby's Leeds, p. 108, ed. 1816. Leeds.

euasit . . . Elmete] om. AS. vers.

Elmete] Elmet Wood near Leeds, Pearson, Historical Maps. On this district and its incorporation in Northumbria, cf. Green, M. E. pp. 254–257. Elmet.

CHAPTER 15.

East Anglian chronology.

Earpualdo filio Redualdi] There is no evidence to show when Redwald died and Earpwald succeeded. The Sax. Chron. (A, B, C, E; D is defective here) places Earpwald's conversion in 632, and the mission of Felix in 636. But these dates are refuted by the following considerations. In iii. 20 Bede says that Felix was bishop for seventeen years, and Thomas his successor for five; and that Boniface, who succeeded Thomas, was consecrated by Archbishop Honorius, who died Sept. 30, 653. Therefore the coming of Felix and the accession of Sigbert cannot be later than 631. Nor can they be placed earlier than 630; for prior to them come the three years of 'error,' p. 116, which followed the murder of Earpwald, which event cannot be later than 628, nor earlier than 627; and his conversion, which was 'non multo tempore' before his death, must be placed either in 628, or in 627. It cannot be earlier than Easter, 627, the date of Edwin's own baptism. Cf. H. & S. iii. 89; Bright, p. 123; and Wharton's excellent note in Ang. Sac. i. 403.

sacramenta . . . sacramentis] 'gerynu,' 'mysteries,' AS. vers. *v.* Introduction, p. lvii.

p. 116. Reduald] *v. s.*, cc. 9, 12.

Redwald's wife.

ab uxore sua] If she influenced him against Christianity, at least she kept him true to the dictates of faith and honour; *v.* c. 12, p. 110.

Religious syncretism.

ita ut . . . seruiebat] Cf. Bede on Ezra iv. 1, of the Samaritans 'qui . . . accepta Dei lege, et hanc ex parte seruabant et nihilominus eisdem quibus antea simulacris seruiebant,' Opp. viii. 404. So Gregory of Tours represents the ambassador sent by Leuvichild, King of the Goths, to Chilperic I, King of the Franks, as saying: 'sic enim uulgato sermone dicimus non esse noxium, si inter gentilium aras et Dei ecclesiam quis transiens, utraque ueneretur.' Hist. Franc. v. 43. So Landnámabók, iii. 12 (Íslendinga Sögur, i. 206, ed. 1843), 'Helgi var blandinn mjök í trú; hann trúði á Krist, en hét á Þór til sjófara ok harðræða,' 'Helgi was very mixed in his belief; he believed on Christ, but made vows to Thor for sea-faring and doughty deeds.' Cf. on i. 30 for the contamination of Christianity with heathenism.

Aldwulf and East Anglian chronology.

Alduulf] His mother was Hereswith, the sister of St. Hild, iv. 23, p. 253. His father (though Bede does not mention the fact) was Ethelhere of East Anglia, who was killed on the Winwæd in 655. iii. 24, p. 178. He was succeeded by his brother Ethelwald, on whose death Aldwulf came to the throne, to be succeeded in turn by his brother Alfwold, Fl. Wig. i. 249, 261; W. M. i. 97; S. D. ii.

368. Alfwold died in 749, according to S. D. ii. 39. If so, he must have been over ninety at his death, his father having been slain in 655. Also, he could not be the son of Hereswith (though Fl. Wig. i. 261, makes him so), as she seems to have taken the veil before 647. See on iv. 23, p. 253. In that case he would only be half-brother to Aldwulf. Anyhow, both of them would be very young in 655, which accounts for their being passed over then. Aldwulf must have come to the throne in 663 or 664, as Bede says that the council of Hatfield, Sept. 680, was in the seventeenth year of his reign, iv. 17, p. 239; (Fl. Wig. i. 27 gives 664, but this may be only an inference from Bede). A group of foreign annals have preserved the date of his death, 713. Pertz, i. 7, 24, 25. Cf. Lappenberg, I. xlvi. 237; E. T., I. xxxvi. 243. None of these East Anglian kings after Ethelhere are mentioned in the Sax. Chron., probably owing to these chronological obscurities.

Tytili . . . Uuffa] R. W. places the accession of Wuffa in 571, of Tytilus in 578; i. 84, 86.

frater . . . Sigberct] Cf. iii. 18: 'frater suus ex parte matris,' Fl. Wig. i. 260; 'frater eius ex matre,' W. M. i. 97. This succession through the mother, if a fact, is a very curious one. Perhaps there was some relationship between Redwald and his wife which, if known, would explain it. As Sigbert went into exile, 'inimicitias Redualdi fugiens,' iii. 18, he may have had claims which Redwald considered dangerous. Succession through females.

in Gallia] W. M., *u. s.*, says of him 'omnem barbariem pro Francorum nutritura exutus'; and in i. 70, he says: 'eos quos nos Francos putamus, Galwalas antiquo uocabulo quasi Gallos nuncupant.' This is of course an error; the 'Galwealas' are the Celtic populations of Gaul whom the Franks conquered; though in the Sax. Chron. it is used as a synonym for the country, Gaul. Franks and Gauls.

Felix episcopus] The whole tenor of Bede's narrative, both here, and still more in iii. 18, seems to imply that the coming of Felix was quite independent of Sigbert's accession. Fl. Wig. i. 17, followed almost verbally by G. P. p. 147, makes them become acquainted in Gaul (so H. & S. iii. 89), and come to Britain together (cf. Lib. Eliens. p. 13). The life of Felix, as cited by Hardy, Cat. i. 234, 235, goes further, and represents Felix as baptizing Sigbert in Gaul (so Alford, cited, AA. SS. Mart. i. 781). It also represents him as consecrated bishop by Honorius, whereas Bede's words, 'episcopus,' 'ordinatus,' clearly imply that he was consecrated in Burgundy. Felix' coming to East Anglia seems to have been posterior to Sigbert's accession; cf. 'quem de Cantia acceperat,' iii. 18, *q.v.* Bishop Felix.

de Burgundiorum partibus] H. & S. suggest that he may have been connected with the Irish Burgundian mission of Columbanus.

sacramentum] 'inner or mystic meaning;' *v.* Introduction, p. lvii.

East Anglian sees.

p. 117. **Domnoc**] Dunwich, on the coast of Suffolk, now a mere village. After the council of Hertford in 673, Bisi, the fourth Bishop of East Anglia, resigned on the ground of ill-health, and Theodore divided the diocese into two, the see of the northern 'folk' being at Elmham, that of the southern remaining at Dunwich; iv. 5 *ad fin.* In the second half of the ninth century both sees became extinct owing to the Danish ravages, and from 870 to c. 956 there was no bishop of East Anglia. From 956 the seat of the East Anglian bishopric was at Elmham. In 1075 it was removed by Herfast to Thetford, and in 1094 by Herbert Losinga to Norwich. Stubbs, Episc. Succ. pp. 21, 168, 169.

CHAPTER 16.

Date of the mission to

Praedicabat] There is nothing to show the date of this mission except that it must be 627 × 631. The Sax. Chron. E. places it in 627, R. W. in 628, i. 128, but these may be only inferences from Bede; cf. c. 18 *ad init.*, note. The imperfect tense seems to indicate either that Paulinus was there more than once, or that he stayed there some time.

Lindsey.

Lindissi] Lindsey is still the name of the largest and most northerly of the three divisions of Lincolnshire, in which Lincoln itself is situated. The inhabitants are called 'Lindisfari,' iii. 24, p. 179; iv. 3, pp. 207, 212; iv. 12, p. 229; v. 23, p. 350. On the political oscillations of Lindsey between Northumbria and Mercia, see iii. 11, p. 148 note. At this time it was clearly Northumbrian.

praefectum] 'gerefa,' 'reeve.' AS. vers.

Lincoln.

Lindocolinae ciuitatis] On Lincoln and Lindsey, see Freeman, English Towns and Districts, pp. 191–221; cf. H. H. pp. 86, 87: 'Urbs autem Lincoliae quae tunc Lindocolina uocabatur, et prouincia Lindisse ei adiacens, quae circumquaque clauditur uel fluuiis uel paludibus uel mari, ad Merce regnum pertinet. Urbs autem illa et situ splendida est, et prouincia rerum multarum locuples. Unde quidam: "Urbs in colle sita est, et collis uergit ad austrum."' In a letter to the Academy of Oct. 21, 1893, Mr. H. Bradley endeavoured to upset the old derivation of Lincoln from 'Lindum Colonia.' He cannot be said to have established his point. The correspondence on the subject lasted into December.

cum domu sua] 'mid his heorode,' 'with his household,' AS. vers.; 'mid ealre his dugaðe,' 'with all his chief men,' Sax. Chron. E.

cuius . . . uidentur] 'þære gen to dæge mæg mon geseon þa weallas stondan,' 'the walls of which one may still to-day see standing,' AS. vers. This implies that such was still the case in the translator's time; *v. s.*, c. 5 note.

presbyter . . . Deda] One of the 'uiri fideles' who supplied Bede with materials for the history of Lindsey, Pref. p. 7. Deda.

abbas . . . Peartaneu] 'abbud of Peortanea þæm ham,' 'abbot of the house of Partney,' AS. vers. Note how closely both the Latin 'de' and the AS. 'of' approach to their modern use in the Romance and English languages respectively, as mere signs of the genitive case. Partney in Lincolnshire, near Spilsby. Not to be confounded with Bardney, of which at a later time it became a cell; 'Gilbertus dedit . . . in . . . Partenay, ecclesiam cum suis pertinentiis.' Charter of 1125 to Bardney, in Dugdale, Mon. Angl. i. 630. Partney.

Treenta] The earliest form of the name is Trisantona; *v.* Rhŷs, C. B. p. 80. The Trent.

iuxta . . . Tiouulfingacæstir] 'bi Teolfinga ceastre,' AS. vers. I am sceptical as to the usual identification of this place with Torksey. In Sax. Chron. A, B, C, D, E, Torksey is 'Turcesig,' at the year 873, a date earlier than that at which the AS. vers. of Bede was made. Southwell, Newark, and Fiskerton have also been suggested. Mr. Moberly, in a note which he kindly sent me, argues that the place must be sought on that part of the Trent which borders Lindsey; that the termination 'Cæstir' points to a Roman station on a Roman road; consequently, that it must be identified with Littleborough, the ford where the Roman road from York to Lincoln crosses the Trent. Tiouulfingacæstir.

Iacobum . . . uirum . . . nobilem] His 'nobility' consisted partly in the fact that he remained steadfast at his post during the 'infaustus annus' which followed the death of Edwin; *infr.* c. 20, iii. 1, pp. 126–128. James the Deacon.

p. 118. sicut . . . dicitur] om. AS. vers.

caucos] 'ceacas,' AS. vers., which is the same word; Irish *cuach*; Welsh, *cawg*. R. W. alters this into 'calamos,' i. 128.

equitantem] On the progresses of the Saxon kings, *v.* Kemble, ii. 58–61. One reason for these tours was economic; to consume on the spot the produce of the various royal estates. Palgrave, E. C. pp. 286, 287. Cf. Maine, Early Institutions, pp. 160, 161. Progresses of early kings.

inter . . . ministris] 'betweoh his hamum oþðe be tunum mid his þegnum,' 'between his homesteads or by townships with his thanes,' AS. vers. (omitting 'prouincias'). It also omits all about the 'tufa,' simply saying: 'him mon symle þæt tacn beforan bær,' 'the ensign was always borne before him.'

The 'Tufa.' **Romani tufam . . . appellant**] '*Tufa*, genus uexilli apud Romanos ex confertis plumarum globis,' Ducange. This 'Roman standard borne before the sovereign' was one of the facts on which Palgrave relied in support of his theory that the Bretwaldadom was an imitation of Roman imperial sovereignty; E. C. i. 563, 564. See above on c. 5 *ad init.*

CHAPTER 17.

Honorius I. **Quo tempore**] Honorius I succeeded Oct. or Nov. 625, and was buried Oct. 12, 638; R. P. pp. 156, 159. He was implicated in the Monothelite heresy; D. C. B. iii. 151–153.

Date. **ubi . . . didicit . . . misit . . . litteras**] The AS. vers. omits the letter. The date of the letter is fixed by that of the one in c. 18 to June 11, 634. Edwin was killed Oct. 12, 633, but his death may easily have been unknown at Rome in June 634.

p. 119. sacerdotibus] 'bishops'; *v.* i. 28, note.

ordinanda] We might suggest 'ordinandis'; cf. c. 18, 'pro archiepiscopo ordinando.'

CHAPTER 18.

Date of Justus' death. **P. 120. Haec inter**] As in the case of Augustine, Bede gives the day but not the year of Justus' death. The Sax. Chron. E. places it in 627. If this be correct, and if Honorius succeeded without any interval as Bede seems to imply, then Paulinus' mission to Lindsey, c. 16, must be also fixed to 627, as it was that which caused him to be at Lincoln when Honorius came to be consecrated by him. And with this agrees the statement of G. P. p. 6, which gives three years to Justus, and twenty-six to Honorius; for the former certainly succeeded in 624, c. 7, p. 95, and the latter certainly died in 653, iii. 20, p. 169. But all this may be only an inference from Bede. Anyhow Honorius was certainly archbishop when Felix came to Britain, which was 631 at latest, *v. s.* Smith places the death of Justus in 630, and the consecration of Honorius in 631.

quarto Id. Nou.] Nov. 10.

Archbishop Honorius. **Honorius**] For later lives of him cf. Hardy, Cat. i. 251, 252. He was 'unus ex discipulis beati Papae Gregorii,' v. 19, p. 323; but whether one of the original companions of Augustine is not stated. We have seen his relation to the East-Anglian see, c. 15, note; iii. 20. He received Paulinus on his flight from Northumbria, assigned him to Rochester, c. 20, pp. 125, 126, and consecrated his successor Ithamar in 644, iii. 14, p. 154. In his later years Wilfrid studied for a time under him on his first journey

to Rome, 652 × 653, for Honorius was 'uir in rebus ecclesiasticis sublimiter institutus,' v. 19, *u. s.* He died in 653, *v. s.*; cf. D. C. B. iii. 153–155.

ad Paulinum] This 'was in accordance with the directions of Gregory, *supr.* i. 29 [rather, perhaps, of Honorius, ii. 17, p. 119] . . . but there was in fact no choice, . . . as . . . after the death of . . . Justus there was no other bishop in Saxon England [? Britain] than Paulinus, . . . Romanus of Rochester having been drowned before Justus died': c. 20, p. 126; H. & S. iii. 82. Consecrated by Paulinus.

sacerdotem] 'biscop,' AS. vers.

textum litterarum] Parallel to this genuine letter comes the third of the Malmesbury series, G. P. pp. 49–51; H. & S. iii. 85, 86. Of the genuine letter it embodies from 'uestra adquisitio' to 'te constituam,' and four words 'gratuito animo' 'ulla dilatione' from the letter to Edwin, c. 17. It confirms the primacy to Canterbury, and subjects to it 'omnes Angliae ecclesias et regiones.' The use of this one word 'Anglia' is enough to stamp the document for what it is, an impudent forgery. See note on iii. 8, p. 142. Spurious parallel document.

illud . . . repraesentat] An obscure and possibly corrupt sentence; 'quod' answering to 'illud' instead of 'quoties' would be an improvement. 'This also the graciously conferred richness of his mercy has bestowed, that by means of fraternal addresses (*i. e.* letters) he presents to their alternate view in a kind of contemplation their concordant love.' Text corrupt.

p. 121. filiorum . . . regum] The plural shows that here, as in the case of the appointment of Wighard, iii. 29; iv. 1, pp. 195, 201, the kings of Northumbria and Kent combined to approach the Pope on the affairs of the English Church. The mission of Romanus to Rome by Justus, c. 20, p. 126, may have had reference to the same question. Co-operation of Kent and Northumbria in ecclesiastical affairs.

ut nulla possit . . . iactura . . . prouenire; sed potius . . . deuotionem . . . propagare] A very loose construction, but not perhaps corrupt; 'deuotio . . . propagari' would be better.

p. 122. tertio Id. Iun.] June 11.

anno XX° IIII°] Heraclius' succession was Oct. 5, 610; Gibbon, v. 389. His twenty-fourth year was from Oct. 5, 633 to Oct. 4. 634. This agrees both with the indiction and with the year A. D. Heraclius.

Heraclio . . . Caesare] This is Heracleonas, the younger son of Heraclius and half-brother of Constantine, who is mentioned above, and whom he succeeded as Emperor, May 641; Gibbon, vi. 72, 73. He had been made Caesar in 631 (Moberly). Hence Honorius speaks of 634 as his third year. Mansi reads 'tertio' for 'quarto,' x. 581. Heracleonas.

CHAPTER 19.

This chapter is not in the AS. vers., nor in the Capitula.

paschae] On the Paschal question, *v.* Excursus.

paucitatem suam] *v. s.* on c. 2, p. 81.

in extremis . . . finibus] The Irish themselves frequently speak of Ireland as 'iarthar domain,' 'the west *or* hinderpart of the world.'

synodalium . . . pontificum] I am not sure of the meaning of this expression. Perhaps it means pontiffs in synod.

John IV. **Iohannes . . . successit**] Honorius I was buried on Oct. 12, 638. Severinus was consecrated May 28, 640, and buried on Aug. 2, 640. John IV was consecrated on Dec. 25, 640. This letter must therefore have been written between Aug. and Dec. 640. It is cited Opp. Min. pp. 195, 196; *v. s.* p. 2. John was a staunch opponent of the Monothelites. Cf. D. C. B. iii. 391, 392.

in Nicena synodo] Cf. iii. 25, p. 186.

Pelagiana heresi] *v.* i. 17, notes. According to Lanigan, ii. 410, it had only made its appearance in Ireland a short time before the date of this letter.

Tomene of Armagh. p. 123. **Tomiano**] Tomene mac Ronain, Abbot and Bishop of Armagh. His death is placed in 660 by Ann. Ult. and F. M., in 661 by Tigh. This passage of Bede shows that he must have become bishop at least as early as 640. His day is Jan. 10; Mart. Don. p. 12. Cf. Colgan, AA. SS. pp. 53, 54.

Colman of Clonard. **Columbano**] Colman mac Ui Telduib, Abbot of Clonard, and a bishop. His death is placed by the F. M. in 652, by Ann. Ult. in 653, by Tigh. in 654. His day is Feb. 8; Mart. Don. p. 42; Félire, note. Cf. Colgan, *u. s.* p. 17.

Cronan of Nendrum. **Cromano**] (Cronano C, here and below.) Cronan Bec, 'the little,' Bishop of Nendrum or Inishmahee, in Strangford Lough, co. Down. He died Jan. 7, 642, F. M., Mart. Don. p. 8, Ann. Ult.; 643, Tigh. Cf. Colgan, *u. s.* p. 17.

Dima of Connor. **Dinnao**] Probably Dima Dubh, 'the black,' Bishop of Connor, who died Jan. 6, 658, F. M., Mart. Don. p. 6., Ann. Ult.; 659, Tigh. Cf. Colgan, *u. s.* pp. 16–18. There is another bishop Dima or Dimna, of unnamed locality, who died in 662, F. M., Ann. Ult.; 663, Tigh.

Baeithin of Bangor (?). **Baithano**] Colgan, *u. s.* p. 17, identifies this person with Baeithin Mór, 'the great,' Bishop of Tibohine (Tech-Baeithin) in Roscommon. This however is unlikely. Baeithin Mór was a contemporary of St. Columba, and attended the Convention of Druim

Cett in 574, Rs. Ad. pp. 37, 318. It is unlikely, though not impossible, that he survived till 640. Baeithin, Abbot of Bangor, who died 665, F. M., may be meant; and, like Colman above, he may have been a bishop as well as abbot.

Cromano] Probably St. Cronan of Movilla (Magh Bile), co. Down, who died Aug. 7, 649; F. M.; Ann. Ult.; Mart. Don. p. 212; Colgan, *u. s.*; 650, Tigh. A later hand in Mart. Don. pp. 298, 396, identifies him with a certain Cronan, Abbot of Bangor, whose date I have been unable to discover. Cronan of Movilla.

Erniano] Probably St. Ernan, Abbot of Tory Island. Rs. Ad. pp. 238, 279; 'floruit circa annum 650.' Colgan, *u. s.* Ernan of Tory Island.

Laistrano] Commonly identified with Laisren, Abbot of Leighlin. He died in 638 or 639; but his death might easily be unknown at Rome in 640. It is, however, against the identification that Leighlin is in Carlow, and all the other ecclesiastics to whom this letter is addressed belong to the North of Ireland; cf. Rs. Ad. p. 27. The South, largely owing to Laisren of Leighlin, adopted the Roman Easter, 630×633. Colgan, *u. s.* suggests Laisren Mac Nasca, Abbot of Ard mic Nasca (Holywood on Belfast Lough), whose day is Oct. 25; Félire; Mart. Don. Colgan says: 'floruit c. 650'; cf. Lanigan, ii. 363. Laisren.

Scellano] Commonly identified with Sillan, Bishop of Devenish (Daminis), in Lough Erne. He died 658, F. M.; his day is May 17, Mart. Don. Lanigan, ii. 415, suggests Scellan the Leper, of Armagh; Mart. Don. Sept. 1; Colgan, *u. s.*, suggests Stellanus, Abbot of Inis Celtra. Scellan.

Segeno] Seghine, Abbot of Iona, 623–652; Rs. Ad. pp. 373, 374. Adamnan cites him more than once as his authority for statements in the life of Columba, ib. 16, 26, 111. It was to him that Cummian addressed his letter on the Paschal question, ib. 260; Migne, Pat. Lat. lxxxvii. 969. It was during his abbacy that Aidan was sent to Northumbria, iii. 5, *ad init.* Colgan however, *u. s.*, followed by Lanigan, *u. s.*, prefers Seghine Mac Ua Cuinn, who died Sept. 10, 662 or 663. Three Fragments, p. 62; Mart. Don. p. 242. Seghine, Abbot of Iona (?).

Sarano] Saran Ua Critain, who died 661; F. M.; Ann. Ult.; 662, Tigh. His day is given doubtfully as Jan. 20. Mart. Don.; Colgan, *u. s.* Saran Ua Critain.

seruans locum sanctae sedis] During a vacancy, or in the absence of the Pope, the arch-presbyter, the archdeacon, and the 'primicerius notariorum' acted as vicegerents of the Roman see; *v.* Liber Diurnus, Migne, Pat. Lat. cv. 27 and note; cf. ib. 36–38. Two of these join in writing the present letter. I owe the reference to Mr. R. L. Poole.

primicerius] 'primus in ceram seu tabulam relatus.' Hence the first of any order: 'primicerius martyrum beatus Stephanus,' 'Primicerius.'

K. C. D. No. 141; Birch, No. 230. Here it is the 'primicerius notariorum,' *v. s.* In cathedral churches and monasteries it was the name of an officer whose duty it was to instruct the clerks or monks especially in matters connected with the performance of divine service. Ducange, *s. v.*

scripta . . . siluerunt] A very loose construction. Perhaps some words have been lost.

Rome consulted on the Paschal question.

ea quae postulata fuerant] Hence it would appear that these ecclesiastics, possibly assembled in synod, had consulted the Roman See on the Easter question. This was certainly the case in the South of Ireland. Lanigan, ii. 380; *v.* note on iii. 3, *infra*.

The Celts not quartodecimans.

XIIII[a] luna] *i. e.* the writers charge the Irish with being quartodecimans. Hence 'nouam ex ueteri heresim renouare'; though the words 'cum Hebreis,' &c. might refer only to the fact that the Celts included instead of excluding the fourteenth of the moon as a possible day for Easter. And so Smith, *a. l.*: 'uetus haeresis fuit Pascha cum Hebreis semper celebrare; noua, aliquando tantum.' But I doubt this explanation. Aldhelm distinctly charges the Cornish Celts with being quartodecimans; Opp. p. 86; H. & S. iii. 271. Bede, better informed, or less prejudiced, expressly says that the Irish were not quartodecimans, iii. 4, p. 135. But even he in his Chron. *sub ann.* 640, allows himself to speak of Honorius as refuting 'errorem quartodecimanorum.' Opp. Min. p. 105; and the statement is copied by Marianus Scotus, who as an Irishman might have known better; in Fl. Wig. i. 15; cf. G. P. p. 211. But the name 'quartodeciman' was always a handy stick with which to beat the Celtic dog.

manifeste declaratur] Both these inferences seem to me very hazardous. The former, as Ussher points out, Brit. Eccl. Ant. p. 486, is due to the fact that Bede takes 'nouam' absolutely, whereas 'nouam ex ueteri' should be taken closely together.

p. 124. ecce enim] This form of the text is midway between that on p. 66 and the Vulgate.

CHAPTER 20.

X et VII] If this is to be taken strictly, it would fix Edwin's accession and the battle of the Idle definitely to 616; *v.* i. 34, note.

Christi regno militauit] See on iv. 11, p. 225.

Cadwallon of Gwynedd.

rebellauit . . . Caedualla . . . Penda] Cædwalla is the Cadwallon of Welsh authorities, King of Gwynedd, the son of Edwin's harbourer Cadvan, with whom Edwin had been brought up according to a tradition already quoted, c. 14, note. He was the leader of the Welsh in their final struggle against the Angles, the most

dangerous rival of his former comrade. Edwin had reduced him to submission, obliging him, according to Welsh tradition, to take refuge in Ireland, perhaps at the time when Anglesey was conquered, Rhŷs, C. B. p. 131, which is probably also the time when Edwin besieged him 'in insula Glannauc,' *i. e.* Priestholme or Puffin Island off the coast of Anglesey; Ann. Camb. 629; cf. Rhŷs, Arthurian Legend, p. 325; *infr.* iii. 9, p. 145, note. (The real year is probably 632, as Ann. Camb. puts the battle of Hatfield in 630.) We here find him 'rebelling,' and making a fierce effort to throw off the yoke, contemplating nothing less than a reversal of the Anglian conquest: 'totum genus Anglorum Brittaniae finibus erasurum se esse deliberans.' (Cf. W. M. i. 51, 'uir, ut ipse dictitabat, in exterminium Anglorum natus.') It should be noted that Penda, who to English eyes, and with our knowledge of the event, seems the larger figure of the two, is here spoken of merely as Cadwallon's assistant. And the life of St. Oswald, already cited, actually represents him as compelled to join Cadwallon by force: 'Deinde cum uterque regnaret uicit rex Adwinus Cadwallonem, et fugauit in Armonicam [*i. e.* Arvon], Cadwallo tandem cum multis copiis reuertens uicit prius Pendam . . . et sibi uniuit,' S. D. i. 345; cf. Geof. Mon. xii. 8; though W. M. says: 'uelut coruus ad nidorem cadaueris . . . *ultro* Chedwallae in auxilium occurrit,' i. 77. For other forms of Cadwallon's name, cf. Rhŷs, in Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot. 1892, p. 330.

Penda . . . praefuit] The omission of 'ex' in MS. M, and edd. has made it appear as if Bede regarded the whole of Penda's reign as only twenty-two years. Twenty-two years from this battle is correct, as Penda fell in 655; v. 24, p. 354. Bede does not give the date of his accession; the Sax. Chron. places it in 626, Fl. Wig. in 627, and both (inconsistently) give him a reign of thirty years, putting his death rightly in 655. According to MSS. A, B, C, of the Chron. he was fifty years old at his accession. See on c. 14, p. 114. Of Penda, Mr. Freeman says: 'he came nearer to achieving the union of the whole English nation under one sceptre than any prince before the West-Saxon Egbert'; N. C. i. 36; cf. W. M. i. 96. Penda.

uaria sorte] As far as Bede's own narrative goes, Penda's career up to the last fatal battle of the Winwæd, would seem to have been one of uninterrupted success. It cannot refer to Penda's early struggles, as Bede expressly dates the 'uaria sors' from the battle of Hatfield, 'ex eo tempore.'

Haethfelth] Supposed to be Hatfield Chase, to the NE. of Doncaster. Robert Talbot, the sixteenth-century annotator of MS. C. of the Chron., says, 'in ye forest off Shyrwode.' Sherwood Forest is now to the south of Doncaster, but may formerly have extended Hatfield.

further north. Both Nenn. § 61, and Ann. Camb. 630, call this battle the battle of Meicen, and make both Edwin's sons fall in it. Tighernach 631 (?) says: 'Cath itir [praelium inter] Etuin mac Ailli regis Saxonum, qui totam Britanniam regnauit, in quo uictus est a Chon rege Britonum et Panta Saxono.' Ann. Ult. place the battle in 630. It will be seen that here again the Welsh and Irish authorities are two to three years behind in their chronology.

occisus est Æduini] Cf. Alc. De Sanctis Ebor. vv. 232, 233:

'Edwinus occubuit regum clarissimus ille,
Post quem non habuit praeclara Britannia talem.'

Edwin a martyr.

die IIII Id. Oct.] Oct. 12, 633. As having fallen against the heathen, he was in later times regarded as a martyr; 'martyrio coronatus,' Vita Osw. in S. & D. i. 341; cf. ib. 340; and Capgrave's life, Hardy, Cat. i. 225. His day in the Calendar is Oct. 4, a mistake perhaps due to the omission of 'id.' (iduum).

XL et VIII] 'seofon 7 feowertig,' AS. vers.

Osfrid . . . Eadfrid] Edwin's sons by his first wife; *v. s.* c. 14, p. 114. The statement that a king of the Orkneys was present in the battle rests only on Geoffrey of Monmouth, xii. 8.

Question of Oswald's complicity in Eadfrid's death.

p. 125. regnante Osualdo] Had Oswald anything to do with it? It is significant that Ethelberg, Edwin's widow, did not feel that his son and grandson were safe from Oswald, even at the court of her own brother Eadbald, *v. inf.* We know how Oswy treated Oswin, though Oswy was in other respects an admirable monarch. Mr. Green boldly says, 'at the pressure of Oswald he murdered Eadfrid,' and cites this passage as his authority, M. E. p. 291. But here *as frequently* Mr. Green goes beyond what his texts warrant.

Cadwallon.

Caedualla . . . Christiani . . . barbarus] 'baptismo quidem regeneratus, sed male uiuendo paganissimus,' Lectiones de Sancto Oswino; MS. CCC Oxon. 134, f. 80. The life of Oswald in S. D. i. 346 says boldly, 'Cedwalla rex paganus fuit.'

Britons and Saxons.

usque hodie . . . Brettonum] 'swa gen to dæge Bretta þeaw is,' 'as yet at this day is the custom of Britons,' AS. vers. So that it seems to have continued to the translator's time. R. W. speaks of it as being still the case in his day; i. 94. On the ecclesiastical relations of the Saxons and Britons, *v.* Excursus on the Easter and Tonsure controversies.

Edwin's relics.

caput Aeduini] From this it would seem that his enemies had decapitated his body. Cf. the stories of the treatment of Oswald's remains, *infra*, iii. 12. During the reign of Ethelred of Mercia, *i. e.* before 704, and while Elfled was abbess of Whitby, *i. e.* after 680, Edwin's body was translated thither; iii. 24, p. 179; App. I. § 18.

uenit autem] At some time after her arrival in Kent she founded

the monastery of Liming in Kent: 'Ethelburga . . . monasterium de Limninge fundauit, in uilla eodem nomine uocitata, quam Eadbaldus frater eius, postquam . . . Cantiam est reuersa, eidem asseritur contulisse,' Elmham, p. 176; cf. Mon. Angl. i. 452, 453. Ethelberg, founder of Liming monastery.

milite] 'cyninges þegn,' 'king's thegn,' AS. vers.

p. 126. metu . . . regum] It would seem from this that the alliance of the royal families of Kent and Northumbria continued, though there was not any relationship between the kings as in the reign of Edwin. Alliance of Kent and Northumbria.

Daegberecto . . . illius] He was her second cousin. Her maternal grandfather, Charibert, and his paternal grandfather, Chilperic, were brothers. See Table I in Kitchin's France, vol. i. It is possible that 'amicus,' 'freond,' AS. vers., may imply this, friendly relations in primitive times resting on kinship (Maine, Early Institutions, c. 3) or on fosterage. The Welsh for friend is 'cyfaill,' = Irish 'comalta,' 'a foster-brother,' while Icelandic 'frændi' means 'relative,' and nothing else. This use survives in Lowland Scotch: 'Ye'll no be ony *freen*' to John Heron?' 'I am his son'; S. R. Crockett, 'The Raiders,' p. 186. Dagobert. Tie of kinship.

calicem . . . consecratum] Cf. the prayer 'ad calicem benedicendum' in the Gregorian Sacramentary; Bright, p. 129.

quae hactenus, &c.] 'þa nu gen oð þis mæg mon sceawigan,' 'which may still to this day be seen,' AS. vers.

Romanus . . . maris] On the possible object of this mission, *v. s.* c. 18, p. 121, note; cf. the fate of Abbot Peter, i. 33. 'Italici' (which the AS. vers. omits) shows that he must have gone by sea from Provence. His episcopate must have been very short. Cf. D. C. B. iv. 553. Mission of Romanus.

pallium] This, of course, being only sent in June, 634, *v. s.* c. 17, p. 118, note, would not reach him till after he had left Northumbria. He was therefore never *de facto* archbishop of York. Egbert, Bede's pupil, was the first archbishop of York 'de facto et de iure.' He received the pallium in 735, *infra* p. 361: 'primus post Paulinum in archiepiscopatum confirmatus est'; though Wilfrid loosely, and still more loosely John of Beverley, are often spoken of as archbishops; Bright, p. 129; cf. additional critical note on p. 282. Eddius, c 10, by a still more extraordinary abuse of terms, calls Colman, the Scotic bishop of Lindisfarne, 'Eboracae ciuitatis episcopus metropolitanus.' The Hist. Anon. says quite correctly: 'caeteri episcopi inter Paulinum et Egbertum nihil altius quam simplicis episcopi uocabulo anhelarunt'; Ang. Sac. i. 66. The archiepiscopate of York in abeyance.

reliquerat . . . Iacobum diaconum] Paulinus' conduct in flying has been criticised, Bright, pp. 128, 129, though Bede gives no hint of blame. But there can be no question that James the Deacon was 'a really noble instance . . . of courageous stedfastness under excep- James the Deacon.

tional trial,' ib. 130. On flight from persecution cf. Ltft. App. Ff. II. iii. 370.

cuius nomine . . . cognominatur] 'þone tun . . . geen tó dæge mon his noman cneodeð,' 'that village men still to-day call by his name,' AS. vers. The proposed identifications of this place are not satisfactory. In the Phillipps MS. 9428, the passage reads: 'uicus . . . habitare seynt Iemestret usque hodie cognominatur.' The scribe probably had local knowledge.

recuperata . . . pace, &c.] He continued to observe the Roman Easter, but he seems to have lived on good terms with those who followed the Irish use; iii. 25, p. 181.

Gregorian chanting.

cantionis . . . Cantuariorum] One very important matter which engaged the many-sided activity of Gregory the Great was the reform of the music of the Church, which had become much corrupted since the days of St. Ambrose, who may be regarded as in some sense the founder of Church music. Iohannes Diac. says of Gregory: 'scholas cantorum . . . in Romana ecclesia . . . constituit'; Opp. Greg. iv. 47, 197; on which cf. D. C. A. ii. 1844, 1845. The 'Cantus Romanus,' 'Cantus Gregorianus' gradually superseded the 'Cantus Ambrosianus' in all parts of western Europe except the Milanese. Radulphus Tungrensis, cited by Ducange, *s. v.* 'cantus,' characterises the Ambrosian chanting as 'solennis et fortis,' the Gregorian as 'dulcoratus et ordinatus'; cf. S. D. ii. 8: 'non hymnorum pulcherrimus Ambrosianus titulus, nec Gregorianum . . . dulcis armoniae organum.' Into the technical differences between them it is impossible to enter here; cf. Ducange, *s. v.* 'cantus'; D. C. A. *s. vv.* 'Ambrosian Music,' 'Music.' Pipin and his son Charles the Great did much to extend the Gregorian use in Europe. In Ademari Historiae, Pertz, iv. 117, 118, there is an interesting account of an argument held before Charles on this subject in the year 787; cf. the Gesta Caroli, Pertz, ii. 735; Mon. Car. pp. 639–641. When Gregory's missionaries came to Britain they naturally brought with them his mode of chanting; and this system would be adopted by those churches in Britain which were under the influence of Canterbury. Putta, Bishop of Rochester, after his expulsion from his see was instrumental in teaching this system in other parts of Britain; iv. 2, 12. Here we see Paulinus' deacon James practising it in Northumbria. But the reconversion of Northumbria by Irish missionaries seems to have introduced a different mode of chanting; and we are told that with the exception of James the Deacon, Wilfrid's chanter and biographer Eddius was the first to teach the Roman method in Northumbria; iv. 2; cf. Eddius, c. 47, where Wilfrid enumerates among his services the efforts he had made to promote

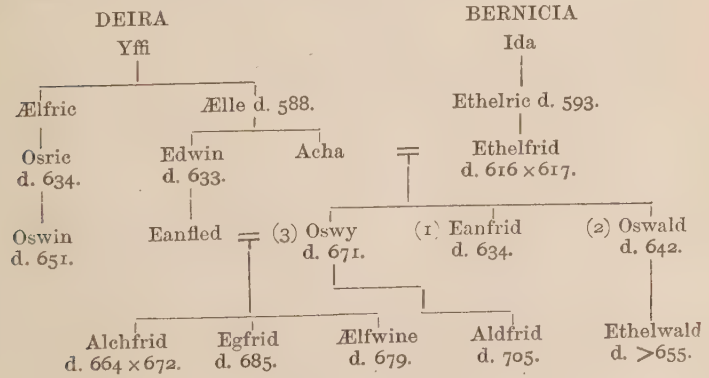
Church music ; and we find a mention of Gregorian music at Ripon in 790, S. D. ii. 52. Benedict Biscop brought John the arch-chanter of St. Peter's, at Rome, to teach this method in his monastery of Wearmouth, whence the knowledge spread to other parts of Northumbria ; iv. 18 ; Hist. Abb. § 6 ; Hist. Anon. Abb. § 10. Acca, when he became bishop of Hexham, brought in Maban, who had been trained in Kent, for the same purpose, v. 20. What the Irish system of chanting was, is unfortunately unknown. St. Columban wrote a work 'De Cantu,' but it is lost ; Greith, Altirische Kirche, p. 252. Later Irish music is based on the Gregorian scales, but of their earlier music nothing is known. See an interesting essay on Mediaeval Music with special reference to Ireland in Sullivan's Introduction to O'Curry's Lectures on the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish ; i. 541–636 ; cf. Smith's Bede, pp. 719, 720.

BOOK III. CHAPTER 1.

P. 127. in has duas prouincias . . . erat] It may be convenient to state briefly here the relations existing between Bernicia and Deira during the period covered by Bede's narrative. Relations and boundaries of Bernicia and Deira.

The pedigrees (Sax. Chron. *s. aa.* 547, 560 ; Fl. Wig. i. 5, 6, 253–255, 267–271 ; S. D. ii. 14, 15, 374, 375) deduce the royal houses of Deira and Bernicia from two sons of Woden, Wægdæg, and Bældæg. The pedigrees differ somewhat among themselves ; but we may begin in the former line with Yffi the father of Ælle, the first King of Deira, the king who is mentioned in the story of St. Gregory and the slave-boys ; in the other line with Ida, the first King of Bernicia.

Starting from these, we have the following table :



On the death of Ælle, in 588, Ethelric of Bernicia seized his kingdom; and he and his son Ethelfrid retained both until the latter's death in 616 or 617; *v.* ii. 9, note; Fl. Wig. i. 6, 8. After this Edwin in his turn kept possession of both realms till his death in 633; *v.* ii. 12, note; after which they were for a short time separated, Deira going to Edwin's cousin Osric, Bernicia to Ethelfrid's son Eanfrid; iii. 1. Oswald in 634 re-united them till his death in 642; iii. 6; but Oswy, his brother and successor, was not at first strong enough to retain possession of Deira; and we find first Oswin, the son of Osric, 644–651, iii. 14; and then Oidiluald, or Ethelwald, the son of Oswald, ruling in Deira, iii. 23, until Oswy's triumph over Penda in the battle of the Winwæd in 655. After the death of Oswin no one of the male line of Yffi reigned in either Deira or Bernicia; so that Ida is rightly made the progenitor of the Northumbrian kings; v. 24, p. 353; Sax. Chron. *s. a.* 547; S. D. ii. 374; Fl. Wig. i. 5; cf. Nenn. § 61: 'de origine illius [Ædguiin] nunquam iteratum est regnum.' Oswy seems to have governed Deira through his son Alchfrid as under-king, till the latter's rebellion in 664 × 672; iii. 28, p. 194, note. If the Liber Eliensis may be trusted, he was succeeded in this position by his brother Egfrid: 'Ægfridum uero iuniorem, quem intimo dilexerat affectu, sibi consortem regni super prouintiam Eboracam adhibuit [Oswius], quoniam corporis grauitate depressus, regni iura difficile protegebat'; pp. 27, 28. Under Egfrid we find *his* brother Ælfwine bearing the title of king, so that he probably occupied a similar position; iv. 22, note. After his death in 679 we do not hear of any under-kings of Deira. Cf. on the relations of Bernicia and Deira, H. Y. I. xxv f. As to their boundaries, the twelfth-century life of Oswald says: 'Regnum Deirorum antiquitus erat de flumine Humbre usque Tinae principii alueum; Berniciorum . . . de Tinae exordio usque in Scotwad, quod in Scottorum lingua Forth nominatur, dilatabat simul terminum et ambitum. Quicquid uero inter Tine uel Tesam flumina exstitit, sola heremi uastitudo tunc temporis fuit, et ideirco nullius ditioni seruiuit'; S. D. i. 339. This explains the fact that some authorities place the northern frontier of Deira at the Tees, others at the Tyne; *v.* Bright, p. 25, note.

The sons of Ethelfrid.

siquidem . . . exulabant] On the sons of Ethelfrid, *v. s.* ii. 12, note. If Skene, P. & S. pp. cii, cxviii f., is right in identifying Eanfrid with the father of Talorg mac Anfrith, one of the Pictish kings, he must during his exile have married a Pictish princess, the son succeeding in right of his mother according to the Pictish custom; *v. s.* i. 1, notes.

p. 128. proxima aestate] Summer of 634.

in oppido municipio] 'in Municep þære byrig,' 'in the town Municep'; AS. vers. treating 'municipium' as a proper name. York is meant. It shows the extent of Cadwallon's victory that the capital of Deira should be in his hands. York in Cadwallon's hands.

anno integro] To be reckoned from the death of Edwin, not from that of Osric; *i. e.* the death of Eanfrid is to be placed towards the end of 634; otherwise the 'infaustus annus' would be nearly two years long, viz. Oct. 633 to summer 635. This is further confirmed by the chronology of Aidan's life, whose mission cannot be placed later than June, 635; *v.* notes to c. 5. Date.

Eanfridum . . . damnauit] Tigernach speaks as if there was a regular battle between them: 'Cath la [praelium per] Cathlon 7 Anfraith qui decollatus est'; cf. Ann. Ult. This may be true, and Eanfrid may have gone after the battle without adequate security to ask for terms, and been put to death in the way described: 'Quo [Eanfrido] . . . occiso, tam procerum quam episcoporum electione et auctoritate Sanctus Oswaldus in regem eligitur'; Vita Osw. in S. D. i. 365, 366. Death of Eanfrid.

cum XII lectis militibus] 'his weotena twelfa sum,' 'twelve of his witan *or* counsellors,' AS. vers.

unde cunctis, &c.] These words, and still more those used with reference to the same matter in c. 9, 'neque aliquis regno eorum annus adnotari,' seem certainly to point to some system of keeping regnal and annalistic records prior to the time of Bede. See Introduction to Sax. Chron. So Elmham would include the time of the 'reges dubii et externi' in Kent (iv. 26 *ad fin.*) within the reign of Witred, the next legitimate king; pp. 287, 288. Keeping of records.

quo . . . uocatur] It would seem from Bede's words that the battle took place very soon after Eanfrid's murder, and before the end of 634. Owing to the 'annus infaustus' being reckoned as part of Oswald's reign, Bede has nowhere told us the exact date of his *de facto* accession, the 'mox ubi regnum suscepit' of iii. 3, *ad init.* The Sax. Chron. E. places it in 634; but it also places that of Osric and Eanfrid in the same year; cf. Bright, p. 131. The name of the battle both in Ann. Camb. 631 and in Nenn. § 63 is 'bellum Catscaul' (= cath-is-gwaul, 'the battle within the wall'). In Adamnan's life of Columba, i. 1 (ed. Reeves, pp. 15, 16), the battle is thus described: 'Ossualdus rex, . . . de castris ad bellum cum admodum pauciore exercitu contra millia numerosa progreditur; cui a Domino . . . felix et facilis est concessa uictoria, et rege trucidato Catlone, uictor post bellum reuersus, postea totius Britanniae imperator a Deo ordinatus est.' According to a story which Adamnan's predecessor Failbe heard Oswald himself tell to Seghine, Battle of Denisesburn.

Abbot of Iona 623-652 (though the account is certainly partly based on the earlier life by Cuimene, c. 25; Pinkerton, i. 67, 68), Oswald the night before the battle had a dream, in which St. Columba appeared to him and promised him victory: 'Experrectus rex senatui congregato [=witan] hanc enarrat uisionem; qua confortati omnes, totus populus promittit se post reuersionem de bello crediturum et baptismum suscepturum; namque usque id temporis tota illa Saxonia gentilitatis . . . tenebris obscurata erat, excepto ipso rege Ossualdo, cum xii uiris'; ib. The last sentence contains an exaggeration, and seems inconsistent with Bede's words 'exercitu fide Christi munito.' But in the story of the vision regarded as a dream there is nothing unlikely. In view of the obvious sense of Bede, and the agreement of all authorities, it seems idle on the strength of a confused entry in Tighernach, and a vague Welsh tradition, due merely to a confusion of Cadwallon with Cædwalla of Wessex (see on v. 7), that Cadwallon survived till some years later (the life of Oswald, *u. s.*, S. D. i. 345 gives him a reign of forty-eight years), to suggest, as Skene does, that the 'Brettonum dux' (on the possible significance of which title *v.* Rhŷs, Celtic Britain, p. 136) slain by Oswald was a different person; P. & S. pp. xcii. f.; C. S. i. 245, 246. The death of their champion was a deadly blow to the Britons: 'Ut recte dictum sit, illum diem fuisse quo nunquam Britones tristior, nunquam Anglos afflasset hilarior'; W. M. i. 51. Hen. Hunt. here gives us one of his proverbs: 'Unde dicitur: Caedes Cedwalensium Denisi cursus coercuit.' On Cadwallon, cf. Rhŷs, C. B. pp. 129–132, 134–139, 143. On the topography see the notes to the next chapter.

CHAPTER 2.

Site of the battle.

Ostenditur . . . locus ille] There is an admirable account of the site of this struggle in Canon Raine's Hexham, I. xi, ff. 'Oswald . . . drew up his forces in a position of great natural strength some seven or eight miles to the north of Hexham. Here there is a plateau . . . which . . . presents the appearance of a vast fortified camp. . . . The place, which . . . has for centuries been called St. Oswald's, bore . . . the name of Heavenfield. . . . Across the upper end of this great natural fortification ran the Roman wall, but between it and the northern side of the plateau there is a space left on which a small army might be drawn up. . . . Oswald therefore . . . took up a position at the north-west corner of the plateau, behind the wall. In that angle, . . . probably on the mound

which the chapel now occupies, Oswald set up the famous wooden cross to be the standard of his men. . . . The troops of Cadwalla would break like a wave against the rock-bound corner in which the cross was standing; . . . and the fight . . . would go roaring eastwards. "There is a fame," as Leland tells us, "that Oswald won the batelle at Halydene, a two miles est from St. Oswalde's asche" [Itin. ed. 2, vii. 58]. There is a place called Hallington in the direction mentioned, and it was here probably that the battle was fully won. Cadwalla . . . hastened towards the south . . . through the Tyne, . . . and at a distance of eight or nine miles from the battle-field he was caught and killed at a little beck called Denisesburn, a tributary of the Rowley-water.' That 'Denisesburna' is not a corruption for 'Deuilesburna' or 'Deuisesburna,' as Camden (ii. 1084, ed. 1753) and Skene (C. S. i. 244, 245) thought, identifying it with the Devil's water, is clear from a charter cited by Raine, *u. s.*, Appendix, p. iv, in which the two are expressly distinguished: 'Dedit . . . archiepiscopus . . . xx acras terrae . . . in Ruleystal . . . inter Denisesburn, et Diuelis.' . . . 'In the fork between Rowley water and Devil's water is a place called the Steel. The name of Denisesburn is lost, but it is almost certain . . . that it is identical with Rowley water,' or a tributary of it, as Canon Raine suggests above. This chapter is cited in Amalarius Mettensis (ninth cent.); Migne, Pat. Lat. cv. 1029, 1030, quoted by M. & L. *a. l.*

usque hodie] 'gen to dæge,' 'still to day,' AS. vers. So *infra*, p. 129, l. 24.

p. 129. **citato opere**] So of Edwin's wooden church at York; ii. 14, p. 114. Lappenberg says: 'Oswald's cross decided for ever the fate of Britain'; i. 153; E. T. i. 157. Oswald's cross.

astulas] 'splinters.'

praesagio] Another instance of a name with a 'sacramentum,' or mystic meaning; cf. Introd. p. lvii, and note.

est autem . . . statueret] om. AS. vers.

Hagustaldensis ecclesiae] Hexham; on the various forms of the name, cf. Raine, *u. s.* pp. ix, f., 8. There is a 'Hægstaldescumb' in Somerset; Birch, i. 97. Hexham.

psalmorum] *v.* note on c. 5, p. 136.

p. 130. **nullum . . . statueret**] *v.* note on ii. 14, p. 114. We can trace the progress of church building in Northumbria, c. 3. p. 132: 'construebantur . . . ecclesiae per loca'; and in Mercia, c. 22, p. 173: 'fecit [Cedd] per loca ecclesias'; cf. the passage from the life of Wilbrord, cited on v. 11, p. 301. Church building.

qui . . . superest] om. AS. vers. It is quite possible that this Bothelm.

Bothelm is the same as the one who was the hero of a story told in Eddius, Vita Wilfridi, c. 23.

Moss. **ueteri musco**] M. & L. *a. l.* refer to Cockayne, Saxon Leechdoms, ii. 344, where one of the ingredients of a prescription against 'elf-disease' is: 'gehalgodes Cristes mæles ragu,' 'moss from a hallowed cross.'

misit] 'put'; cf. French 'mettre.'

et dum . . . permanere] This shows that the monks slept in their habits; cf. Introduction, p. xxvi.

Infinitive of purpose. **admota . . . requirere**] Note the use of the infinitive to express a purpose after a verb of motion; cf. c. 9, p. 143; c. 22, p. 172; iv. 9 *ad fin.*; iv. 22, p. 250. M. & L. *a. l.* give other instances; but omit to notice that in all cases the infinitive follows a verb of motion. Later scribes not understanding the construction have altered it. See critical notes.

CHAPTER 3.

P. 131. cuius . . . ceperat] *v.* note on ii. 13, p. 111.

maiores natu] 'aldormannum,' 'aldermen,' AS. vers.; *v.* note on ii. 13, p. 112.

Conversion of Ethelfrid's sons. **baptismatis sacramenta**] 'Sed progenitoribus fidei Christianis penitus ignaris, ille ut rosa de spinis efloruit, salutari . . . fonte Christo regeneratus,' S. D. i. 18; cf. ib. 344. The life of Oswald, however, represents his mother Acha as a Christian, and the sojourn among the Irish missionaries as only completing the good work which she had begun: 'occiso Ethelfrido filii ipsius una cum matre fugam inierunt, et apud Scotiam . . . latuerunt. Ubi Oswaldus . . . piae matris doctrinam suscepit . . . Ibi ergo peregrinationis tempore . . . fidei documenta, quae prius a matre Christiana perceperat, gentis illius credulae eruditione solidauit'; S. D. i. 341; cf. ib. 385. If Acha survived Ethelfrid and fled with her sons as here described, she may, like them, have been converted in exile; but as far as we can see, she had had no previous opportunity of becoming acquainted with Christianity.

Aidan. **Aedanum**] For the later lives of him, which are merely taken from Bede, *v.* Hardy, Cat. i. 246, 247.

habentemque zelum Dei] '7 he hæfde Godes ellenwodnisse, 7 his lufan micle,' 'and he had zeal for God and love to Him in large measure,' AS. vers.; which then, with equal good taste and feeling, omits the controversial passage which follows down to 'didicerunt'; cf. on c. 17, *infra*, p. 161. On the Paschal question, *v.* Excursus.

North and South of Ireland. **septentrionalis Scottorum prouincia . . . gentes Scottorum . . . in australibus Hiberniae . . . partibus**] The Irish themselves always

make a strong distinction between the North and South of Ireland; the former, Ulster, Connaught, and Meath, is named Leth Cuinn, *i. e.* Conn's Half, and was colonised, according to the legend, by Erem, the younger son of Miled, while the latter, Leinster and Munster, is named Leth Mogha, Mogh's half, and was colonised by Eber, the elder son. This distinction was to some extent obliterated by the Scandinavian invasions, which brought North and South nearer together; *v.* Z. K. B. iii. 36, 37; Rhŷs, Rhind Lectures, pp. 39, 40.

Anatolii] See on c. 25, pp. 186, 187.

iamdudum . . . didicerunt] In 631 delegates from a South-Irish synod were at Rome, having been sent to consult the Roman Church on the Easter question. While there, they had an opportunity of seeing with their own eyes how widely their own use might diverge from that of the rest of the Western Church, for in that year there was a difference of a month between the Roman and Celtic Easters (see Excursus on Paschal controversy). On their return another synod was apparently held, and the Roman Easter adopted. The first synod, therefore, was probably held in 630, the second in 632 or 633. It has been commonly assumed that the letter of Pope Honorius mentioned in ii. 19, was connected with these South-Irish synods. This is possible, though Bede does not say that the recipients of that letter were different from those to whom the letter of Pope John in the same chapter was addressed; and these certainly belonged to the North of Ireland. If Honorius' letter was addressed to the Southern Irish it may have preceded and occasioned the former synod, in which case its date would be c. 629; or it may have been sent by the Irish delegates in 631 or 632. Jaffé dates it c. 634, apparently assuming that it was sent with the letters to Edwin and Archbishop Honorius. But this, on the theory that it was addressed to the Southern Irish, is less likely. It illustrates this point that Tuda, bishop of Lindisfarne, who was brought up among the Southern Scoti, observed the Roman Easter and tonsure; iii. 26, p. 189.

The Southern Irish adopt the Roman Easter.

p. 132. rex locum . . . tribuit] 'Oswaldus . . . fundator ecclesiae Lindisfarnensis, ex qua omnium eiusdem prouinciae ecclesiarum manarunt primordia'; S. D. i. 20; cf. ib. 57: 'illam nobilem et primam in gente Berniciorum ecclesiam, in qua plurimorum fuerat conuersatio sanctorum . . . barbaros fugiendo relinquunt' (875 A. D.).

Lindisfarne.

in insula Lindisfarnensi] 'Lindisfarne est insula exigua, quae nunc a prouincialibus Hali-eland uocatur, quam sanctissimus Aidanus, appetitor silentii et sanctae paupertatis in sedem episcopatus, spreta illa Eboracensis frequentiae pompa, elegit'; G. P.

Love of the Irish missionaries for remote sites.

p. 266. Elsewhere Malmesbury is rather contemptuous of this fondness of the Irish missionaries for out-of-the-way sites: 'Scotti . . . magis in paludibus inglorii delitescere, quam in excelsis urbibus consuerant habitare,' p. 135. 'Scotti, Aidanus, Finanus, Colmanus, nec pallio nec urbis nobilitate uoluerunt attolli, in insula Lindisfarnensi delitescentes,' p. 211; cf. ib. 307, quoted below on iv. 3. 'Uocatur autem Lindisfarne a fluuiolo, scilicet Lindis, excurrente in mare, qui duorum pedum habens latitudinem non nisi cum recesserit mare uideri potest'; S. D. i. 51; cf. ii. 54. It is the association with Cuthbert, not with Aidan, which has given to Lindisfarne the name of Holy Island: 'locus cunctis in Britannia uenerabilior,' Alcuin to Ethelred of Northumbria, Mon. Alc. p. 181; H. & S. iii. 493. The Welsh name of Lindisfarne is Medcaut, the Irish Medgoet; S. D. places the foundation of Lindisfarne in 635.

Lindisfarne a peninsula.

qui uidelicet . . . redditur] Omit. AS. vers. Cf. a very similar passage in Vit. Cudb. Pros. c. 17; Opp. Min. p. 83. On the tide, 'quod Graeci rheuma uocant,' *v.* De Temp. Rat. c. 29; Opp. vi. 201. The Vit. Anon. Cudb. §§ 44, 46, shows that carts passed freely from the mainland to the island: 'in plaustro ad insulam nostram uehebat,' 'in plaustro deductus ad medicos . . . coenobii nostri'; Opp. Min. pp. 282, 283.

Royal interpreters.

pulcherrimo . . . spectaculo] Bright, p. 141, cites the similar case of Gottschalk, King of the Wends in the eleventh century. This is what W. M., i. 51, 52, makes of Bede's simple and beautiful words: 'Si quando antistes Aidanus Scottice auditoribus facienda proponeret, et interpres deesset, confestim rex ipse, quamuis indutus chlamydem, uel auro rigentem, uel Tyrios murices aestuantem, id munus dignanter corripiens, barbari sermonis inuolucrum patria lingua expediret.'

ducibus ac ministris] 'aldormonnum 7 þegnum,' 'aldermen and thanes,' AS. vers.

linguam . . . didicerat] So his brother Oswy was 'Scottorum lingua optime inbutus'; c. 25, p. 182.

Irish missionaries.

de Scottorum regione uenire Brittaniam] This need not imply that missionaries came direct from Ireland as well as from Iona; for though Iona 'ad ius . . . Brittaniae pertinet' (*infra*), it formed a sort of stepping stone between the Scots of Ireland and Britain; and Bede often uses language which shows that he included it in Scotia; *v.* iii. 24, note.

quibus regnauit] 'Regnare' like 'imperare' with a dative; so c. 4, p. 133: 'regnante Pictis Bridio.'

Irish bishops.

sacerdotali] Probably 'episcopal'; *v. s.* i. 28, note. The Irish system of non-diocesan bishops attached to monasteries, would

enable them to send a number of these; and in this respect the Irish missionaries may have had an advantage over the Roman.

ecclesiae] *v. s.*

confluebant] Cf. iv. 27, pp. 269, 270; and the corresponding passage, c. 9, in the Life of Cuthbert.

regularis] 'regular,' *i. e.* monastic.

Hii] Iona. This latter name arose, as Dr. Reeves has shown, Ad. pp. 258–262, 313, 314, from a misreading of the form employed by Adamnan, Ioua insula, where *ioua* is an adjectival form (like Bede's *Hiensis*, v. 15, 22, pp. 316, 347) agreeing with insula, and formed from the Irish name of the island which appears in the forms *I*, *Ii*, *Ia*, *Eo*, *h* being often prefixed, as is common in Irish under certain circumstances. The adjectives *eoa*, *euea*, are also found. A passage in the eleventh-century life of St. Cadroe marks the transition from the adjectival to the substantival use of *Ioua*: 'Euea insula, quae nunc Ioua dicitur,' P. & S. p. 108. When the mistake of Iona for Ioua was once made, it was stereotyped by the fancy which saw in Iona the Hebrew equivalent for the name Columba: 'quod Hebraice dicitur Iona, Graecitas uero ΠΕΡΙΣΤΕΡΑ uocitat, et Latina lingua Columba,' Rs. Ad. p. 5; 'sic beatus Petrus propter eiusdem Spiritus gratiam Bar-Iona, id est, filius columbae uocatur'; Opp. xii. 28. So Columbanus of himself: 'mihi Ionae Hebraice, Peristerae Graece, Columbae Latine'; Migne, Pat. Lat. lxxx. 282. Origin of the name Iona

destinatus] The old edd. joined this on to the preceding word making 'Hydestinatus' the name of the island. Bede uses this same word 'destinatus' of the other bishops sent from Iona, Finan and Colman; iii. 17; iv. 4, pp. 160, 213; Rs. Ad. p. 259.

cuius monasterium . . . praeerat] *v.* c. 4, note.

septentrionalium Scottorum] *i. e.* the Scoti of the North of *Ireland*; the 'septentrionalis Scottorum prouincia' of the earlier part of the chapter. Northern Irish.

ad ius . . . discreta, sed] om. AS. vers.

donatione Pictorum] on this, *v. inf.* on c. 4.

CHAPTER 4.

This chapter is not in the AS. vers., nor in the Capitula.

P. 133. Iustinus minor accepit] Nov. 565, Gibbon.

horrentibus montium iugis] The mountain range often called the Mounth, which runs across Scotland from West to East, from Fort William almost to Aberdeen. In v. 9, p. 297, Bede calls these Northern Picts 'transmontani Picti.' The Mounth.

Nynias or Ninian.

ipsi australes Picti, &c.] It is to be noted that Bede does not profess to give the account of St. Ninian as more than a tradition, 'ut perhibent'; and as Ninian lived more than three centuries earlier than Bede, this would necessarily be the case, unless he had access to documentary evidence. The date of Ninian cannot be fixed exactly. The dedication of his church at Whitern must be subsequent to the death of St. Martin of Tours, 397 × 400; cf. N. & K. pp. xxvii, xxxviii, ff. 256, 266, 271–273. A later legend represents him as hearing of the death of St. Martin while the church was in progress. According to Ailred he obtained from St. Martin the masons who built the church; ib. 143, 144; cf. Hab. § 5, Haa. § 7, pp. 368, 390, and notes. He himself is said to have died Sept. 16, 432; Ussher, Brit. Eccl. p. 351, citing Bale, Cent. i. 43; but nothing that can be called authority has been produced for this date. From the location of his church in Galloway there is a tendency to think and speak of him as if he were only the apostle of the Galwegian or Niduari Picts ('Pictorum patria, que modo Galwiethia dicitur'; N. & K. p. 220; cf. Vit. Cudb. c. 11; Opp. Min. p. 71; Rhŷs, C. B. pp. 113, 150, 221). But Bede says distinctly that he preached to the Picts within, *i. e.* to the South of the Mounth. If, as seems probable, he was a Strathclyde Briton, he would have facilities of access to both; for the invading Brythons seem to have forced themselves in like a wedge between the Picts, much as the Anglo-Saxon conquest broke up the Britons themselves into three isolated divisions, or as the Magyar inroads cut off the Northern from the Southern Slavs. (See Map in Rhŷs, C. B., S. C. S. i. 228.)

Irish tradition or invention takes Nynias to Ireland towards the end of his life to found the church of Cluain Conaire in Leinster, and die there. And he is commemorated in the Irish calendars at Sept. 16, as Moinenn; *i. e.* 'my Nynias,' (or rather, 'my Nennius,' Nennius and Nynias being probably the same name); Félire; Mart. Don.; Martyrology of Tamlaght; Irish life of Nynias cited by Ussher; *u. s.* p. 506. But as Bede distinctly says that his body was at Whitern, this tradition is probably quite baseless, and due to a confusion of two distinct persons. On the fate of his relics, cf. N. & K. pp. xvii. f. On the later lives of him, of which the principal is by Ailred of Rievaulx, see Hardy, Cat. i. 44–46. They add nothing of value to the tradition recorded by Bede.

Ailred's life was edited by Bishop Forbes in Lives of S. Ninian and S. Kentigern, and his notes and introduction are a great storehouse of learning on the subject. Ailred's life is said to have been based on an *English* original; N. & K. p. 255. On dedications to St. Ninian

in Scotland, *v.* ib. xiii–xvii. His name is found corrupted into 'Ringan,' 'Trinyon,' 'Triman,' 'Truyons;' ib. 256, 304. The form 'Trinian' occurs also in the Isle of Man, where too there is a 'Kill Lingan,' probably derived from the same source; Rhŷs, Outlines of Manx Phonology, p. 135.

Romae] Ailred represents him as remaining at Rome 'pluribus annis;' N. & K. p. 142.

ipse . . . requiescit] Alcuin in a letter to the monks of Candida Casa, 782 × 804, says: 'Deprecor . . . ut intercedere pro mea paruitate dignemini in ecclesia sanctissimi patris nostri Nynia Episcopi, qui multis claruit uirtutibus, sicut mihi nuper delatum est per carmina, . . . quae nobis per fideles nostros discipulos Eboracensis ecclesiae scholasticos directa sunt . . . Direxi ad sancti . . . Nyniga corpus sagum olosericum ob memoriam nostri nominis;' Mon. Alc. pp. 838, 839, H. & S. ii. 8. Cited also G. P. pp. 256, 257. These poems on Nynias by the York scholars do not exist to my knowledge. His tomb.

ecclesia] On the site of the original church, *v.* N. & K. pp. 268–271.

Anglorum gens obtinet] Probably they were among the Picts reduced by Oswy; ii. 5; iii. 24; iv. 3, pp. 89, 180, 206. From the present tense used by Bede it appears that Northumbria still retained its hold on this district; which was more than could be said of many of the conquests of Oswy; cf. v. 23, p. 351, where the bishopric of Whitern is said to form part of 'prouincia Nordanhymbrorum.' As Bede there expressly contrasts this district with the 'natio Pictorum,' and nowhere (except in the Vita Cudb. *u. s.*) speaks of this district as Pictish, it had probably been a good deal anglicised by his time. On the Anglian bishopric of Whitern, *v. infra* on v. 23, and cf. H. & S. i. 150; ii. 7; and on the subsequent history of Whitern, see N. & K. pp. xli–lxii. It remained a favourite place of pilgrimage down to the Reformation; ib. 295 ff.; cf. Redgauntlet, ch. 9. Galloway under Northumbrian rule.

Ad Candidam Casam] On the form of the name *v. s.* ii. 14, note; cf. the numerous places in England called Whitchurch: 'Ecclesia . . . quae candida Ecclesia dicitur;' 'Ecclesia . . . quae alba ecclesia . . . nominatur,' of the church founded on the field of Maserfeld where Oswald fell; Vit. Osw. in S. D. i. 350, 352; cf. Leland, Itin. v. 37, ed. 2. In the lives of Irish saints of the second order Candida Casa is called 'Rosnat,' and 'Magnum Monasterium,' and is represented as a great centre of monastic discipline and learning where several of these saints receive their training; N. & K. pp. xlii, f.; S. C. S. ii. 46–48, 419; H. & S. i. 116, 120, 121. Whitern.

Ptolemy's 'Leucopibia' is probably Whitern; and if the form is correct, it looks as if the whiteness were anterior to Nynias' 'Candida Casa.' Müller, however, in his edition of Ptolemy reads Λευκοπιβία.

Stone Church.

de lapide . . . more] *v. s.* ii. 14, p. 114; 'nomen loco ex opere inditum quod ecclesiam ibi ex lapide polito Britonibus miraculo fecerit;' G. P. p. 256; 'ante quam nullam in Britannia de lapide dicunt esse constructam;' N. & K. p. 144.

Chronology.

uenit . . . Brittaniam . . . nono anno, &c.] The chronology of the Pictish kings may derive light from this passage. It is too dark to throw any light upon it. Bede says distinctly above that Columba came to Britain in 565, that it was in the year of the accession of Iustinus minor, which also gives 565. He says *infra* that the faulty Paschal cycle was observed in Iona for 150 years. The change was adopted in 715 or 716. The former is the date given here, the latter in v. 22, 24. See note on v. 22. This therefore gives 565 or 566 for the foundation of Iona. In v. 24, Bede gives 565 as the date both of the coming of Columba, and of the foundation of Iona. The Ann. Camb. and Ann. Ult. place the coming of Columba to Iona in 562, Tigh. in 563; and from these and other data furnished by the Irish chronicles and the Chron. Pict. (P. & S. p. 7) Dr. Reeves (Ad. pp. 150, 151) and Mr. Skene (C. S. ii. 105) place the coming of Columba to Iona in 563. But we have so often seen that these authorities are two or three years behind in their chronology as compared with Bede, that it seems rash on such grounds to set aside the explicit statements of the latter.

Columba.

Columba] The great store-house of learning on the subject of St. Columba is Dr. Reeves' monumental edition of his life by Adamnan, Abbot of Iona 679–704, the third book of which, and some chapters in the other two, are based on an earlier life by Cuimene Ailbe, Abbot of Iona 657–669; Pinkerton, i. 51–69, ed. 1889, where references are given to the corresponding chapters of Adamnan; cf. also Reeves, p. vi. Thus the earliest record of him is sixty years posterior to his death and is already full of legendary matter. (Hardy, Cat. i. 167, thinks that Cuimine abridged Adamnan; but Adamnan cites Cuimine, iii. 5, and an author would hardly cite an abridgement of himself.) The later lives, both Latin and Irish, simply run riot in the marvellous. For the various lives and MSS. of Lives of St. Columba, see Reeves, Ad. pp. v–xxxvi, which is both fuller and more correct than the account in Hardy, Cat. i. 166–174. The Irish life (Rs. pp. xxxii. f.) has been twice printed by Mr. Whitley Stokes, from the Lebar Brecc (pp. 29, 30 of the facsimile) in Three Middle Irish Homilies; from the Book of Lismore, in Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore. To these may be added

the Preface to Columba's Hymn, 'Altus Prosator,' printed by Dr. Todd in his (unfinished) edition of the Liber Hymnorum, pp. 201-251, and by Stokes, Goidelica, pp. 100-103; and the preface to the Amra Coluim Cille, which exists in three recensions: (*a*) In the Liber Hymnorum, printed by Stokes, *u. s.* pp. 156–158; (*b*) In the Lebar na h-Uidri, facs. pp. 5, 6, printed by J. O'Beirne Crowe; and (*c*) in Rawl. B. 502, ff. 54-56; the first being the shortest and the last much the longest of the three. These two prefaces are the earliest authorities in Irish for Columba. There are two fragments of Latin lives of Columba in Codex Salmant. col. 221 ff. 845 ff. It is not true that the latter 'differs little from that by Adamnan;' Hardy, *u. s.* p. 172.

It is curious that Bede does not seem to have known either Cuimene's or Adamnan's life of Columba; cf. *inf.* p. 134: 'de cuius uita ... nonnulla ... *feruntur* scripta haberi'; though he had probably as a lad conversed with Adamnan, v. 15, notes; and he certainly was acquainted with his work de Locis Sanctis, ib. For some account of Columba, *v.* Reeves, *u. s.* pp. lxviii–lxxx; S. C. S. ii. 51-54, 79–84, 85 ff.; Greith, Altirische Kirche, bk. iii. ch. 1-3. They all rely perhaps too much on uncritical statements of the later lives. That Columba's was not the only attempt to christianise northern Britain from Ireland, *v.* H. & S. i. 116, 121; Reeves, *u. s.* pp. lxxiv, f.

Bridio filio Meilochon, rege potentissimo] Cf. Rhŷs, Rhind Lectures, pp. 31, 74, 75; Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot. 1892, p. 344; C. B. p. 201. His power had been shown only a few years previously by the severe check which he had given to the Dalriadic Scots, *v. s.* According to Chron. Pictorum, P. & S. p. 7, copied mechanically by all later authorities, he reigned thirty years. Marcellinus Comes (on whom *v. s.* i. 13, p. 29, note) gives the date of his accession as 557: 'In Britannia Bridus Rex Pictorum efficitur;' Bouquet, ii. 20. Bruide, son of Maelchon.

unde ... insulam ab eis ... accepit] Bede distinctly says that Columba received the island from the Picts; and the Liber Hymnorum (ninth or tenth century), p. 204, says: 'Bruidi ... filius Melchon ... immolauit Columbo Hi.' Tighernach, however, and Ann. Ult. in recording the death of Conall Mac Comgaill, King of the Dalriadic Scots in 574 and 573, respectively, say that he was the donor of Iona; and H. & S. ii. 107, say 'in any case the *Christian* king, *i. e.* Conall, must have been the original donor.' But Bede represents the donation as the result of Columba's success among the Picts: 'gentem ... conuertit, unde ... accepit,' &c.; cf. c. 3, *ad fin.*: 'eo quod illis praedicantibus fidem Christi perceperint,' so Who gave Iona to Columba?

that this argument falls to the ground. There was an obvious motive why Irish writers should wish to represent Iona as the gift of an Irish prince to the great Irish saint; the fact that in spite of this the earliest Irish authority agrees with Bede is decisive in his favour (so Reeves, Ad. pp. 434, 435). As the island lay close to the dominions of both monarchs, Columba may have obtained a confirmation of his possession from both; ib. lxxvi, 151. Skene (C. S. ii. 34, 88), thinks that this was not the first establishment of Christianity in Iona; but the authorities for this opinion, a doubtful passage in the Félire of Oengus, and a passage in one of the Irish lives, are too late to be of much value. On this mission of Columba and the conversion of Northumbria under Aidan, &c., which sprang from it, some curious arguments were based in the controversy about the Scotch claims of Edward I; P. & S. pp. 249, 250, 273, 274; cf. ib. 200, 201.

Columba's relics.

ubi et ipse sepultus est] Cf. *infr.* 'in quo ipse requiescit corpore.' On the fate of St. Columba's relics, which is very obscure, see Rs. Ad. pp. 312–318. It seems certain that, like those of so many other saints, they were removed from fear of the Scandinavian invasions. Many places were anxious to claim the honour of possessing them, and more than one place may have obtained a share of them. Dunkeld, which became the head of the Columbite monasteries in Scotland, had an obvious motive for making the claim; cf. Rs. Ad. p. 297. It may be noted that the passage from the Book of Armagh, which Dr. Reeves cites, p. 313, and justly calls enigmatical, 'in aecclesia iuxta mare pro undecima,' has been definitely cleared up by the late Mr. Bradshaw's palmary emendation of 'proxima' for 'pro undecima.' The scribe mistook the letters 'xima' for the numeral xi with the adjective termination.

The obit of Columba.

p. 134. post annos circiter XXX et duos] Note that Bede does not profess to give the date of Columba's death exactly, and therefore we cannot argue confidently from his words. They are quite consistent with the date June 9, 597, for which Dr. Reeves decides, mainly on the evidence of Adamnan; Rs. Ad. pp. 309–312, 227 ff. There was a long correspondence in the Academy, Sept.–Dec. 1892, between Mr. Anscombe and Dr. MacCarthy, arising out of an article by the former in the Engl. Hist. Review for July, 1892. Mr. Anscombe has summed up his own case in a monograph, 'The Obit of St. Columba.' He decides for 580; but this seems to me utterly inconsistent with the plainest statements of Bede. If 597 is correct, then Columba died in the very year in which Augustine set foot in Britain; cf. D. C. B. i. 604.

priusquam . . . ueniret] From an incidental remark of Adamnan,

Dr. Reeves argues that Durrow was founded after, not before, Columba settled at Iona; Rs. Ad. pp. 23, 24. The Irish Annals agree that the Prince of Tethba (Teffia), who granted Durrow to Columba, was Aed son of Brendan. (F. M. 585, is only an apparent exception, as the text there is clearly corrupt.) But there is some doubt as to when he succeeded. If in 553, as Dr. Reeves thinks, his father being passed over (and F. M. 573 is the only Irish authority which calls Brendan Prince of Tethba) then there is nothing in the Irish Annals inconsistent with Bede's statement, to which I feel disposed to adhere. Date of the foundation of

Dearmach . . . hoc est campus roborum] Adamnan calls it in one place by its Irish name, Dairmagh, p. 23; elsewhere he latinises it 'Roboreti Campus'; pp. 58, 95, 215; 'Roboreus Campus,' p. 163; 'Roboris Campus,' p. 105. Now Durrow in King's County. For a list of monasteries and churches founded by or dedicated to St. Columba, *v.* ib. 289 ff. Durrow.

ex quo . . . esse subiecti] The organisation of the Irish Church was not at this time based on diocesan episcopacy, but the ecclesiastical jurisdiction was in the hands of the abbots of the great monasteries who administered the districts ('prouincia,' Bede; 'dioecesis,' Rs. Ad. p. 65; 'parochia,' ib. 336) subject to them, the bishops being merely members of the monastic bodies, and as such subject, even as regards the exercise of their episcopal functions, to the authority of the abbot, in virtue of the vow of monastic obedience. Of course this authority of the abbot extended only over bishops within the 'prouincia' of his own monastery; and Bede so limits it here. The Sax. Chron. 565 E, very absurdly misinterprets his words as meaning that all Irish bishops were subject to the Abbot of Iona. This did not imply any confusion between the *spiritual* functions of bishop and presbyter, or any claim on the side of the abbot-presbyter to discharge any part of the episcopal office. Ordinations, &c. were performed by the bishops, but under the direction of the abbot and convent; and the bishop, as such, had no voice in the affairs of the monastery, or the administration of the district; and when a bishop was sent forth to other parts it was by the authority of the convent; iii. 5, 17, 25; iv. 4. The episcopal function was often combined with very inferior monastic offices; S. C. S. ii. 44; Rs. Ad. p. 365. In some instances the abbot might be a bishop, and where this was the case the way would be paved for the introduction of diocesan episcopacy. Still he exercised his jurisdiction not as bishop but as abbot. (In the case of Cedd, c. 23, we have a bishop acting as abbot of a monastery not in his own diocese.) Bede speaks of this Organisation of the Irish Church monastic, not diocesan

system as an 'ordo inusitatus'; and so to him it was. But it was the ordinary system of the Irish Church. It seems never to have existed among the British Celts; H. & S. i. 143. In later times this state of things was forgotten even in Ireland, and legends were invented to account for the fact that leading Irish saints, like Columba, were not in episcopal orders; *e.g.* Félire, p. 51, and the passage cited below from Misc. Biogr. But that the system, though forgotten, was thoroughly ingrained in Irish thought and speech is shown by the fact that 'abb,' 'abdaine,' 'abbot,' 'abbacy,' are the regular words to express the highest ecclesiastical authority. The Popes are constantly called 'abbots of Rome'; and we find even 'abdaine 7 rige na cathrach nemda,' 'the abbacy and kingship of the heavenly city' ascribed to Christ; Lebar Brec, facs. p. 135b. 43. Lindisfarne in its ecclesiastical constitution, as in its physical conformation (Bright, p. 137), closely resembled Iona. Cf. Vit. Cudb. Pros. c. 16: 'Neque aliquis miretur, quod in eadem insula Lindisfarnea cum permodica sit, et supra episcopi, et nunc abbatis ac monachorum esse locum dixerimus; reuera enim ita est. Namque una eademque seruorum Dei habitatio utrosque simul tenet, imo omnes monachos tenet. Aidanus quippe, qui primus eiusdem loci episcopus fuit, monachus erat, et monachicam cum suis omnibus uitam semper agere solebat. Unde ab illo omnes loci ipsius antistites usque hodie sic episcopale exercent officium, ut regente monasterium abbate, quem ipsi cum consilio fratrum elegerint, omnes presbyteri, diaconi, cantores, lectores, ceterique gradus ecclesiastici, monachicam per omnia cum ipso episcopo regulam seruent.' Here, however, the bishop has acquired a higher position than in the Irish system, as he seems to have a prerogative voice in the election of the abbot. Bede is wrong (*ad loc.*) in comparing this to the plan recommended to Augustine by Gregory (i. 27, p. 48), as in that the offices of abbot and bishop are conjoined, which was not the case at Lindisfarne. Thus Eata was abbot of Lindisfarne sometime before he became bishop; iii. 20. (On the whole subject, *v.* Rs. Ad. pp. 65, 69, 70, 86, 87, 198, 199, 335, 339-341, 393; S. C. S. ii. 42-44, 94, 95, 158. Skene's account is mainly based on Reeves, but is well and clearly stated. The monastic bishop is found in exempt monasteries on the Continent; D. C. A. ii. 1271; cf. N. & K. p. 282. But here the institution is later than diocesan episcopacy, the object being to enable the monasteries to ordain their own members without invoking the aid of the diocesan.)

The 'Muinter Coluimcille.'

The monasteries which in Ireland or in Britain owed their origin immediately or mediately to St. Columba formed a federation of which Iona was the head: 'arcem, principatum tenebat;' cf. c. 3,

p. 132: 'Hii ubi plurimorum caput et arcem Scotti habuere coenobiorum,' c. 21, p. 171; 'insula primaria,' Rs. Ad. p. 12; 'Hii . . . cum his, quae sibi erant subdita monasteriis'; v. 22, p. 346; cf. v. 15, p. 315. These are the 'Columbae monasteria,' v. 9, p. 297, the 'muinter Coluimcille, or 'familia Columbae' of which we hear so frequently in Irish authorities; cf. Rs. Ad. p. 162; Vita Tripart. p. 314. They would be included in the 'province' or 'diocese' (*v. s.*) of which Iona was the head. Those in Ireland who were not included in the Columbite system are spoken of as 'ab Hiensium dominio liberi;' v. 15, p. 316. The position of Iona must have been much enhanced by the fact of Columba inaugurating Aedan mac Gabrain as Dalriadic monarch; Rs. Ad. p. 198. No later instance is quoted, but the ceremony was probably continued as an honorary function of the abbot; ib. 342, 198. The Scandinavian invaders at the beginning of the ninth century ravaged Iona and massacred most of the community. The headship of the Columbite monasteries in Ireland was transferred to Kells, of those in Britain to Dunkeld; S. C. S. ii. 304, 305. Hence the 'Libellus de Ortu St. Cuthb.' bravely by a double anachronism speaks of St. Columba as 'primus *episcopus* in *Dunkel*'; Biogr. Misc., Surtees Soc. p. 78. Thus both ecclesiastically and politically the Scandinavian invasions tended to cut off the Scoti of Britain from those of Ireland, and so helped to constitute Scotland in the modern sense. That Bede in all the passages quoted above speaks of the supremacy of Iona in the past tense, seems to show that it had already declined in his day; H. & S. ii. 115. Iona was restored by Queen Margaret the saintly wife of Malcolm Cennmor: 'Huense coenobium . . . tempestate praeliorum cum longa uetustate dirutum . . . fidelis regina reaedificauit, datisque sumptibus idoneis reparauit'; Ordericus Vital. iii. 398, 399, ed. Prevost.

qualiscumque fuerit ipse] Dr. Reeves (Ad. pp. lxxvii ff.) thinks that Bede may have in his mind some of the stories current about Columba, which, if true, would imply the existence in the saint of a somewhat hasty and undisciplined temper. Bede may however only be alluding to the fact implied in the previous sentence, that he had no materials for his life before him. Character of Columba.

successores] One of these, Adamnan, Bede probably had seen; *v. s.*

permansit, &c.] *v. s.*

Ecgbercto] On him, *v.* c. 27, pp. 192, 193.

exulauerat pro Christo] On this practice, cf. c. 19, p. 163, and note.

p. 135. **correcti sunt**] *v.* on v. 22.

ut quidam rebantur] See above on ii. 19, p. 123.

CHAPTER 5.

Date of Aidan's mission.

missus est Aedan] Aidan died Aug. 31, 651; iii. 14 *ad fin.*, in the seventeenth year of his episcopate, c. 17. The synod of Whitby, which was held before July 664. H. & S. iii. 106, was in the thirtieth year of the 'episcopatus Scottorum,' c. 26 *ad init.* Therefore Aidan must have been consecrated before July 635. We have seen that Oswald's *de facto* accession cannot be placed much before the end of 634, c. 1, notes; and to allow time ('aliquandiu . . . praedicans') for the unsuccessful mission of Aidan's predecessor, *infra*, p. 137, we can hardly place his own mission earlier than April or May 635 though Richard of Hexham places it in 634; Hexham, i. 10). Hence, when Bede says (c. 26) that Aidan was bishop for seventeen years, he is speaking inexactly. In c. 17 *ad init.*, 'completis annis episcopatus sui XVII' (B. C.) 'XVI' (M. N.) the reading is unfortunately doubtful. The argument is hardly affected if the mission of Aidan's predecessor be included in the 'episcopatus Scottorum.' But I do not think it is so included by Bede.

Segeni] On him see note to ii. 19, p. 123.

unde, &c.] Cf. the character given of him, c. 17 *ad fin.*, pp. 161, 162.

non aliter . . . docebat] *v.* Introd. § 10.

cuncta . . . gaudebat] Cf. the story of the horse given him by Oswin; c. 14, pp. 156, 157.

per . . . urbana et rustica loca] 'ge þurh mynsterstowe, ge þurh folcstowe,' AS. vers.

Aidan walks, and does not ride.

non equorum dorso] Cf. c. 14 *u. s.* So his disciple Ceadda, c. 28 *ad fin.* 'non equitando, sed apostolorum more pedibus incedendo;' until Theodore with kindly compulsion placed him on horseback; iv. 3, p. 206. (We find however Ceadda's brother Cedd riding; c. 22, p. 174.) Cuthbert more often walked than rode on his preaching tours; iv. 27, pp. 269, 270. For an instance of his riding, cf. Vit. Anon. § 22; Opp. Min. p. 271. Some canons ascribed to Gildas inveigh against those 'qui carnem non edunt, . . . neque uehiculis equisque uechuntur, et pro his quasi superiores ceteris se putant.' The Irish character of these canons, if they are due to Gildas, would illustrate his connexion with Ireland; H. & S. i. 108, 109. So in the spurious life of Polycarp: *αὐτουργῷ ἐχρῆτο τὰ πλεῖστα ὁδοιπορίᾳ*; App. Ff. II. iii. 458. So of St. Kentigern; N. & K. pp. 192, 193.

p. 136. a nostri temporis segnitia] Cf. Introd. p. xxxv.

meditari] to study. So iv. 8 *ad init.* of a little child learning its lessons.

psalmis discendis] The Psalter held a very large place in the devotions and studies of the med aeval church; cf. D. C. A. ii. 1922. 'Canendis psalmis inuigilare,' is one of the duties prescribed by Gregory for the 'clerici extra sacros ordines constituti;' i. 27, p. 49. The Psalter was among the first things learnt by Wilfrid; v. 19, p. 323. Adamnan of Coldingham was 'occupatus noctu uigiliis et psalmis,' when he received the revelation of the doom which was to overtake his monastery; iv. 25, p. 264. The two Hewalds attracted the notice of the Saxons, because 'psalmis semper atque orationibus uacabant;' v. 10, p. 300. Ceolfrid for many years recited the whole Psalter twice daily, and thrice during the hundred and fourteen days of his journey to Langres; Haa. § 33. (Bede's account, Hab. § 22, is somewhat different.) Use of the Psalter,

For the use of the Psalter at the canonical hours in the services of the Monastery, cf. Introd. §§ 2, 8. In the revived monastic life at Little Gidding 'the Psalter was in every four and twenty hours sung and read over from the first to the last verse;' Walton's Life of George Herbert, p. 336, ed. 1825. at the Canonical hours;

In the Irish Church the recitation of the Psalter had a prominent place. From the number of the Psalms it was called 'the three fifties,' 'na tri coicat'; on the symbolism of which number, see Opp. vii. 111. Among the Psalms the 118th (119th), called the 'biait,' from its first words 'Beati inmaculati,' held a prerogative position; cf. MS. Rawlinson, B. 502, f. 44 a; Lismore Lives, pp. x, xii, 32, 144; and a story (not Irish) in H. Y. i. 442. It was one of the marks of Patrick's saintship: 'na tri coicat noscanad,' 'the three fifties he would sing;' Fiacc's Hymn; cf. Lismore Lives, pp. 32, 316. Fintan, another Irish saint, was nicknamed 'bél na psalm,' *i. e.* 'psalm-mouth.' in the Irish Church;

The recitation of the whole or a part of the Psalter, especially the seven Penitential Psalms, was frequently imposed or undertaken as a penance. Dante, Letter v, speaks of 'il saltero della penitenza.' Thus Egbert vowed 'quia praeter sollemnem canonici temporis psalmodiam, . . . cotidie psalterium totum . . . decantaret,' c. 27, p. 193 (cf. the case of Adamnan of Coldingham, iv. 25, p. 263: 'ieiuniis et psalmis, . . . quantum uales, insiste'). And this is constantly found in the Penitentials, English, Irish, and Continental; cf. H. & S. iii. 333, 334, 425–429; Wasserschleben, Bussordnungen, pp. 372, 395, 428, &c. A penitential in Irish, which occurs in MS. Rawl. B 512 ff. 42 c–44 a, is full of instances of this usage. as a penitential discipline

The Psalter or particular Psalms were also said, like masses, with a special 'intention,' as a form of intercession for the living or the dead. Thus Berengar, King of Italy in 898, makes certain with a special 'intention;'

grants to the Church of St. Martin at Tours 'ea conditione quod in feriis ad Matutinas, "Domine, ne in furore" (Ps. vi *or* xxxvii); ad Vesperas, "De Profundis" (Ps. cxxix); ad Completorium, "Domine, exaudi" (Ps. ci *or* cxlii), pro se et pro suis successoribus dicerentur;' Chron. Turon. Bouquet. ix. 49. Charles the Simple in 901 makes grants to the same church 'ita quod pro eo, &c. . . . dicerent in feriis "Ad Dominum cum tribularer" (Ps. cxix) et "De Profundis"' (Ps. cxxix); ib. So in the letters of Frothar, Bishop of Toul, †846: 'Sciatis . . . pro uita et sanitate uestra Missas tantas et Psalteria tanta fratres nostros decantasse;' Bouquet, vi. 386; cf. ib. 388, 389; Morison's St. Bernard, p. 285; Hexham, I. cxxxviii: 'a priore et conuentu Augustaldensi CCC missas, et CCC psalteria.' Hence in Irish 'salm' comes to have almost the meaning of 'an intercessory prayer'; cf. MacCarthy, Stowe Missal, p. 163. Of the recitation of Psalms for the dead, we have had an instance in the case of Oswald, *supra*, c. 2. p. 129. So when the death of St. Hilda was revealed at Hackness, the nuns were bidden 'orationibus ac psalmis pro anima matris operam dare;' iv. 23, p. 257; cf. Hist. Abb. § 23. Of the reprobate brother whose death is told in v. 14, p. 314, Bede says: 'neque aliquis pro eo uel missas facere uel psalmos cantare . . . praesumebat.'

In the 'Iudicia ciuitatis Lundoniae' when any gild brother died, each surviving member is to sing or have sung for his soul 'one fifty': 'gesinge án fiftig,' 'cantet unum quinquagenarium psalmorum;' Thorpe, Ancient Laws, i. 236; ii. 499. On Lanfranc's obit, every priest belonging to the monastery of Christ Church, Canterbury, was to sing a mass for him, 'et qui missam non cantat, L psalmos cantet;' Ang. Sac. i. 56. So for another Canterbury benefactor: 'æghwilc mæssepriost gesinge fore his sawle twa messan, . . . 7 æghwilc diacon arede twa *passione* fore his sawle . . . 7 æghwilc Godes ðiow gesinge twa *fiftig* fore his sawle;' K. C. D. No. 226; Birch, No. 330. (The reading of a Passion with an intention I have not met with elsewhere.) But the most striking instance of this use of the Psalter is in the beautiful story of Beornstan, Bishop of Winchester 931-934, told in G. P. p. 163: 'Illum purissimae sanctitatis fuisse accepimus; cotidie . . . missam pro defunctorum requie cantitasse, noctibus, depulsa formidine, solum cimiteria circuire solitum, pro animarum salute psalmos frequentasse. Hoc cum quadam uice faceret, expletisque omnibus subiungeret: "Requiescant in pace"; uoces quasi exercitus infiniti e sepulcris audiuit respondentium: "Amen."' (A similar but inferior legend is given in M. & L. p. 247, from Hauréau.) The Council of Clovesho (A. D. 747) c. 27, regulates both the peni-

tential and the intercessory use of the Psalms which were: 'Sancto Spiritu iam olim ad solacium generi humano per os Prophetae prolati;' H. & S. iii. 372–374.

In the twelfth century the Psalter was the main staple of education for high-born maidens; cf. Ann. Stadenses: 'cum tamen nihil unquam didicerit, nisi solum psalterium, more nobilium puellarum;' Pertz, xvi. 330 (of St. Hildegard). It was also one of the chief things which Alfred the Great had his children taught; Asser, M. H. B. p. 485. as an educational manual.

operam dare] After this the AS. vers. inserts: 'oððe þridde on halgum gebedum standan,' 'or, thirdly, stand at holy prayers.'

religiosi] 'religious' in the technical sense of being under monastic rule.

remissione . . . paschalis] The period from Easter to Pentecost, the most festal season of the year. The keeping this as a continuous festival goes back as far as Tertullian (early third century); cf. Epiphanius, De Fide, c. 22: *δίχα μόνης τῆς Πεντεκοστῆς ὅλης τῶν πεντήκοντα ἡμερῶν, ἐν αἷς οὔτε γονυκλισίαι γίνονται, οὔτε νηστεία προστέτακται*; Migne, Pat. Graeca, xlii. 828, cited by M. & L. *a. l.* It was to prevent the interruption of this joyful season that St. Columba acquiesced in the prolongation of his life to Pentecost; Rs. Ad. pp. 229, 347. The Paschal Quinquagesima.

IIII[a] . . . sabbati] The very name of Wednesday in Irish bears witness to this custom, being 'cétain,' *i. e.* 'the first fast.' It was kept as a fast in memory of our Lord's betrayal. ('Cétain in braith,' 'Wednesday of the betrayal,' is the Irish name for Wednesday in Holy week; F. M. ii. 1014.) The Wednesday fast is also found in Tertullian. As to the Friday fast the same expression as that used here is found in Vit. Cudb. c. 5: 'sexta sabbati . . . plerique fidelium ob reuerentiam dominicae passionis usque ad nonam horam solent protelare ieiunium;' Opp. Min. p. 57. This fasting to the ninth hour is also ancient. 'The ninth hour proved ultimately too rigorous a limit, and *noon* was moved backward till it meant mid-day;' M. & L. *a. l.* On the asceticism of the Irish Church, see Introd. § 9. Two weekly fasts.

iniuste . . . uenditi] This seems to point to the existence of something like that slave-trade which St. Wulfstan in later times laboured to suppress. On the use to which Aidan put these ransomed slaves, *v.* note on i. 23, p. 42. Slave-trade.

de prouincia Scottorum] 'of Scotta ealonde,' 'from the island of the Scots,' AS. vers.; by which is usually meant Ireland. Bede of course means Iona; and in the original text of c. 17 *infra*, p. 160, Iona is spoken of as 'Hii, Scottorum insula.' Iona.

p. 137. **in conuentu seniorum**] 'in gemote heora weotena,' 'in an assembly of their wise men *or* counsellors,' AS. vers.

homines . . . mentis] On the same ground Augustine and his companions had wished to give up the mission to Britain; i. 23, p. 42.

Construction of 'petor.'

genti quam petebantur, saluti esse] 'to afford the nation the salvation for which they were asked.' On this construction of 'petor,' *v.* ii. 12, p. 107, note.

ad . . . sacerdotem] 'to þam biscope,' AS. vers.

Discretion.

gratia . . . mater est] Cf. on Luke xxii. 35 sqq. 'Quam iuste discretionem matrem cunctarum nutricemque uirtutum patrum sententia definiat, et ex hoc Domini sermone probatur, qui non eadem uiuendi regula persecutionis, qua pacis tempore discipulos informat;' Opp. xi. 339; cf. Introd. § 18. So, conversely, Nicolas, Prior of Worcester, writing to Eadmer about the rights of the see of York in Scotland, says of Aidan's unsuccessful predecessor: 'unus . . . ex eis propter suam indiscretionem inutilis . . . iudicatus, ab ipsis Scottis depositus est;' H. & S. ii. 203.

ordinantes . . . miserunt] 'to biscope gehalgedon, 7 Oswalde þam cyninge heora freonde to lareowe onsendan,' 'hallowed him as bishop, and sent him as teacher to King Oswald their friend,' AS. vers.; cf. c. 25: 'ordinatus et missus.'

CHAPTER 6.

P. 138. **incognita progenitoribus suis**] *v.* c. 3 *ad init.*, note. So S. D. i. 20 calls him 'primus in tota Berniciorum gente signifer fidei Christianae.'

omnes nationes, &c.] *v.* ii. 5, notes.

Languages of Britain.

IIII linguas] In i. 1. p. 11, Bede speaks of five languages in Britain; but there he includes Latin as the ecclesiastical language, 'quae meditatione scripturarum caeteris omnibus est facta communis;' *v.* note *a. l.*

Character of Oswald.

largus] Cf. Alc. de Sanctis Ebor. vv. 275 ff.

'Extruit ecclesias, donisque exornat opimis,
Vasa ministeriis praestans pretiosa sacratis,' &c.

—a point not specially noticed by Bede.

ministrum . . . delegata] The later king's almoner.

adprehendit dextram eius] '7 cyste,' 'and kissed it,' adds AS. vers. A similar, but very inferior, story is told of St. Dunstan and St. Edith, the daughter of King Edgar; G. P. p. 189; Stubbs' Dunstan, p. 310 (Malmesbury's Life of Dunstan). Contrast Rs. Ad. p. 70: 'Illa manus . . . quam Findchanus contra fas et ius

ecclesiasticum super caput filii perditionis imposuit, mox computrescet, et ipsum . . . in terram sepelienda praecedet . . . Quae . . . prophetia . . . adimpleta est.' Many parallels are given in Dr. Reeves' note. Elmham has 'putrescat' for 'inueterascat,' to make the prophecy correspond more literally with the fulfilment; p. 179.

hactenus incorruptae perdurent] 'nu gena ungebrosnade wuniað,' 'now still remain uncorrupted,' AS. vers. S. D., i. 20, 21, speaks as if it was only the right hand which remained uncorrupted; no doubt in order to make the fulfilment of Aidan's prophecy seem more exact. On the fate of Oswald's relics generally, *v.* c. 12, p. 152, note. Oswald's relics.

in urbe regia . . . cognominatur] Bebbanburh, now Bamborough. Other forms are Bebburgh, S. D. i. 373, 374; Babbanburch, ib. ii. 191; Babhanburch, ib. 287; Bamburth, ib. i. 334; Bambrught, ib. 339. Cf. ib. ii. 45: 'Bebba . . . ciuitas urbs est munitissima, non admodum magna, sed quasi duorum uel trium agrorum spatium, habens unum introitum cauatum et gradibus miro modo exaltatum. Habet in summitate montis ecclesiam, . . . in qua est scrinium, in quo inuoluta pallio iacet dextera manus sancti Oswaldi regis incorrupta.' R. W. says: 'urbs Bebbam, quae nunc "Baamburc" *Gallice* appellatur.' Bamborough was founded by Ida; Chron. Sax. E. 547 A.D. Neither Bede nor the Chron. tells us whose queen Bebba was. Nennius, § 63, makes her the wife of Ethelfrid. If so, he must have been married twice, as he certainly married Acha, Edwin's sister; see below and c. 1, note. The life of St. Oswald makes Bebba contemporary with Oswy (!); S. D. i. 373. Lappenberg makes her the wife of Ida; i. 121; E. T. i. 119. Bamborough.

argenteo] 'et deaurato' adds R. W. i. 139, copying this passage.

Derorum et Berniciorum prouinciae] On their relations, *v.* note to c. 1; cf. Biog. Misc. p. 7: 'Oswaldus . . . Berniciorum Deyrorumque nationes et populis et moribus distinctas . . . de duobus unum fecerat regnum.' Union of Bernicia and Deira.

p. 139. nepos] 'nephew,' a very late use; *v.* Ltft. App. Ff. I. i. 44, note; cf. on iv. 23; and Opp. Min. p. 191: 'Iustinianus Iustini ex sorore nepos.'

CHAPTER 7.

Eo tempore] The Sax. Chron. places the mission of Birinus in 634. If this is correct, his coming preceded by a few months that of Aidan. Rudborne says 635; Ang. Sac. i. 190. Bede gives no dates. It is plain that he could obtain no reliable details as to the conversion of the West Saxons; cf. Bright, p. 149. Date of Birinus' mission.

Drogo's life of Oswald exaggerates the part played by Oswald in the conversion of Wessex; AA. SS. Aug. ii. 98.

Reign of Cynegils.

regnante Cynigilso] According to the Chron. he reigned from 611 to 643 (MS. A.); to 641 B. C. E. F. Under 611 he is said (A. B. C. E.) to have reigned thirty-one years, which would bring his death to 642, the same year as that of Oswald.

Birinus.

Birino] For the later lives of him, which add nothing but idle legends to Bede's account, see Hardy, Cat. i. 235–239. From the first of these lives is taken the story about him in G. P. p. 157.

Asterius.

per Asterium . . . episcopum] Asterius was archbishop of Milan, though he resided at Genoa; Bright, p. 146. Gams dates his episcopate 630–640; Bright, 628–638.

in episcopatus . . . gradum] 'Birinus was thus made a "regionary" or missionary bishop, and left free to choose his own centre of operations'; Bright, *u. s.*

Baptism of Cynegils.

rex ipse . . . ablueretur] 'An event hardly second in interest, when one considers the destinies of Wessex, to the baptism of Ethelbert himself'; Bright, p. 148. The Sax. Chron. places this event in 635.

eum . . . suscepisse] This was the function of the sponsor; cf. c. 22 *ad fin.* iv. 13, and see the note in Bright, *u. s.* A spurious charter of Ethelwulf (H. & S. iii. 646; K. C. D. No. 1057; Birch, ii. 96) wrongly makes Birinus himself godfather ('fulluht fæder,' 'baptism-father') to Cynegils. Birinus did both baptize and act as godfather to Cuthred, son of Cwichelm, son of Cynegils, in 639; Sax. Chron. *ad ann.* On Cwichelm, see ii. 9, p. 99, notes. On sponsors at baptism and confirmation, cf. H. & S. iii. 193; Wulfstan's Homilies, pp. 39, 67, 120, 300–302.

Cynegils' daughter.

filiam] The twelfth-century life of St. Oswald says that her name was Cyneburga; and that after Oswald's death she was persuaded by his niece Osthryth, c. 11, p. 148; iv. 21, p. 249; v. 24, p. 355, to take the veil; S. D. i. 349. It is possible to suspect a confusion with Cyneburga, daughter of Penda, wife of Alchfrid, the son of Oswy, c. 21, p. 170; but on the other hand, Cynegils may well have had a daughter named Cyneburga.

Grant confirmed by Oswald.

ambo reges] It may have been thought well to have the confirmation of Oswald as Bretwalda. 'Kynegilsus Rex donauit, et Oswaldus confirmauit donum;' Rudborne in Ang. Sac. i. 190; cf. Elmham, p. 226.

Dorchester

Dorcic] 'on Dorcot ceastre,' AS. vers. Dorchester near Oxford. Now a mere village; and such it had already become in the twelfth century. 'Reges . . . ambo dederunt [Birino] . . . Dorcestram, tunc urbem, modo uillam;' G. P. p. 158. On the history of Dorchester as a Mercian see, *v.* notes on iv. 23, p. 254.

p. 140. **migrauit ad Dominum**] Dec. 3, 648, according to Rudborne, Ang. Sac. i. 191, where see note; 650, Stubbs, Ep. Succ. p. 161, following Sax. Chron. F. The MSS. of the Sax. Chron. place the accession of his successor in 649 or 650; see below. He is commemorated at Dec. 3 in Mart. Doneg. p. 324; cf. ib. p. 366. Here a later hand in MS. C. has inserted on the margin the date Non. Dec., which would be Dec. 5. Date of Birinus' death.

Haedde . . . agente] According to the Sax. Chron. Hædde became bishop in 676, and died in 703. Bede, however, v. 18, *ad init.*, says that he died at the beginning of Osred's reign, *i. e.* in 705. Fl. Wig. follows Bede and not the Sax. Chron. Hædde.

translatus] 'Hædde biscop heht his lichoman upadón,' 'Bishop H. ordered his body to be taken up,' AS. vers. This translation is alluded to in a pretended decree of Archbishop Theodore's, which will be discussed lower down in connexion with the history of the West-Saxon see. Hen. Hunt., p. xxvi., enumerating the glories of Winchester, says: 'ibi etiam Birini praesulis . . . miracula magna uidebis.' Another translation took place in 1150; Ann. Wint. p. 54; Ann. Wig. p. 379. Translation of Birinus.

in ecclesia . . . Pauli] Built by Cenwalh, the son and successor of Cynegils; *v.* Sax. Chron. 643, A. 642. B. C.; 641 E. Consecrated 648; ib. F. Lat. This is the 'old Church,' as opposed to the 'new Mynster,' or Hyde Abbey, consecrated in 903; ib. F. See notes *ad ll.* Winchester Cathedral.

defuncto . . . successit] On the date, *v. s.* On Cenwalh, cf. D. C. B. i. 592, 593. Cenwalh.

suscipere rennuit] W. M. says that he renounced Christianity; i. 23. But this is against Bede's words, and is due to the wish to make a rhetorical point.

aliam . . . uxorem] Probably Sexburgh, who survived him; Lappenberg, i. 246. The E. T. i. 252, states this as a fact, tampering, as it frequently does, with the text which it professes to translate. Cf. notes on iv. 12.

regno priuatus] 645, Sax. Chron. A. F.; 644, B. C. E.

fidem . . . suscepit] 646, Sax. Chron. A. F.; 645, B. C. E. According to Fl. Wig. he was baptized by Felix, i. 20. The Lib. Eli. p. 23, says that Anna acted as his godfather, and helped to restore him to his kingdom; and that this was what drew on him the wrath of Penda; c. 18, *ad fin.* This is probable enough, but it may be only an inference from Bede. Cenwalh was also a great friend of Benedict Biscop, Hab. § 4, p. 367; and of Alchfrid of Deira; Eddius, c. 7. Cenwalh's alleged brother Eielwine (*i. e.* Ethelwine), venerated as a saint at Athelney, is probably a myth

created by an attempt to explain that name as 'Æðelwines-ei,' 'Ethelwine's island,' G. P. p 199.

Descendants of Anna of East Anglia.

uir . . . felix] Cf. c. 18; *ad fin.* Among his 'sancta soboles' are his daughter Ethelburga, his step-daughter Sæthryth, and his grand-daughter Earcongota (by the marriage of his daughter Sexburgh to Earconbert of Kent), all of whom became abbesses of Brie in Gaul, *inf.* c. 8; his daughter Ethelthryth (ii. 19, 20) abbess of Ely, in which office she was succeeded by her sister Sexburgh, the mother of Earcongota, who was in turn succeeded by another daughter Ermingild, who had been married to Wulfhere of Mercia, to whom she bore St. Wereburg. Fl. Wig. i. 32; Bright, p. 152. A fourth daughter became a nun at Ely; Fl. Wig. i. 261; and afterwards a recluse at Dereham; Bright, p. 151; cf. Hardy, Cat. i. 264, 265, 469, 470; but the accounts of her seem rather mythical. Still more mythical seems a son, St. Germinus, mentioned G. P. p. 156; Lib. Eli. pp. 15, 23. The editor of G. P. identifies him with St. Germanus of Auxerre, who lived about two centuries earlier.

Cenwalh restored.

restitutus] As Bede says that he was in exile three years, this would fix his return to 647 or 648, according to the Chron.

History of the West-Saxon see.

uenit in prouinciam, &c.] The history of the West-Saxon see, from Birinus to the death of Hædde, is as follows. After the death of Birinus Agilbert became bishop of the West Saxons with his see at Dorchester. During his tenancy of the see Cenwalh attempted to divide the diocese, making Wine bishop of the Western part with his see at Winchester. Agilbert, offended at this, retired from Wessex, leaving the see of Dorchester vacant. Dorchester ultimately passed under Mercian dominion, and became the seat of a Mercian bishopric. Winchester thus remained the only Wessex see, under Wine, and his successor Leutherius or Hlothhere; Hædde, Hlothhere's successor, recognising accomplished facts, translated the body of Birinus to Winchester; while on Hædde's death the diocese was divided, Daniel being located at Winchester, and Aldhelm at Sherborne; v. 18, p. 320. Thus, strictly speaking, there was no translation of the see of Dorchester to Winchester; but, after an abortive attempt to divide the diocese of Wessex between them, the former ceased to exist as a West-Saxon see. The decree of Theodore, however, already alluded to, ascribes such a translation to Hædde: 'Nolumus, . . . immo nobis non congruit, ipso . . . Hedda superstite, qui ecclesiam Wentanam tam insigniter nobilitauit, authoritate summi pontificis Agathonis transferendo corpus . . . Birini . . . a uilla Dorkecestrensi . . . *una cum sede* in Wentanam ciuitatem, cuius etiam . . . apostolico . . . mandato extunc primo

confirmata est in ipsa ciuitate sedes episcopalis dignitatis, parochiam suam in aliquo laedere diminuendo.' H. & S. iii. 126, 127, from Ang. Sac. i. 193. Now it is true that the Wessex diocese was not divided till after Hædde's death. (For the reason, see on iv. 12.) It is *possible* that Hædde may have sought some papal sanction to accomplished facts in the matter of the location of the see. But it is not true in any sense that he first transferred the see to Winchester. The declaration against division is so contrary to Theodore's general ecclesiastical policy as to be very improbable; not less improbable is it that he who resisted an express decision of the Pope as to the division of the Northumbrian diocese, should effusively invoke papal authority for a much less important change. On the whole, this decree seems to me decidedly spurious. The *Ann. breves Winton.* say with more explicit falsehood: 'sedes West-Saxonum in ecclesia de Dorcestria mansit . . . usque ad tempora Heddae; . . . qui sedem transtulit . . . una cum corpore . . . Birini in ecclesiam summae Trinitatis, modo apostolorum Petri et Pauli Wintoniae;' Ang. Sac. *u. s.* The statement as to the original dedication of the church also flatly contradicts both Bede and the Chronicle. Yet the same annals, as cited Ang. Sac. i. 191, seem to assign the translation of the see to Agilbert.

Agilberctus] Ægelbert or Æthelbert; the difference in writing is due to the fact that both ð and *g* between vowels became a mere 'breath,' and ultimately disappeared, leaving us the name Albert. (Cf. 'Aelbert,' Haa. § 29, and ib., § 11 note; 'Eielred,' G. P. p. 30; 'Eielwini,' ib. 199.) The title 'pontifex' shows that he was already in episcopal orders before he came to Britain. Dr. Bright thinks that 'he had been consecrated . . . in Gaul as a *vacant* bishop, σχολάζων'; *i. e.* a bishop without a diocese. Cf. D. C. A. ii. 1041. The Sax. Chron. F. 605, incorrectly says of him, 'was gehadod,' 'ordinatur'; the other MSS. more correctly, 'onfeng bisceopdomes,' 'received the bishopric.' The view that he was consecrated in Gaul is confirmed by what Bede says below of Wine: '*et ipsum* in Gallia ordinatum.' Agilbert.

Gallus] 'Gallia cynnes,' 'of Gaul-kin,' AS. vers.; 'se Frencisca,' 'Francigena,' Sax. Chron. F. 650 A. D.

legendarum . . . demoratus] On the noble liberality with which the Irish Church about this time welcomed foreign students, see c. 27, p. 192.

in Hibernia] 'Scotta ealonde,' 'the island of the Scots,' adds AS. vers.

adnuens] 650, Sax. Chron. A. F.; 649, B. C. E. By F. only is Birinus' death placed in the same year as Agilbert's acceptance of

the see; and this is probably a mere inference. The other MSS. only say that A. succeeded B.: 'æfter Byrine þam Romaniscean bisceope.'

sacerdotali] 'episcopal,' *v.* i. 28, note.

barbarae loquellae] *v.* note on i. 25, p. 45; a different, and doubtful explanation in Freeman's Life and Letters, ii. 229.

subintroduxit] This word, taken from the Vulgate version of Gal. ii. 4, where St. Paul denounces the false brethren, stamps the proceeding with Bede's condemnation.

parrochias] *v.* iv. 1, 5, notes.

p. 141. **ageret rex**] 'gewat þa of Breotone,' 'departed then from Britain,' adds AS. vers.

rediit Galliam] Agilbert was certainly in Northumbria before and during the Synod of Whitby; iii. 25, v. 19, pp. 183, 325; Eddius, cc. 9, 10. No less certainly he did not become bishop of Paris before 666, as his predecessor Importunus signs a document in that year. Gallia Christ. vii. 26, 27; Bright, p. 182; Gams, p. 596. Here Bede is evidently speaking summarily and inexactly. In v. 19, p. 325, however, he distinctly says that Agilbert was bishop of Paris at the time of Wilfrid's consecration in 664. The Sax. Chron. places Agilbert's retirement from Wessex ('from Cenwale') and Wine's accession in 660, and says that the latter held the see three years. This period agrees well enough with Bede's expression below, 'non multis . . . annis'; but, combined with the date given for Wine's accession, it would bring his expulsion to 663. This is impossible, as Wine was certainly still bishop in Wessex when Ceadda sought consecration of him in 664; iii. 28. Fl. Wig. places Wine's expulsion in 666 (on what authority I know not; but the date is accepted by H. & S. iii. 118). Then his accession and Agilbert's retirement would fall into 663. This would fit in excellently with the other events recorded. Agilbert, leaving Wessex in 663, retires to Northumbria and remains there 'aliquandiu,' c. 25, p. 183, *i. e.* till after the Synod of Whitby (early in 664). He then returns to Gaul, and assists in the consecration of Wilfrid later in the same year. Cf. Ang. Sac. i. 191; Bright, p. 182 *n.* Florence places Wine's accession in 660; but as he gives no period of his tenure of the see, he is not inconsistent with himself.

obiit] Oct. 11, 680, Gams.

pulsus est et Uini] The reason for his expulsion is not known.

Wulfhere. **Uulfheri**] It illustrates the ascendency which Wulfhere had acquired over Essex, that he was able to dispose of the East Saxon bishopric. Cf. D. C. B. ii. 20; iv. 666. The idea of Lappenberg that he was Bretwalda is very problematical; i. 165, 171; E. T.

i. 171, 178. 'Haec . . . eius [Wulferi] bona . . . deprimit grauis simoniae nota, quod primus regum Anglorum sacrum episcopatum . . . uenditarit,' W. M. i. 78.

emit pretio] 'Sceuo exemplo posteris, ut non facile discernas maiore peccato et infamia an illius qui rem sacram uenum proposuerit, an illius qui emerit,' G. P. p. 159; 'unde post mortem in serie episcoporum Londinensium non meruit recenseri,' Matth. Paris, Chron. Maiora, i. 294, from R. W. i. 160; copied in turn by Westminster *ad ann.* 666. He is however in Fl. Wig.'s list, i. 232. There is a tradition preserved by Rudborne, Ang. Sac. i. 192, that three years before his death he retired as a penitent to Winchester, continually repeating the saying of Jerome (adu. Rufinum, lib. iii, Opp. IV. ii. 445, ed. Bened.) 'errauimus iuuenes, emendemus senes.' Cf. the similar story told of Herbert Losinga, Bishop of Norwich, Elmham, pp. 167, 168. It is certain that Wine was not present at the Council of Hertford, 673; *inf.* iv. 5; *v.* H. & S. iii. 121. Bede however says distinctly here that he remained bishop till his death. Wine.

tempore non pauco] Seven years according to the Sax. Chron. See next note.

quo . . . tempore . . . adflictus] The Sax. Chron. does not mention any wars of Cenwalh between 663, the date which it gives by implication to the expulsion of Wine, and 670, that assigned to Hlothhere's (Leutherius') accession. Bede mentions, iv. 13, p. 230, the conquest by Wulfhere of Wight, and the district of the Meanware; the Chronicle places the former with other battles in 661, which was in any case prior to Wine's expulsion. That entry is however certainly wrong in some respects, and may be wrong in this also; *v.* note *a. l.* Besides his rivalry with Mercia, Cenwalh had trouble also with the Welsh; Sax. Chron. 652, 658. Wars of Cenwalh.

perfidia . . . reuocauerit] On the tendency to make success a test of truth, see on ii. 13, p. 111; 'perfidia,' 'unbelief,' 'heathenism;' *v.* i. 7, p. 18, note.

Leutherium] 'uir demirandae sanctitatis et doctrinae,' Rudborne in Ang. Sac. i. 192. Hlothhere.

honorifice . . . suscepto] Perhaps in a formal synod, the holding of which in connexion with Leutherius' appointment is implied in the words 'ex synodica sanctione,' below.

in ipsa ciuitate] Winchester.

multis annis] The Chron. places his accession in 670, that of Hædde in 676. Under 670 however it gives Hlothhere a tenure of seven years. Malmesbury copies this, and is childishly elated at being able to supply an omission of Bede's: 'de annis episcopatus

eius Beda nichil . . . reliquit, michi ex cronicis cognitum dissimulare silentio praeter religionem uidebatur,' G. P. p. 159.

solus] *i. e.* the project of division was abandoned for the present.

CHAPTER 8.

Earconbert.

P. 142. filio] By his wife Emma; *v.* note on ii. 5, p. 90.

quae . . . tenuit] He died July 14, 664, iv. 1, p. 201, therefore his accession must be placed early in 640. With this agrees an entry in the Annales Iuuanenses Maiores, *ad ann.* 640: 'Eodbald filius Edilberti depositus xiii Kal. Feb. feria vi,' Pertz, i. 87, *i. e.* Jan. 20; which however seems to have been a Thursday, and not a Friday in 640.

His legislation.

hic . . . destrui] On the question of the destruction of idols, Anglo-Saxon heathenism, &c., *v.* notes on i. 30; cf. Childebert's constitution abolishing idolatry, c. 554 A.D., in Bouquet, iv. 113, 114. For the legend of Earconbert's brother Ermenred and his two martyred sons, *v.* Sax. Chron. A. 640 and notes.

ieiunium . . . praecepit] 'ut gentem suam, uentri tantum indulgentem, parcitati gulae doceret insuescere,' adds W. M. i. 15.

quae . . . proposuit] For the whole of this sentence the AS. vers. simply has 'bi wite rædenne,' 'under penalty.' Earconbert's laws have not been preserved.

Earcongotæ] Surius, July 7, and Mabillon, Ann. Bened. i. 378. 435, add nothing to Bede.

Fara or Burgundofara.

Fara] or Burgundofara. She was said to have been blessed and dedicated to God in her childhood by St. Columban; Mabillon, Ann. Bened. i. 293, 434; AA. SS. ii. 25, 117, 439. Mabillon thinks that she died c. 665; cf. Gallia Christ. viii. 1701, 1702. An account of various miracles which happened during her abbacy, by Jonas of Bobbio, is printed in AA. SS. *u. s.* pp. 439 ff., and a life of her is printed in vol. iii. of the Basle and Cologne editions of Bede's works. Needless to say, it is not by Bede.

Faremoûtier-en-Brie.

in Brige] Faremoûtier-en-Brie, *i. e.* Farae Monasterium in Brige; called also Eboriacum. Founded c. 617. It was a double monastery for men and women. Bathildis, wife of Clovis II, herself of English race, *v.* on v. 19, p. 325, was a great benefactress of it; Gallia Christ. viii. 1700, 1701; Mabillon, AA. SS. ii. 780. There are documents relating to this monastery in Bouquet, viii. 377, 431.

Monasteries prior to 640 A.D.

necdum multis . . . constructis] Of monasteries 'in regione Anglorum' of which the foundation is mentioned by Bede, the only ones which are certainly earlier than 640 are Christ Church and St. Augustine's, Canterbury; Lindisfarne; Betrichsworth or Bury St. Edmund's, iii. 18 and note; and Cnobheresburg or Burgh Castle, iii. 19. To these may probably be added Melrose;

Cuthbert entered Melrose in 651, and it had evidently been established some little time previously. Hartlepool (Heruteu) was founded 'non multo ante' 647, iv. 23. Gateshead (Ad Caprae Caput) is mentioned in 653, iii. 21. Ythanceaster and Tilbury about the same time, iii. 22. Malmesbury may possibly be earlier than 640. There are other places, like Coldingham and Pægnalaech, of which the time of foundation is not mentioned; but the date at which they first appear is too late to afford any strong presumption that they go back further than 640.

in regione Anglorum] *i. e.* the parts of Britain occupied by the Teutonic tribes. No name derived from them was as yet applied to the whole country; this is always in Bede Brittania or Brittaniae; just as the opposite continent of Europe, though largely occupied by the Franks, is still Gallia or Galliae. So 'in regione Francorum' just above; cf. Hab. § 19, note. At a later time 'Britannia' gets confined to the Celtic parts of the island, and is practically equivalent to Wales; H. & S. iii. 477; M. H. B. p. 471; cf. R. W. i. 93: 'unde communiter statuerunt [reges Anglorum siue Saxonum] quatenus insula, non a Bruto Britannia, sed Anglia uocaretur.' No Teutonic name for Britain.

multi de Brittania] Cf. Hist. Abb. Anon. § 7; S. D. ii. 12.

mittebant] The AS. vers. supplies the nominative: 'cyningas 7 rice men,' 'kings and powerful men.'

in Cale] Chelles, near Paris. The monastery, dedicated to St. George, was founded by Clotilde, wife of Clovis I, and restored by Bathildis on a much larger scale, 662; Mab. Ann. Bened. i. 111, 444; Mab. AA. SS. ii. 779, 780; Gallia Christ. vii. 558. Gisla, sister of Charles the Great, was abbess of Chelles at the end of the eighth and beginning of the ninth cent. Several of Alcuin's letters are addressed to her. Chelles.

in Andilegum] Andeley-sur-Seine, founded in honour of the Virgin Mary by Clotilde, wife of Clovis I. It was standing in 884, but was probably destroyed by the Northmen, c. 900; Gallia Christ. xi. 131. Andeley.

filia naturalis] *i. e.* his own daughter as opposed to his stepdaughter; not 'illegitimate,' though it has this sense as early as Ulpian; cited in Andrewes' Dictionary.

Aedilberg] For a life of her, almost wholly taken from Bede, *v.* Hardy, Cat. i. 265; cf. ib. 385, where she is confused with Ethelberg, sister of Bishop Earconwald of London; iv. 6–10. Mabillon says that there was a priory dedicated to her, the prioress of which was bound annually to attend the chapter of the monastery of Faremoûtier-en-Brie; Ann. Bened. i. 434. He also prints a twelfth-century hymn in her honour; ib. 692. Ethelberg.

Sexburg] Sæburg, AS. vers. See on iv. 19.

p. 143. solent . . . narrari] Bede may have obtained the following account from oral tradition; or he may have had some life of her before him, at the existence of which the words below, 'suis narrare permittimus,' seem to hint. But no life of her earlier than Bede is known to exist.

Gold coinage.

aureum illud nomisma] 'This does not prove that gold coins were current in Kent,' Lingard, Angl. Sax. Church, ii. 401, cited by M. & L. *a. l.* Two Frankish gold coins of this period are figured in Ducange, vol. v. plate i. Nos. 15, 19. A certain king of the Huns was offered 'solidorum aureorum modius plenus' to betray Berhthere (Perctarit), King of the Lombards, to his enemies; Eddius, c. 28.

Double monasteries.

multi de fratribus] This shows that Brie (and probably also Chelles and Andeley) was a double monastery both of nuns and monks. From Gaul the institution was transplanted to Britain. We find that Bardney (iii. 11), Barking (iv. 7), Ely (iv. 19), Whitby (iv. 23), Coldingham (iv. 25) were double monasteries. Wenlock was another; Mon. Mog. pp. 53 ff. Eangyth, an abbess of an unnamed monastery, in writing to St. Boniface 719 × 722, enumerates among her various cares: 'recordatio . . . uniuersarum commissarum animarum promiscui sexus et aetatis,' ib. 67. Lingard (Anglo-Saxon Church, ch. 5) adds to these instances Repton and Wimborne, of the latter of which an interesting account is given from the life of St. Lioba. 'In quo duo monasteria . . . constructa sunt, . . . unum scilicet clericorum, et alterum feminarum; quorum . . . utrumque ea lege disciplinae ordinatum est, ut neutrum eorum dispar sexus ingrederetur. Numquam enim uirorum congregationem femina, aut uirginum contubernia quisquam uirorum intrare permittebatur, exceptis solummodo presbyteris, qui in ecclesias earum ad agenda missarum officia tantum ingredi solebant, et consummata sollemniter oratione statim ad sua redire. Feminarum uero quaecumque saeculo renuntians earum collegio sociari uoluerat, numquam exitura intrabat, nisi causa rationabilis . . . eam cum consilio emitteret. Porro ipsa congregationis mater, quando aliquid exteriorum pro utilitate monasterii ordinare . . . necesse erat, per fenestram loquebatur, et inde decernebat, quaecumque ordinanda . . . utilitatis ratio exigebat,' Mabillon, AA. SS. iv. 246, 247. Niridanum (iv. 1) may also have been a double monastery. It is no argument against this that Bede calls it 'uirginum monasterium,' for he applies the same term to Ely and Coldingham, *u. s.* For other instances, see an interesting note in M. & L. pp. 316, 317. The feminine element seems indeed to have been predominant in all these cases, and the abbess was always the head of both communities. The case of Coldingham

shows that, in spite of rules like those of Wimborne, the system might lead to serious abuses. Theodore tried to discourage it. In his Penitential, II. vi. 8 (H. & S. iii. 195), he says, 'non licet uiris feminas habere monachas, neque feminis uiros; tamen nos non destruamus quod consuetudo est in hac terra.' Cf. D. C. A. ii. 1414. Ultimately the system died out in this country; very likely, as Lingard suggests, owing to the destruction of many of these monasteries by the Danes.

egressi dignoscere] 'going out to ascertain.' N^2., not understanding this unclassical construction, adds 'uolentes'; *v.* c. 2, p. 130, note.

p. 144. flagrantia] For fragrantia, and so constantly; Opp. Min. p. 333. So Opp. Min. p. 14, 'flagrant' for 'fragrant.' In Opp. vi. 126, conversely, we have 'calore fragrantior' for 'flagrantior.' A further variety is 'fraglantia,' 'fraglans'; Pertz, xi. 313, 314; Stubbs' Dunstan, p. 363. For this 'odour of sanctity' many references are collected by M. & L. *a. l.*; and on iv. 10. 'Flagrantia.'

cunctis . . . fratribus ac sororibus] 'eallum þam higum,' 'to all the members of the family *or* household,' AS. vers.

quasi opobalsami cellaria] See the critical notes. The AS. vers. expands very luxuriantly: 'Swa swa hordærn . . . balsami 7 þara deorwyrðestena wyrta, 7 þara swetestena þe in middangearde wæron,' 'like a treasury of balsam and of the costliest and sweetest spices in the world.' Cf. Bede in Cant. Cant. i. 14: 'In urbe . . . Engaddi nobiliores caeteris uineae nascuntur, utpote de quibus liquor non uini, sed opobalsami defluit; . . . quod [balsamum] in chrismatis confectione liquori oliuae admisceri, ac pontificali benedictione solet consecrari, quatenus fideles omnes cum impositione manus sacerdotalis, qua Spiritus Sanctus accipitur, hac unctione signentur. Qua etiam altare dominicum, cum dedicatur, et caetera quae sacrosancta esse debent, perunguntur. . . . Sed . . . uirgulta earum acutis lapidibus, siue osseis solent incidere cultellis; nam ferri tactus laedit. Per quas incisiones emanat succus odoris eximii. . . . Quod quia per cauernam profluat corticis, saepius opobalsamum nominatur; opi (ὀπή) enim Graece cauerna nuncupatur,' Opp. ix. 226, 227; so iv. 424. (It is, of course, really from ὀπός, juice, 'succus.') Balsam and the chrism.

intemeratum . . . inmune] On incorruption after death as a sign of chastity during life, cf. iv. 19, p. 243, of St. Ethelthryth. Cf. Bede in Cant. Cant. iv. 14: 'Myrrha et aloe continentiam carnis exprimunt; quia . . . horum natura est aromatum, ut uncta ex eis corpora defunctorum minime putrescant. . . . Quomodo enim corruptio mortuae carnis putredinem luxuriae, ita conditura eius Bodily incorruption a sign of chastity.

. . . uirtutem continentiae et castitatem . . . demonstrat,' Opp. ix. 290, 291.

ibi solet] 'oð þas tid,' 'up to the present time,' adds AS. vers.

die Non. Iul.] July 7th.

CHAPTER 9.

paralitica] 'lama,' AS. vers.

christianissimus] *v.* ii. 5, note.

VIIII annos . . . fecerat] As Edwin fell Oct. 12, 633, ii. 20, p. 124, this fixes the fall of Oswald to 642 ; so c. 9, v. 24, p. 354.

p. 145. siquidem . . . adnotari] *v. s.* c. 1, p. 128, and notes.

Battle of Maserfelth.

commisso graui proelio] There seems to have been an earlier battle which Bede has not mentioned, as four years before the fall of Oswald Tighernach has the entry : 'congregatio Saxonum contra Osualt.' The twelfth-century life of Oswald, S. D. i. 350, 352, says that he had previously conquered Mercia, defeating Penda and driving him into Wales ; that then, feeling himself secure, he had dismissed the bulk of his forces, when he was suddenly surprised and surrounded by Penda with a new army. Whether this has any foundation beyond the writer's imagination I cannot say. (It looks like a doublet of his own account of Edwin's fall, p. 345. See on ii. 20.) He professes to write from earlier sources, 'diuersarum textus historiarum percurrendo translegimus,' p. 329 ; cf. ib. 343, 346, 349, 367 (from Adamnan's life of St. Columba, ed. Reeves, pp. 13–16, 372, 378, 379. But there is so much confusion and repetition in his account that it is difficult to criticise his statements. In Nennius, § 65, and Ann. Camb. *ad ann.* 644, the battle is called 'Bellum Cocboy,' and a brother of Penda, Eowa or Eoba, 'rex Merciorum,' is said to have fallen in it. He may have been under-king of a part of Mercia. Nennius says, 'Penda uictor fuit per diabolicam artem.' Hen. Hunt has here again preserved a proverb : 'unde dicitur, "Campus Masefeld sanctorum canduit ossibus",' p. 95. That Penda here, as before and after, was acting in concert with the Britons under Cadwalador, son of Cadwallon or Cædwalla, is likely enough. Cf. c. 14, notes ; Rhŷs, C. B. p. 132.

Maserfelth] Identified with Oswestry in Shropshire (='Oswaldes-tréo,' Oswald's tree). The life of Oswald, *u. s.*, says, 'Est . . . locus iste conterminus finibus Armonicae Waliae, quod Waliae quondam pars maxima dicta est Armonica (*i. e.* Arvon ; whence Carnarvon, *i. e.* Caer-yn-Arvon, 'the city in Arvon') . . . Distatque locus iste a fossa regis Offae, quae Angliam et Waliam borealem

diuidit, miliario non ferme dimidio, et Scropesbyri miliario integre septimo, ab abbatia uero Waneloc (Much Wenlock) . . . miliario circiter sexto decimo;' pp. 350, 353. The distances are understated. Here was a church called 'Candida' or 'Alba Ecclesia' (White Minster, Leland, Itin. v. 37) and a sacred fountain, both dedicated to St. Oswald, pp. 350, 352, 357, 358. Here too was the miraculous tree from which the place was said to derive its name, pp. 355–357. But the Welsh form of the name, Croes Oswallt, 'Oswald's Cross' (*e. g.* Red Book of Hergest, vol. ii. 'The Bruts,' pp. 316, 324), makes it probable that the name came from a wooden cross set up to mark the site of the battle (cf. c. 2, *ad init.*), and that the legend of the tree arose from a later misunderstanding of the name. Leland, *u. s.*, calls the place Oswestre; but also, p. 36, 'Croix-Oswalde.'

anno . . . XXXVIII] This would put his birth either in 604 or 605. His life, *u. s.* p. 364, places it in 604; which may be only an inference from this passage, and the same may be said of W. M.'s statement, i. 48, that he was twelve years old at the time of his father's death in 616. 'Hæfde he . . . lichomlicre yldo seofon 7 þritig wintra,' 'he had thirty-seven years of bodily age,' AS. vers.; *i. e.* he had completed thirty-seven years, and was in his thirty-eighth year, as Bede says. Oswald's death.

die quinto] Bede usually dates by Calends, Ides, and Nones. Here however, and in iii. 27, *ad init.*; v. 8, p. 295; v. 23, p. 350 (cf. also iv. 5, p. 215), the modern system is used. This was first introduced by Gregory I, but did not become common till the general adoption of the vernacular languages in writing. Ideler, ii. 191. Modes of dating.

miraculis claruit] 'Fuit igitur Oswaldus qui genti suae primitias sanctitatis dederit, quippe nullus ante illum Anglus miraculis, quod sciam, uiguerit,' W. M. i. 54. Elmham makes Oswald the first English martyr (as against Alban, see on i. 7): 'Huic primitiae martyrum conferuntur Anglorum,' pp. 181, 182. Miracles.

usque hodie] 'oð þeosne ondweardan dæg,' 'to this present day,' AS. vers.

in aquam mittentes] cf. on i. 1, p. 13.

ablata . . . reddiderit] So of Bishop Hædde's death-place, v. 18, p. 320.

duo tantum] Unless the healing of the horse and of the paralytic girl are to be reckoned as a single miracle, we have three miracles recorded; and c. 10 would seem to be a later addition, though it ppears in all MSS. The translator has been struck with the inconsistency for he says, 'tu án oðþe þreo,' 'two only, *or three.*'

The miracles in cc 11–13, were not 'in loco illo, uel de puluere loci illius facta'; and therefore do not affect the question.

stramine subtracto] The oldest MSS. all support this reading, with the doubtful exception of C.; and even in the case of C. the AS. vers., which was certainly made from a MS. of the C. type, see Introduction, p. cxxix., favours 'subtracto.' Later MSS. and edd. read 'substrato' (see critical notes). I believe the explanation to be that 'stramen' is used incorrectly for 'stragulus' in the sense of 'saddle' or 'horse-cloth.' 'Sternere equum' is to saddle a horse (cf. *inf.* c. 14, p. 156: 'stratus regaliter'; 'distratus equus,' an unsaddled horse, Opp. Min. p. 263. Ducange has '*stramentum*, insellatura equi'). The later scribes, not understanding this use, altered 'subtracto' into 'substrato.'

p. 146. familiares domus illius] 'þa higan,' 'the members of the household,' the 'paterfamilias' being their chief, 'þæs higna ealdres,' AS. vers.

et cum his . . . reuersa est] Cf. iv. 10, *ad fin.*; Vit. Cudb. Pros. c. 32, *ad fin.*

CHAPTER 10.

P. 147. uicani] 'þæt ham eall,' 'the whole village,' AS. vers.

in una posta] Note how near the first numeral is approaching to the sense of an indefinite article.

uirgis . . . tectum] For this mode of construction, and consequent frequency of fires, cf. ii. 14, p. 114, note; for the thatched roof, cf. Vita Cudb. cc. 5, 14, 20.

posta . . . remansit] A similar miracle in Rs. Ad. p. 114.

CHAPTER 11.

P. 148. nunc seruantur] 'nu gehealdene syndon,' AS. vers.

Translation of Oswald.

Osthrydae] Wife of Ethelred, King of Mercia; iv. 21. She was murdered in 697; v. 24, p. 355. There is a spurious charter in which Ethelred grants land to Oftfor, Bishop of Worcester, 'pro absolutione criminum uel meorum, uel coniugis quondam meae Osthrythae'; K. C. D. No. 33; Birch, No. 76. Ethelred succeeded his brother Wulfhere in 675; v. 24, p. 354. In 704 he became a monk, ib. pp. 355, 356, and ultimately abbot, v. 19, p. 329, of this very monastery of Bardney, W. M. i. 54, 78, where also he was buried, Sax. Chron. 716. As Osthryth is spoken of as queen at this time, the translation must have taken place 675 × 697, probably after 679; *v.* next note. Where the body of Oswald was buried prior to this translation, I find nowhere expressly stated;

probably at Maserfelth. The Sax. Chron. E. 641 *seems* to place the burial at Bardney immediately after the slaughter of Oswald.

in prouincia Lindissi] Lindsey seems to have followed the alternations of success between Northumbria and Mercia. Under Edwin it belonged to the former; ii. 16. It probably passed from him to Penda in 633. Oswald recovered it (cf. *inf.* 'super eos regnum acceperat,' to which W. M. i. 53 adds, 'bellico iure'). On his fall in 642 it would pass to Penda again, until his defeat by Oswy in 655. Wulfhere of Mercia, on his successful rebellion against Oswy three years later, c. 24, *ad fin.* or at some subsequent time, recovered it; for Egfrid had to reconquer it, 671 × 675; iv. 12, p. 229; Eddius, cc. 19, 20; H. Y. i. 30, 31; S. D. i. 200. Ethelred regained it once more, iv. 12, *ad fin.*; probably in consequence of the battle of the Trent in 679, iv. 21; to which year Fl. Wig. i. 243 expressly assigns the recovery. The translation of Oswald's body would probably be subsequent to this. Lindsey.

Beardaneu] Bardney in Lincolnshire. It is commonly said to have been founded by Ethelred himself (*e.g.* Fl. Wig. i. 46, note; G. P. p. 312, note), but Bede would hardly have omitted this, had it been the fact. 'The ruines of Bardney Abbey are yet to be seen;' Enderbie, Cambria Triumphans, p. 213 (1661). 'Now nothing remains but the moated site;' Murray's Lincolnshire (1890), p. 140. Bardney.

tamen, quia . . . acceperat] Whether the people of Lindsey considered themselves to belong more properly to Mercia, or whether their local feeling resented incorporation in any larger unity, is uncertain. The words 'de alia prouincia' rather favour the latter view. And they once had princes of their own; Fl. Wig. i. 253. Anyhow the incident shows how far the Teutonic tribes in Britain were from any community of sentiment. Strength of local feeling.

columna lucis] cf. i. 33, p. 71, note.

uexillum] cf. Edwin's banner, ii. 16, *ad fin.*

tumbam] Offa of Mercia afterwards adorned it magnificently; cf. Alc. de Sanctis Ebor. vv. 388 *sqq.*: Oswald's tomb.

> 'Postea rex felix ornauerat Offa sepulchrum,
> Ut decus et specimen tumbae per saecla maneret,
> Praemia pro modico sumpturus magna labore.'

Alcuin is of course a strictly contemporary witness for the reign of Offa.

in angulo sacrarii] 'sacrarium' means (i.) the sanctuary, the part of a church where the altar stands; (ii.) the sacristy; (iii.) the cemetery; Ducange. It is probably used in the third sense here. 'Sacrarium.'

ipsa terra . . . effectum] The same is told of Oswin, Biogr. Misc. p. 14, and of Arnulf, Bishop of Soissons (1081–82), 'uidimus Demoniacs healed.

euergumenum . . . cui cum puluis ille nolenti in os fuit iniectus, mox mentem recepit;' Pertz, xv. 900. With the story which follows cf. one in Vita Cudb. c. 41, which is a good deal heightened from the earlier version in Vita Anon. § 44.

Aediluini] *v.* c. 27, iv. 12, pp. 192, 229.

Peartaneu] *v.* ii. 16, p. 117.

grauissime uexari] One of the sections of Theodore's Penitential, II. x, is 'De uexatis a diabulo'; H. & S. iii. 197.

a nullo . . . ligari] cf. Alcuin's account, *u. s.* vv. 405, 406:

'Et cum nullus eum potuit constringere uinclis,
Vel miseri saeuos flagris compescere motus;'

which throws light on the treatment of these unhappy beings.

pulsans ad ostium] '7 sloh tacen æt geate,' 'and gave a signal by knocking at the gate,' AS. vers.

ad locum uirorum] *v.* on c. 8.

Exorcism. **p. 150. dicebat . . . exorcismos**] 'song he . . . 7 rædde orationem þa ðe wið þære aðle awritene wæron,' 'he sang and read the prayers that were prescribed against that disease,' AS. vers.; cf. Vit. Cudb. *u. s.* There were two kinds of exorcism 'in euergumenis siue cathecumenis'; Isidore, in Ducange. This is an instance of the former kind. In the latter, the evil spirit was expelled from persons, especially converts from heathenism, who were about to be baptized; *v.* D. C. A. Unction also formed part of the ceremony of exorcism; cf. Theodore's Penitential, II. iii. 8: 'Secundum Grecos presbytero licet facere oleum exorcisatum, et infirmis crismam, si necesse est. Secundum Romanos . . . non licet nisi Episcopis solis;' H. & S. iii. 193. Cf. Bede, Opp. x. 88: 'Unde [*i. e.* from James v. 14] patet ab ipsis apostolis hunc sanctae ecclesiae morem esse traditum, ut *euergumini*, uel alii quilibet aegroti, ungantur *oleo pontificali benedictione consecrato*' (= xi. 92). So on Luke viii. 30: 'Sed et nostri temporis sacerdotes, qui per exorcismi gratiam daemones eiicere norunt, solent dicere, patientes non aliter ualere curari, nisi . . . omne, quod ab immundis spiritibus . . . pertulerint, . . . confitendo . . . exponant . . . Ut quidam uicinus mihi presbyter retulerit, se quandam sanctimonialem feminam a daemonio curare coepisse, sed quamdiu res latebat, nihil apud eam proficere potuisse. Confesso autem quo molestabatur phantasmate, mox et ipsum *orationibus cacterisque quae oportebat purificationum generibus* effugasse, et eiusdem . . . corpus ab ulceribus, quae daemonis tactu contraxerat, medicinali studio *adiuncto sale benedicto* curasse.' One ulcer remained obstinate. The mode of cure was suggested by the patient herself: 'Si . . . *oleum pro infirmis consecratum* eidem medicamento asperseris, sicque me perunxeris, statim sanitati restituar. Nam uidi quondam per

spiritum, in quadam . . . ciuitate, quam nunquam corporalibus oculis uidi, puellam quandam . . . taliter a sacerdote curatam.' The result was satisfactory; Opp. xi. 76, 77. In the parallel passage of the later commentary on Mark, Opp. x. 71, 72, Bede omits this curious personal reminiscence, which indeed is a rare phenomenon in his theological works; cf. also on exorcism, x. 261. On exorcists as a special order in the early Church, cf. Ltft. App. Ff. II. iii. 240. 241. A spurious charter (K. C. D. No. 34; Birch, No. 77) is signed by 'Pinewald, exorcista'; cf. Cockayne, Anglo-Saxon Leechdoms, I. xxxix, cited by M. & L.

CHAPTER 12.

P. 151. infirmitas . . . contingere] Note how the fever is personified; cf. Luke iv. 39, probably conceived of vaguely as an evil spirit; cf. Tylor, Anthropology, pp. 353–355; Im Thurn, Among the Indians of Guiana, c. 16. Illness personified.

a tempore . . . persteterit] *v.* Introduction, p. xxvi.

dixit Osuald] 'se halga Oswald,' '*Saint* Oswald,' AS. vers.

p. 152. quo post annum deueniens, &c.] It is noteworthy that Oswy should be strong enough to do this at the beginning of his reign; cf. on c. 24, pp. 177, 178. For the legendary development of this story, see the life in S. D. i. 354–358. The history of Oswald's relics falls into three divisions, viz. that of the head, the arms, and the body. A. The head, as Bede narrates, was buried at Lindisfarne. In 875 the monks, in fear of the Danes, determined to quit Lindisfarne and take with them the body of St. Cuthbert, 'et una cum eo in eiusdem thecae loculo, ut in ueteribus libris inuenitur, . . . caput . . . Oswaldi, antea in . . . ecclesiae coemiterio sepultum'; S. D. i. 57. Hence it shared the wanderings of St. Cuthbert's body, ib. 61–68; to Chester-le-Street, ib. 69; to Ripon, ib. 78, 79; and finally to Durham, ib. 79; cf. ib. 221: 'Is in ðere byri eac . . . ðes clene cyninges heofud, Oswaldes,' 'There is in that city too the head of the pure king Oswald;' cf. ib. 252, 255. 'Caput . . . nunc Dunelmi inter brachia beatissimi Cuthberti teneri aiunt'; W. M. i. 53. The life of Oswald, S. D. i. 351, 375–378, has a foolish and legendary tale, quite inconsistent with the above historical facts, that the head was removed first to Bamborough, whence it was stolen by a stratagem by a monk of Durham; cf. Hardy, Cat. i. 631. The monastery of Epternach also claimed to possess the head of Oswald; AA. SS. Aug. ii. 90. B. The arms, as Bede says, both here and in c. 6, were deposited at Bamborough; by queen Bebba (!) adds the life; *u. s.* p. 373. The right arm, Oswald's relics

according to the life, was stolen by a monk of Peterborough; ib. 374, 375. The left arm was at Gloucester, ib. 370; and yet there was an arm at Durham, ib. 381. (This is a difficulty which often confronts the investigator of the history of relics. Thus at Rome there were two bodies of St. Hippolytus; Ltft. App. Ff. I. ii. 459, 460; cf. W. M. II. lxiv.) The Peterborough arm was afterwards translated to Ely; AA. SS. *u. s.* p. 88. W. M. i. 53 throws doubt on the existence of these relics in his day; but in G. P. pp. 293, 317, 318, he to some extent revoked his doubts. Swartebrand, an old monk of Durham, told Simeon that he had often seen the uncorrupted right hand; but whether at Bamborough or at Durham is not clearly stated. It is quite possible that it may really have been removed to Durham. Nic. Harpsfeld (sixteenth century) says that 'testes dignissimi omnique exceptione maiores' had seen it in his day, but he does not say where; Hist. Eccl. Angl. Saec. vii. c. 26. C. The body was probably buried first at Oswestry; thence it was translated to Bardney, *v. s.*; cf. Life, *u. s.* p. 368. Thence for fear of the Danes it was removed in 909 by Ethelflæd, lady of the Mercians, and her husband Ethelred to the monastery which they had built in his honour at Gloucester; Sax. Chron. *ad ann.*; W. M. i. 54, 136; G. P. p. 293. A retranslation of these relics to a new shrine took place 1108 × 1114, at which the author of the life was present, *u. s.* pp. 369, 370. This is hardly consistent with his statement, pp. 368, 369, that owing to the carelessness of the monks of Bardney 'uicissim succedentes barbari partem de ossibus illius pietatis furto abstulerunt, et per regiones innumeras tam nationum transmarinarum quam Anglicanarum disperserunt'; until only three small bones were left at Bardney. Judith, the wife of Tostig, was said to have taken relics of Oswald with her when she left England; Pertz, xv. 922, 923; cf. *inf.* on c. 14. We shall see in the notes to the next chapter how many places on the Continent claimed to possess relics of St. Oswald. The monastery of St. Winnoc's at Bergues in French Flanders professed to have obtained his whole body from Harold Harefoot or Edward the Confessor. This pretended body was said to have been burnt by the French Protestants in 1558; AA. SS. *u. s.* pp. 88, 89. Alfred, sacrist of Durham in the eleventh century, made a deliberate attempt to concentrate the relics of all northern saints at Durham; Raine's Hexham, I. liii. ff. Canon Raine remarks justly: 'There are few things more discreditable in mediaeval history than this hungry and jealous relic-mongering;' H. Y. I. xlviii; cf. note on Sax. Chron. 1013.

CHAPTER 13.

a mortis articulo reuocatus] The AS. vers. very literally, 'fram deaðes liðe wæs gehæled,' 'was healed from the joint of death.'

Brittaniae fines] We find churches dedicated to St. Oswald at Gloucester, *v.* c. 12, note; Carlisle, P. & S. p. 192; Oswestry, S. D. i. 350; Hexham, and Bardney in Lincolnshire, ib. ii. 52; Paddlesworth in Kent, Bright, p. 155; St. Oswald's in Elvet, Durham, cf. Hoveden, iv. 69; Nostell Priory, ib. i. 186; Raine's Hexham, I. clxiii; Winwick, Lancs., where also are still some verses to him 'in an old barbarous character,' Camden, ii. 968; while Makerfield near Winwick is one of the claimants for the honour of being Bede's Maserfelth. There are Kirkoswalds in Cumberland and Ayrshire. A church dedicated to him and St. Cuthbert jointly was founded at 'Scythlescester iuxta murum,' the scene of the murder of Alfwold, King of Northumbria, in 788 (perhaps Chesters near Chollerton); S. D. ii. 52. Dedications to Oswald in Britain.

trans oceanum . . . attigit] Of the veneration felt for Oswald in Ireland we have a record in the mention of his name at his day, Aug. 5, in the Félire of Oengus the Culdee; the gloss on which passage confuses him with another Northumbrian king who like Oswald had been an exile among the Scoti—Aldfrid; on whom see *inf.* iv. 26, p. 268; Introduction, § 10. The Irish also claimed to possess relics of Oswald; Alford, Ann. Eccl. ii. 265. Cult of Oswald in Ireland and on the Continent.

Of the cult of Oswald on the Continent I have found the following traces (of course the later the date, the greater the testimony to Oswald's popularity):—A. Relics. (On Epternach and St. Winnoc's, see notes to c. 12.) (*a*) Evidently from Bede's words here, Wilbrord took relics of Oswald with him to Frisia. These would probably be at Utrecht or Epternach. (*b*) Trèves, fifteenth century, churches of S. Maria ad Martyres and of St. Eucharius; Pertz, xv. 1275, 1279. (*c*) Tegernsee, Bavaria, eleventh century (a tooth); ib. 1067. (*d*) Prüfening or Prüfling, thirteenth century; ib. 1078. (*e*) Ramshofen, diocese of Passau, thirteenth century; ib. 1107. (*f*) Wettingen, in the Aargau, thirteenth century; ib. 1286. (*g*) Sauris and Tai, two villages in the Venetian Alps, disputed the possession of a finger of St. Oswald; AA. SS. Aug. ii. 90; Italian Life, pp. 59 ff.; cf. Baedeker, Eastern Alps, p. 371. (*h*) In the eighteenth century, the abbey of our Lady at Soissons claimed to possess relics of St. Oswald, as did (*i*) Weingarten, Swabia, (*k*) Herford, Westphalia, (*l*) and Lisbon; AA. SS. Aug. ii. 89, 90. B. Dedications. (*a*) Bamberg, twelfth century, a chapel in the monastery of St.

Michael; Mon. Bamberg. p. 603. (*b*) Prague, thirteenth century, an altar; Pertz, ix. 177. (*c*) Altenmünster, Bavaria (thirteenth-century life of an eleventh-century saint), altar; ib. xv. 847. (*d*) St. Emmeran, Ratisbon, thirteenth century, a church and chapel containing relics, the dedication festival held on the Sunday following his day, Aug. 5; ib. 1097. (*e*) Oberlonon near Meran, Tyrol, thirteenth century, chapel and altar; ib. 1112. (*f*) Weingarten, Swabia, thirteenth century, church; AA. SS. Aug. ii. 92. (*g*) Höllenthal, Schwarzwald, chapel; *v.* Meyer's Schwarzwald, p. 167. C. Festivals, &c. (*a*) His day observed at Epternach, end of twelfth century; Pertz, xxiii. 72. (*b*) The Annales Hamburg. date the solar eclipse of 1263 quite correctly by St. Oswald's day; ib. xvi. 385. (*c*) The author of the Italian life says that he had evidence in his own day (1769) of the cult of St. Oswald at Cologne, Constance, Mainz, Münster, Salzburg, Udine (his own city), Venice, Vicenza, and in Bohemia, p. 77. This is taken from AA. SS. Aug. ii. 91, very largely, from which may be added Bamberg and Spires. D. Places called St. Oswald. In Styria and Carniola alone I have found four: (i) Close to Grätz; Baedeker, *u. s.* p. 343. (ii) near Judenburg; ib. 361. (iii) On the Drave between Saldenhofen and Marburg. (iv) On the borders of Styria and Carniola, about twenty miles NE. of Laybach. E. Miscellaneous. (*a*) The 'Hrotsuithae Gesta Oddonis,' speaking of the marriage of Otho, afterwards the Emperor Otho I, with Edith, Athelstan's sister, calls her

> 'natam de stirpe beata
> Oswaldi regis, laudem cuius canit orbis,
> Se quia subdiderat morti pro nomine Christi.'
>
> Pertz, iv. 320, 321.

That this is not genealogically correct only makes the testimony the more striking. (*b*) The Italian life cited above is itself a curious testimony to the popularity of St. Oswald. It is by a certain Giam Pietro della Stua, and dedicated to Gian Girolamo Gradenigo, Archbishop of Udine; printed at Udine in 1769. (*c*) I have also before me 'Sermone al popolo in onore di S. Oswaldo . . . recitato . . . nella chiesetta campestre della nob. famiglia Caimo-Dragoni dall' Abate Giuseppe Onorio Marzuttini,' Udine, 1827. From the sermon itself it appears that this 'chiesetta' was dedicated to St. Oswald, and that he was the patron saint of the place. (*d*) The mention of St. Oswald in foreign missals and breviaries printed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is also evidence of his continued popularity; AA. SS. *u. s.* p. 91. Smith, on c. 12, says 'infinita sunt loca in Anglia, in Belgio, et Hibernia quae reliquias S. Osualdi uendicant.'

Hardy's Catalogue omits all notice of any lives of St. Oswald. I therefore give a short list of such as have come under my notice. (i) The life printed by Surius at Aug. 5 is a mere cento of passages from Bede. (ii) Life by Drogo, a monk of the monastery of St. Winnoc's at Bergues, in the eleventh century. Printed in AA.SS. Aug. ii. 94–103. (iii) Life by Reginald of Durham. Printed (incompletely) in Arnold's edition of Sim. Dun. i. 326 ff. (iv) Life in Capgrave's 'Noua Legenda Angliae.' (v) Osvald's Saga. Printed in 'Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed,' 1854; a perfectly fabulous and worthless saga of the fifteenth century. Lives of Oswald.

Acca] On him, see v. 20 and notes.

Romam uadens] With Wilfrid in 703, 704. See on v. 19, p. 327.

presbyter adhuc] Della Stua, *u. s.* p. 69, and M. & L. *a. l.* understand this of Acca. But it almost certainly refers to Wilbrord, who was in Ireland c. 677; Mon. Alc. pp. 42, 43; Bright, pp. 154, 484.

scolasticus quidam] 'sum leorning mon,' 'a student,' AS. vers.; the Irish themselves would call him 'mac legind,' 'a son of reading.' 'Scholasticus' also means 'professor,' what the Irish call 'fer legind,' 'a man of reading,' a regular officer in the Irish monasteries; cf. Rs. Ad. p. 196. In a letter of Alcuin cited on c. 4, p. 133, the 'scholastici' are certainly the pupils of the monastic school. 'Scholasticus.'

timere coepit] Cf. Bede on 1 John iv. 17: 'Quid est habere fiduciam in die iudicii? Non timere ne ueniat dies iudicii. Cum enim quis primo poenitendo se de malis actis conuerterit, incipit timere diem iudicii, ne uidelicet apparente iusto Iudice ipse damnetur iniustus. Processu uero bonae conuersationis animatus discet non timere quod timebat,' &c.; Opp. xii. 307, 308. 'A looking for of judgement.'

p. 153. pietas] 'pity;' and so often.

CHAPTER 14.

P. 154. frater eius Osuiu] 'frater eius nothus,' Biogr. Misc. p. 3. So Vit. Oswaldi: 'septem . . . filios habuit [Ethelfridus] Eanfridum, Oswaldum, Oswium, &c. . . . quorum duo primi . . . de regis Elle filia fuerunt; caeteri uero de concubinis procedebant,' S. D. i. 340; cf. ib. 363. W. M. however, i. 48, says distinctly that Oswy was a son of Acha, and Smith declares the opposite view to be 'contra omnem historicorum fide dignorum auctoritatem.' Oswy.

XXX circiter annorum] According to iv. 5, *ad init.*, he died Feb. 15, 670, in his fifty-eighth year. That would fix his birth to

Feb. 612 × Feb. 613. But I have shown there that the true date of his death is probably 671. Possibly therefore his birth also should be placed a year later. This would not much conflict with Bede's statement that he was *about* thirty at his accession in 642. W. M.'s statement, i. 48, that he was four years old at his father's death is probably a mere inference from Bede.

inpugnatus] On Oswy's early difficulties, see on c. 24, *ad init.*

Alchfrido] He fought however on his father's side at the battle of the Winwæd, c. 24, p. 178. See notes on c. 28.

Oidilualdo] *v. inf.* cc. 23, 24.

Paulinus. **anno secundo . . . sexto Id. Oct.**] This date, Oct. 10, 644, falls in Oswy's third year ; for Oswald died Aug. 5, 642.

qui X et VIIII . . . dies XXI.] He was consecrated July 21, 625, ii. 9, p. 98 ; which seems to give 19. 2. 20, as the length of his episcopate. Note the curious legend of his death in App. I. § 17.

secretario] *v.* ii. 1, p. 79, note.

Andreae] *v.* ii. 3, p. 85. Lanfranc destroyed the old church and rebuilt it, translating Paulinus' bones. Smith.

Ithamar. **Ithamar . . . aequandum**] Malmesbury *more suo* paraphrases Bede's words about Ithamar, noting his importance as the first native bishop: 'ita primus in patriam pontificalis honoris in Angli persona ferens gratiam, prouincialibus suis nonnullam dignitatem adiecit;' G. P. p. 135. For later lives of him, *v.* Hardy, Cat. i. 252, 253.

Oswine. **Osuini**] There is a twelfth-century life of him printed in Biog. Misc., from MS. Cotton, Jul. A. x; cf. AA.SS. Aug. iv. 57-66. This MS. is incomplete; the lacuna can be supplied from MS. C.C.C. Oxon. 134, which contains further two homilies, and other liturgical matter relating to Oswin. I shall occasionally refer to this MS., the account of which in Hardy, Cat. i. 248 250, is incomplete, and in points inaccurate. Cf. also R. W. i. 145–148.

de stirpe . . . Aeduini] This is inexact. He was no descendant of Edwin, but his first cousin once removed. See the pedigrees in note to c. 1.

Osrici] According to his life, Oswin, on the death of Osric, was carried by his friends into Wessex ; Biog. Misc. p. 3 ; cf. MS. C.C.C. ff. 80, 91.

Etymologies. **Osuini . . . Aeduini . . . Osrici**] 'Que tria uocabula . . . non casu fortuito . . . sed Dei dispositione . . . si iuxta ethimologiam patrie lingue diligenter interpretentur, fuisse probantur imposita;' MS. C.C.C. f. 27. This homily is full of the wildest etymologising of proper names. Oswy and Oswin, like Ceadda and Cedd, are often inextricably confused by later writers ; *e. g.* Elmham, p. 226.

supra] c. 1.

p. 155. septem annis] Oswin was murdered on Aug. 20, 651 (*infra*). Therefore if he reigned for seven years his accession must be placed in 644; and this is the year given by the Sax. Chron. E.

causis dissensionum] W. M. i. 55 says that the division of the kingdoms had been peaceably arranged, and that the subsequent dissensions were caused by the machinations of evil men; but this is probably only his own fertile imagination. On the relations of Bernicia and Deira, *v.* c. 1. Relations of Bernicia and Deira.

Uilfaræsdun] Possibly Gariston. Mr. Haigh, cited by Stephens, *ut infra*, says Wilbarston, Northants, which is impossible.

a uico Cataractone] 'from Catreht weorþige,' AS. vers.; *v.* ii. 14, p. 115.

contra solstitialem occasum] 'westrihte,' 'due west,' AS. vers.

milite . . . comitis] 'þegne,' 'gesiðes,' AS. vers.

Tondheri] 'Tylsii filio,' Biog. Misc. p. 9.

proditum] Treason to a lord was of special heinousness in Anglo-Saxon law. It was 'bótleas,' *i. e.* it admitted of no compensation. Cnut's laws, ii. 64; Schmid, Gesetze, p. 304; Thorpe, Ancient Laws, i. 410; cf. ib. 408. 'Quod si communis proditio talis est, domini proditio qualis est;' Biog. Misc. p. 10. So of the faithful Tondheri it is said, 'fecit quod potuit, et mortem suam eius morti adiunxit' MS. C.C.C. f. 18 b. (The printed life is defective here.) So on f. 83 b he is represented as saying, 'Cur mihi, quod omnibus licet strenuis, pro domino meo mori non liceat?' This preserves a genuine trace of the ancient feeling, that it was disgraceful for the members of a 'comitatus' to survive their lord; *v.* Sax. Chron. *s. a.* 755, notes. Cf. the devotion of Edwin's thane Lilla, ii. 9, p. 99. Treason to a lord.

praefectum] 'geréfan,' 'reeve,' AS. vers.

interfecit] W. M. conceives that Oswy did all he could by subsequent good conduct to atone for his crime. 'Guin Oissin mic Oiseirg,' Tigh; 'Jugulatio Oisseni mic Oissirgg,' Ann. Ult. These entries illustrate the way in which the Saxon name 'Oswine' passed into Irish and became 'Oissene' or 'Oisin,' the name of the son of the famous Finn mac Cumail, better known in the Scotch form of Ossian; *v.* Zimmer, 'Früheste Berührungen,' &c. p. 302; though Professor Rhŷs would give to this, as to so much else, a Pictish origin; Proc. Soc. Ant. of Scotland, 1892, pp. 329 ff. There are several Oisins and Oissenes in the Indices to Mart. Don. and F.M. A latinised form Oisseneus is found in Rs. Ad. p. 22 (i. 2, *ad fin.*). Murder of Oswin.

die XIII[a] Kal. Sept. . . . nono] Aug. 20. In v. 24, p. 354, Bede says distinctly that Oswin and Aidan died in 651. But as Oswald died Aug. 5, 642, Aug. 20, 651, strictly falls in the tenth year from that date. Bede has made a similar mistake as to Oswy's regnal years above; 'regni eius' must refer to Oswy, as Oswin only reigned seven years, *v. s.* Oswin's cross still exists at Collingham, Yorks., according to Stephens, Runic Monuments, i. 390.

Ingetlingum] This was Ceolfrid's first monastery, Tunbert, afterwards bishop of Hexham, being abbot of it; Haa. §§ 2, 3. pp. 388, 389. Usually identified with Gilling, near Richmond. Mr. Haigh, cited by Stephens, *u. s.*, suggests Collingham, but this is unlikely. For the form, see on ii. 14.

Burial and translation.

Oswin was buried at Tynemouth: 'in oratorio . . . Virginis [Mariae] . . . ad aquilonem fluminis;' Biog. Misc. p. 11. In process of time his tomb was neglected and forgotten; but was revealed in 1065, when the body was solemnly translated by Bishop Ægelwin of Durham. To the neglect of Earl Tostig to be present at this translation the biographer attributes his expulsion that same year. His wife Judith however took great interest in the matter, and received some of the saint's hair as a reward; cf. *sup.* on c. 12. The body was retranslated early in the twelfth century; Biog. Misc. pp. 11–15, 24; Matth. Paris, Chron. Maiora, ii. 138. The writer of the former of the two homilies in MS. C.C.C. discusses, f. 25, the question whether Oswin was a martyr. After citing the cases of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and St. John the Baptist (cf. i. 27, p. 51), he concludes, f. 26: 'Igitur beatus Oswinus non pro fide Christi sed pro iusticia Christi morti addictus, . . . morti sue martyrii nomen indidit.' Cf. St. Augustine's saying: 'martyrem non facit poena sed causa;' Opp. ed. Bened. ii. 220, 311, 765, and fq.; *v.* Index. His festival was kept as a 'festum duplex'; Biog. Misc. p. 24 (*v.* Ducange, *s. v.* 'festum').

monasterium constructum est] By Eanfled, Oswy's wife, c. 24, p. 179.

aspectu uenustus] 'aspectu angelicus,' R. W. i. 141.

'Ministerium.'

p. 156. ad eius ministerium] 'to his folgaðe 7 his þegnunge,' 'to his retinue and service,' AS. vers. 'Ministerium' is here the abstract or collective of 'minister' in the sense of 'thane,' and is nearly equivalent to 'comitatus'; cf. 'obsequium,' i. 7, p. 20, note.

humilitas] 'quae custos uirtutum dicitur,' R. W. *u. s.*

Oswin and Aidan.

ambulare solitus] See on c. 5, p. 135. On this incident the author of the homily, *u. s.*, remarks: 'Nec . . . de doni quantitate sed de donantis indiscretione iusta fuisse cuipiam poterit uideri regis conquestio. . . . Quid si alter egenus occurrisset, iam equo regio ab altero suscepto, pontifex quid dedisset?' ff. 22 b, 23 a.

p. 157. promittens] 'professing,' 'assuring him.'

multum . . . placatum] 'þæt he him swiðe bliðe wære,' 'that he was very friendly to him,' AS. vers. Cf. Hist. Abb. § 17: 'Omnes . . . sibi placatos existere . . . obsecrat,' p. 382; cf. also iv. 24, pp. 261, 262 (Cædmon's death), and the AS. vers. there quoted.

quam rex . . . non nouerant] Contrast Oswald, c. 3, p. 132; and Oswy, c. 25, p. 182.

numquam . . . humilem regem] Cf. the story of St. Oswald of York and King Edgar: 'ipse autem nequaquam potuit se propter . . . regis humilitatem abstinere a fletu, quia intellexit quod gens ista non meruisset tam humilem, tamque sapientem habere;' H. Y. i. 437. Edgar and Oswald of York.

pridie Kal. Sept.] Aug. 31. See the Mart. Don. for that day; the Félire of Oengus, with the gloss. It shows the later decline of Aidan's fame that in the life of Oswin, *u. s.* p. 46, a priest, on hearing of a vision in which Aidan had appeared, is represented as saying, 'De . . . Oswino nonnulla . . . audieram, sed . . . Aydani . . . nec nomen ad me peruenerat.' It was by a vision of Aidan's soul being taken up to heaven that St. Cuthbert was led to embrace the monastic life; Baedae Vit. Cudb. c. 4; Vita Anon. § 8. Decline of Aidan's fame.

CHAPTER 15.

This incident is given by Bede in his metrical life of Cuthbert, c. 5, but not in the prose life.

internus arbiter] 'ælmihtig God,' adds AS. vers.

Utta] Afterwards abbot of Gateshead; c. 21, p. 170.

Eanfledam] See ii. 9, 20; iii. 24, 25; v. 19, pp. 99, 126, 179, 181, 323. As Oswy is spoken of as king, this mission must have been after 642, and probably soon after; for Ecgfrid, the son of this marriage, fell on May 21, 685, in his fortieth year. He must therefore have been born before May 21, 646; iv. 26, p. 267. The political object of this marriage, as of that of Ethelfrid with Acha, was no doubt to conciliate the loyalty of Deira; see the pedigree in the notes to c. 1, and cf. Green, M. E. p. 296. Eanfled.

p. 158. tantum iter] This shows the difficulty of communication between the different parts of Britain at this time. Difficulty of communication.

misit de oleo] *v.* i. 17, p. 34, note; cf. Bede on Gen. i. 3: 'nec mirandum nobis diuina operatione lucem in aquis posse resplendere, cum et hominum operatione constet eas saepius illustrari, nautarum uidelicet, qui in profundo maris demersi, emisso ex ore oleo, perspicuum sibi hoc ac lucidum reddunt;' Opp. vii. 8. To the same effect, Opp. vi. 152. Note the partitive use of the pre- Oil calms the sea.

position 'de' as in modern French; 'il mettait de l'huile;' and for the meaning of 'mittere' cf. p. 124, above.

Gift of prophecy.

per prophetiae spiritum] Cf. Bede on John xvi. 13: 'Constat innumeros fidelium per donum Sancti Spiritus praenosse ac praedixisse uentura;' Opp. v. 12.

Cynimund.

nostrae ecclesiae] *i. e.* the joint monastery of Wearmouth and Jarrow. A Cynimund, monk and priest of Lindisfarne, is Bede's authority for an incident in Cuthbert's life, c. 36; and the similarity of the terms in which he is spoken of makes it probable that he is the same as the Cynimund here.

CHAPTER 16.

Alcuin.

This incident is alluded to by Alcuin in his poem, 'De Clade Lindisfarnensis Monasterii,' 793; *v.* Sax. Chron. *ad ann.* Dümmler, Poetae Latini Aeui Carolini, i. 233:

'Praesulis egregii precibus se flamma retorsit
Aedani quondam Bebban ab urbe procul.'

Bamborough.

quae . . . cognominatur] 'seo is nemned Bebbanburg,' 'which is called Bamborough,' AS. vers. The church of Bamborough is appropriately dedicated to St. Aidan.

p. 159. neque . . . capere poterat] No doubt because of the wall mentioned Sax. Chron. 547 E. a.

uiculis] 'tunas,' 'townships,' AS. vers.

trabium, &c.] *v.* ii. 14, note. 'on beamum, 7 on ræftrum, 7 on wagum, 7 on watelum, 7 on ȝeacon,' 'consisting of beams, rafters, partition walls, wattles, and thatch,' AS. vers.

Farne.

Farne] *v.* iv. 27, p. 268. The distance seems to be about four or five miles.

procul abest] 'ut on sæ,' 'out at sea,' adds AS. vers. Another MS. adds: 'eac swylce on ðam ylcan ealonde symble oþ ðisne andweardan dæg Godes þeowa sum on ancer setle wunode,' 'likewise on the same island continually to the present day some servant of God lived as an anchorite;' Smith, p. 542.

denique . . . solent] 'ond mon mæg gen to dæge þa stowe his seðles . . . sceawian,' 'and one may still at this day view the place of his seat,' AS. vers.

CHAPTER 17.

Death of Aidan.

Hunc cum dies, &c.] 'Da ðæt gen wæs . . . þæt he þis deaðlice lif forlætan sceolde, 7 he untrum wæs, þa wæs he 7c,' 'When the time came that he should quit this deathly life, and he was sick, then was he, &c.,' AS. vers.

XVII] The four MSS. are equally divided between XVII and XVI. The latter agrees better with 'septimo decimo anno' below. See on c. 5.

p. 160. **et adiacentibus agellis**] '7 þærto feower æceras,' 'and thereto four fields,' AS. vers. (some MSS.); cf. the 'adiacentes possessiunculae' of the monastery of Selsey, iv. 14, p. 234.

septimo decimo . . . anno] 'Ymb feowertyno ger þæs þe he biscop wæs,' 'about fourteen years from the time that he became bishop,' AS. vers. The translator mistook XUII for XIIII.

corpus . . . sepultum est] Part of his relics were carried away by Colman after the Synod of Whitby in 664; c. 26, p. 190. The remainder shared the wanderings of Cuthbert's body; S. D. i. 57 ff.; *v.* on c. 12. The assertion that the relics of Aidan, Ceolfrid, and Hilda were translated to Glastonbury, W. M. i. 56; G. P. p. 198, is simply an instance of that huge system of monastic lying, in which Glastonbury had a bad pre-eminence. A similar Glastonbury lie with reference to Dunstan called forth an indignant protest from Eadmer; Stubbs' Dunstan, pp. 412–422. Whether Eadmer would have been as zealous for the truth, if he had not been a Canterbury man, is another question. His relics.

basilica maior] *v.* c. 25, *ad init.*

Finan] See on c. 25, *ad init.*

destina] A prop *or* buttress, 'studu,' AS. vers., glossed 'stipere,' Anglo-Saxon Glossaries, i. 126.

ipsa . . . perederet] 'se leg þurhæt þa næglas in þæm þyrelum þe heo mid þæm to timbre gefæstnad wæs,' 'the flame ate through the nails in the holes with which it was fastened to the timber,' AS. vers. Cf. Lismore Lives of Saints, p. 323, for a similar tale.

p. 161. **scripsi autem**] In two of the MSS. of the AS. vers. this paragraph to the end of the chapter is omitted; possibly because it repeats to a large extent what has already been said in c. 5; possibly because of the censure of Aidan which it contains. Cf. on c. 3; *inf.* cc. 25, 26.

in libro . . . de temporibus] There is a short chapter (xv) in the De Temporibus entitled 'De Sacramento Temporis Paschalis,' Opp. vi. 131; but unquestionably Bede refers to the larger work, the De Temporum Ratione, which he himself, v. 24, p. 359, calls, De Temporibus Librum Maiorem. See especially cc. 6, 30, 51, 59–65. See on these works, Introduction, § 11. 'De Temporum Ratione.'

in euangelicis . . . litteris] 'on halgum bocum,' 'in sacred books,' AS. vers.

p. 162. **ut quidam**] *v.* on c. 4, p. 135.

eadem una sabbati] On this belief, *v.* Bright, p. 143.

CHAPTER 18.

Chronology.

His temporibus] This is a very vague expression. Aidan died in 651; and we have seen on ii. 15 that the accession of Sigbert and the mission of Felix cannot be placed later than 631. Sigbert and his successor Egric are not mentioned in the Sax. Chron., perhaps because the compilers could not place them chronologically.

Schools founded.

scolam] This has been claimed as the origin of the University of Cambridge. See additional critical note, and cf. Stev. *a. l.* and Bright, p. 125. On the Frankish schools, cf. ib. 124. W. M. i. 97 improves on Bede: 'scholasque etiam litterarum per loca instituit; quod pro magno certe debet praedicari, ut litterarum dulcedinem per eum experirentur homines agrestes antea et fanatici.' Pits, p. 108, cites an alleged correspondence between Sigbert and Desiderius, Bishop of Cahors (637–660). These letters are printed in Canisius, Antiquae Lectiones, v. 527, 528, 548, 549. Their genuineness is very doubtful. But even if they are authentic, the Sigbert in question is not Sigbert of East Anglia, but Sigbert III, King of Austrasia, 632–656; cf. Scherer, Verzeichniss der Hss. der Stiftsbibliotek zu St. Gallen, p. 68 (Halle, 1875).

quem . . . acceperat] In what sense Sigbert received Felix from Kent may be seen from ii. 15. Originally he came from Burgundy. See a life of Felix with notes in AA.SS. March, i. 779 ff.

iuxta morem Cantuariorum] This seems to imply that Felix had spent some little time in Kent. For the later schools at Canterbury, founded by Theodore and Hadrian, *v.* iv. 2. These earlier schools were probably due to Augustine.

Divisions of East Anglia.

cognato] Perhaps brother-in-law; *v.* i. 27, pp. 50, 51, note. If so, we have again in this kingdom an instance of succession through females. See on ii. 15; and the words which follow, 'qui . . . tenebat,' omitted by the AS. vers., seem to point to a division of the kingdom, perhaps into the two 'folks,' North and South, whose names still survive in the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk. The division of the diocese points the same way; iv. 5, *ad fin.*; cf. on ii. 3, 15.

monasterium . . . fecerat] 'in Betricheswrde,' *i. e.* Bury St. Edmund's; Lib. Eli. pp. 14, 23.

pro aeterno . . . militare] *v.* c. 23, p. 176, note.

East Anglian chronology.

p. 163. successor . . . Anna . . . occisus est] The Sax. Chron. A. B. C. place Anna's death in 654, E. F. in 653; all however agreeing in placing it one year before the battle of the Winwæd, which they date 655 and 654 respectively. The date of Egric's fall and Anna's

accession is nowhere given. Anna was certainly king when Cenwalh of Wessex took refuge with him in 644 or 645; see on c. 7, p. 140. The Lib. Eli. places his accession in 637, p. 14; and at p. 37 says that he died in the nineteenth year of his reign, which would throw back his accession to 635 or 636. The latter is the date adopted by Dr. Stubbs, D. C. B. iv. 302; but is difficult to reconcile with Bede's words, p. 162, *supra*, that Sigbert was monk (and consequently Egric king), 'multo tempore'; as in that case the joint reigns of Sigbert and Egric would only occupy five or six years; for Sigbert's accession must be placed 630×631; ii. 15, note.

The events narrated here, and the fact that Ethelhere, Anna's successor, fought on Penda's side at the Winwæd, c. 24, p. 178, show how completely East Anglia was dominated by Mercia; cf. Green, M. E. p. 274. According to Lib. Eli. *u. s.* Anna was buried at Blythburgh in Suffolk.

filius Eni] 'fratris Redwaldi,' W. M. i. 97; so the pedigrees in Fl. Wig. i. 249, 261.

optimae . . . sobolis] See on c. 7, p. 140.

CHAPTER 19.

Earlier life of St. Fursa.

The bulk of this chapter is taken from a Latin life of St. Fursa which exists in many MSS. (*v.* Hardy, Cat. i. 239), and has been printed by Surius, the Bollandists, Mabillon, and Colgan. To the MSS. given by Hardy should be added the *Codex Salmanticensis* (so called because it once belonged to the Irish College at Salamanca), now in the Royal (Burgundian) Library at Brussels. This MS. has been edited by the Jesuits De Smedt and De Baeker, Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae e cod. Salm. (4to, Edinb. and Lond. 1888). The life of Fursa occupies cols. 77–102; it is followed by a second book, of miracles, cols. 102–111, which Bede does not use. I have made this edition the basis of my collation with the text of Bede, and I indicate its readings in the critical notes by the symbol Sl.; and references to its sections are placed in the margin. Bede acknowledges his obligations to this life, *inf.* pp. 164, 165, 168. For other lives of Fursa, see Hardy, Cat. i. 241–246. The story of Fursa is incorporated into an Anglo-Saxon homily by Ælfric, Thorpe, ii. 332 ff., but it is taken not from Bede, but direct from the life of Fursa.

Bede's arrangement of the text.

superuenit de Hibernia] A glance at the marginal references will show that Bede has transposed a good deal the order of his original, with the result that he has greatly obscured the course

of his own narrative. To avoid confusion it should be noted that from the beginning of the chapter to 'adornarunt' on p. 164, Bede gives summarily an account of Fursa's coming to Britain, and of his working in East Anglia. Then with the words 'erat autem,' &c., he reverts to his early life in Ireland, and follows it up to p. 167, when the journey to Britain occurs in its due order, followed by his migration to Gaul and death. Hence the 'infirmitas,' 'uisio,' and 'monasterium' of p. 164, lines 3, 4, 10, belong to the sojourn in East Anglia, and are quite distinct from the 'monasterium,' 'infirmitas,' and 'rapture' of p. 164, lines 25, 26, 27 ff., which belong to the earlier life in Ireland.

Irish love of pilgrimage.

peregrinam ducere uitam] This is a very prominent trait in the markedly ascetic character of the Irish Church; cf. Stokes, Lismore Lives, pp. cviii. 21. It began as early as the sixth century, and lasted at least till the ninth. Cf. the well-known passage in the ninth-century life of St. Gall: 'natio Scotorum, quibus consuetudo peregrinandi iam paene in naturam conuersa est;' Pertz, ii. 30. So of the Irish pilgrims at Glastonbury, Osbern says: 'quod aliis bona uoluntas in consuetudinem, hoc illis [sc. Hibernis] consuetudo uertit in naturam;' Stubbs' Dunstan, p. 74. So Hericus to Charles the Bald, A. D. 876: 'Quid Hiberniam memorem, contempto pelagi discrimine, pene totam cum grege philosophorum ad litora nostra migrantem? quorum quisquis peritior est, ultro sibi indicit exilium, ut Salomoni sapientissimo famuletur ad uotum;' Bouquet, vii. 563. (Cf. with this last the quaint passage from the monk of St. Gallen's Gesta Caroli, cited on ii. 1.) In c. 25 we find an Irishman, Ronan, who had travelled in Gaul and Italy. Adamnan tells us how Irish saints set out 'eremum in oceano quaesituri;' Rs. Ad. pp. 30, 49, 50, 166–171 (ed. Fowler, pp. 22, 33, 115). Often they would commit themselves to the deep in a slender coracle without oarage or steerage, and trust their fate and the direction of their course to the winds and waters. (For a striking instance of this, *v.* Sax. Chron. *s. a.* 891, and notes, *a. l.*). Often pilgrimage or exile was imposed or voluntarily undertaken as a penance. (Cf. the case of Egbert, c. 27, pp. 193, 194; Opp. Min. p. 203; H. & S. i. 117, 118; iii. 179, 336; Rs. Ad. pp. 52, 157. Legend assigned this motive to St. Columba himself, ib. lxxiv f., 247 ff.) Besides the love of wandering, the desire for self-mortification, and for gaining and imparting knowledge, there was above all the missionary zeal, which was the real motive of St. Columba; and to which was due the fact that so large a portion of the Continent owed their first knowledge of the glad tidings to Irishmen. Cf. on the whole subject, Zimmer, in Gött. Gel. Anz. 1891, pp. 181, 182; Sitzungsb.

d. Kön. preuss. Akad. d. Wissensch. 1891, pp. 282 ff., 317; Preuss. Jahrb. lix. 31 ff.; Greith, Irische Kirche, Books iii–v.

p. 164. **Cnobheresburg**] This has been identified with Burgh Castle, near Yarmouth; Camden, ii. 157.

de nobilissimo genere] The Irish authorities differ widely as to Fursa's pedigree; *v.* Lismore Lives, p. 294; Mart. Don. p. 18; cf. Pertz, vi. 320; 'ex Hibernia regio stemmate orti' (of Fursa and his brothers Foillan and Ultan), Vita S. Amati, Episc. Senon. in Bouquet, iii. 608, which also makes Fursa and Foillan bishops. As to Foillan, see below. Neither the life nor Bede say anything as to Fursa's ecclesiastical rank. An old German version of this chapter is entitled: Von eim *Biscoff* Forsee genannt (printed 1473 and 1476, fol.). So De Furseo *episcopo*, in MS. Add. 14,251, f. 199, where this chapter occurs separately. Fursa's pedigree and rank.

raptus . . . e corpore] On visions of the other world, see v. 12, note. The vision.

meruit audire] 'hu heo God lofodon 7 heredon,' 'how they praised and glorified God,' adds AS. vers..

ibunt sancti, &c.] This is a very favourite text with Bede himself, who frequently cites it in his works; *e. g.* Opp. Min. p. 83; Opp. vii. 229; viii. 327; ix. 12, 274, 340; xii. 268. In all these places Bede has 'ambulabunt' for 'ibunt.' 'Ibunt' is the reading of the so-called Gallican Psalter, now embodied in the Vulgate; 'ambulabunt' of the Roman Psalter. On these two Psalters, see v. 19, note.

in Sion] The AS. vers. after giving the Latin, glosses these words 'in wlite sceawunge,' 'in beauty of vision.'

reductus in corpore] We should expect 'in corpus.' For other instances, see M. & L. *a. l.*

p. 165. **respicere in mundum**] cf. Apocalypsis Pauli, § 13; Tischendorf, Apocal. Apocr. p. 41: '*καὶ εἶπεν πρός με ὁ ἄγγελος, βλέψον εἰς τὴν γῆν· καὶ ἔβλεψα, καὶ ἴδον ὅλον τὸν κόσμον ὡς οὐδὲν ἐνώπιόν μου ἐκλελοιπότα*;' cf. Dante, Parad. xxii. 133–135; Rossetti's Blessed Damozel, stanza 6.

impietatis] *i. e.* pitilessness. See on ii. 14, p. 114.

p. 166. **uirorum de sua natione**] 'quorum alter Beanus, alter uocabatur Meldanus. Hos presules cunctorum memoria dignos usque ad nostra tempora celebrat;' Vita, § 13. According to the Miracles, § 10, Fursa translated their bodies to Péronne.

p. 167. **hoc arsit in te**] 'In quocunque membro quis amplius peccauerit, in eo ampliora . . . patietur tormenta. . . . Quod accidisse constat diuiti illi. . . . Nam qui . . . in epulando defluxerat, in lingua amplius ardebat;' Opp. ix. 130.

illis solummodo] So Drythelm, v. 12, p. 309.

narrare solet] 'cwæð se þe þas booc wrat,' 'says he who wrote this book,' adds AS. vers.

multis annis, &c.] 'Completis uero annis X omnibus &c. . . . irruentium populorum multitudines non ferens, aliquantorum etiam animos inuidia stimulante contra se commotos esse deprehendens, relictis &c. . . . ad insulam quandam paruulam in mari profectus est; atque exinde non multo post de Hybernia insula, peregrina litora petens, per Britanniam in Saxoniam transuectus est;' Vita, § 26. These last words are specially interesting as showing that the Celts applied the term *Saxonia* to any part of Britain occupied by the Teutonic tribes.

'Saxonia.'

'Scotland.'

in Scottia] 'geond eal Yerland 7 Scotland,' 'throughout all Ireland and Scotland,' Ælfric, ii. 346. This illustrates the change of meaning in the word 'Scotland.' See on i. 1, p. 13.

Foillan and Ultan.

Fullano] Foillan, Faelan in Irish. He was a bishop; as is implied here by the distinction between him and the 'presbyteri,' Gobban and Dicul. Similarly in the life, § 28, where he is called 'sacerdos.' He and Ultan were evidently among the 'pauci fratres' who accompanied Fursa to 'Saxonia.' After his death they followed his example and migrated to Gaul; AA.SS. Oct. xiii. 387; Mab. AA.SS. ii. 785; Ann. Bened. i. 420; Capgrave, cited by Hardy, Cat. i. 254. See also below. They founded a monastery at Fosse, in the diocese of Liège, on land given them by St. Gertrude, Mab. Ann. Bened. i. 420, whose death Ultan foretold. See her life in SS. Rerum Merouingicarum, ii. 462, 463. This monastery was burnt and rebuilt more than once in the twelfth century; Pertz, xxiv. 270; xxv. 101; Bouquet, xiii. 605. There was another monastery of Foillan's at Roeulx near Mons; Pertz, xxi. 551. He is said to have been martyred in 655 and buried at Fosse; ib. iv. 11. His day is Oct. 31; Félire, and Mart. Don. The various lives of him, with a long preliminary dissertation, are in AA.SS. Oct. xiii. 370–445.

Gobban and Dicul.

p. 168. Gobbano et Dicullo] 'Galbano et Tibulla,' Sl. corruptly. For the name Dicul, Dicuil, *v.* iv. 13, note. There are no less than eight Gobbans commemorated in Mart. Don.

Ultan.

Ultanum] See above. He became abbot of Fosse, and afterwards ruled the community of Irish monks at Péronne, where Fursa was buried; Mab. AA.SS. ii. 755–758. He died c. 680, ib.; cf. Gallia Christ., iii. 933; ix. 1036. His day is May 1; AA SS. Maii, i. 118, 119.

Hermits.

annum . . . cum . . . eo . . . uixit] On hermits living in pairs, cf. Raine's Hexham, i. Appendix, p. xxxii.

gentilium] *i. e.* the Mercians under Penda, *v.* c. 18, notes.

Hloduio] Clovis *or* Hlodowig II, who succeeded as king of Neustria in 638, at the age of four, and died in 656. He was the husband of Bathildis, on whom see c. 8, notes; v. 19. note. Clovis II.

Ercunualdo] This is Ercinwald, Neustrian Mayor of the Palace, 640-657. Ercinwald.

construxit] 'suis manibus,' Mirac. § 6; according to which Ercinwald gave Fursa his choice of various places, out of which he chose Latineacum, Lagny, on the Marne near Paris; Gallia Christ., vii. 490; cf. Bouquet, iv. 664, ix. 531. Lagny.

diem clausit ultimum] Just before his death he had set out from Lagny to visit his brothers Foillan and Ultan, whom he had left in 'Saxonia;' but on the way he fell ill and died at Maceriae (Mazeroëles, in Ponthieu on the Authie, on which place see a very interesting note in Mab. AA.SS. ii. 310). He died Jan. 16; Vita, § 29; Mirac. § 7; and this is his day in the calendars; Opp. iv. 23; Félire; Mart. Don. According to Mirac. §§ 9, 10, a contest for his body took place between Ercinwald and two other magnates. The first was victorious. Death of Fursa.

The chronology of Fursa's life can only be fixed within rather vague limits. His coming to Britain must be after the accession of Sigbert, 630×631; notes on ii. 15, iii. 18. Penda's great attack on East Anglia, in which Sigbert and his successor Egric were slain, cannot be later than 644, ib. Therefore Fursa's departure to Gaul was probably not later than 644; and cannot be earlier than 640, the date of Ercinwald's election to the mayoralty. The Ann. Ult. enter his death under three years, 647, 648, 660. The last is certainly too late, as it is after the death of Ercinwald. The Ann. Laubienses say, '649, Sanctus Furseus . . . ad Gallias usque peregrinatur, quem . . . sequuntur fratres sui Foillanus et Ultanus;' Pertz, iv. 11; cf. ib. xiv. 515; Bouquet, iii. 40, 171, 172, 304. As regards Foillan and Ultan, this is very possibly correct; but as regards Fursa, the date of his migration to Gaul is evidently confused with that of his death, which occasioned his brothers' migration. The Ann. Ult. place his vision in 626, and according to the life, §§ 25, 26, he remained in Ireland ten or eleven years after that; this would bring his arrival in Britain to 636 or 637, which is possible; Fl. Wig. places it vaguely, 'eo tempore,' under 636. It would be interesting to know whether any other Irish missionaries besides Fursa and his company came to East Anglia, and how far the evangelisation of the province was due to Irish influences. Bede only lays stress on the Burgundian influence. Chronology.

Perrona] Péronne, on the Somme. After St. Fursa's death His relics.

a monastery was founded there in connexion with the church which contained his body, and seems to have attracted many Irish thither. From the seventh to the tenth centuries we find it called 'Perrona Scotorum;' Pertz, i. 319; xiii. 626; cf. Lanigan, ii. 465.

receptui corporis] In later times Canterbury claimed to possess the head of St. Fursa; H. Y. I. xlvi. Smith says, 'His relics are in the collegiate church at Péronne dedicated to him, except the skull which is at Lagny.'

CHAPTER 20.

Death of Felix.

P. 169. defuncto Felice] For the bearings of this chapter on East Anglian chronology, see notes to ii. 15. From the calculations there made Felix must have died in 647 (so Fl. Wig. i. 20) or 648 (Peter of Blois, cited by Stev. from Gale, i. 109, says 646); and his successor Thomas in 652 or 653. The latter year is given in the Latin of Sax. Chron. F., but may be only an inference from this passage. Capgrave (cited Ang. Sac. i. 403) says that Felix died on March 8. He was buried first at Dunwich, thence translated to Seham, near Ely, and thence to Ramsey Abbey; G. P. pp. 147, 318; Lib. Eli. pp. 21, 22.

post . . . annos accepti episcopatus] The same phrase, v. 19, *ad init.* p. 322, M. & L.

Bishop Thomas.

Thomam] The second native bishop; Ithamar being the first; c. 14, p. 154.

The Gyrwas.

prouincia Gyruiorum] 'Gyrwa mægð,' 'the kindred of Gyrwas,' AS. vers. Not Jarrow, as Mr. Hamilton makes it, G. P. p. 147. 'Giruii sunt omnes australes Angli in magna palude habitantes in qua est Insula de Ely'; Lib. Eli. p. 4; 'extending from South Lincolnshire to South Cambridgeshire'; D. C. B. ii. 19.

Bertgils.

Berctgilsum . . . Bonifatium] So the great St. Boniface originally bore the native name of Winfrid; Cont. Baedae, p. 362.

Honorius.

Honorius . . . migrauit] Elmham gives his epitaph, p. 183; cf. AA.SS. Sept. viii. 698–711.

cessante . . . menses] The reason for this interregnum is not mentioned. It may have been due to the troubles caused by Penda.

Deusdedit.

Deusdedit] The first native archbishop. According to Elmham, who gives his epitaph, his native name was Frithonas, pp. 192, 193. For later lives of him, cf. Hardy, Cat. i. 261, 262. We have had a Pope called Deusdedit, ii. 7. For names of this kind, cf. Milman, Lat. Christ. i. 243; Bright, p. 174. In D. C. B. there are several prelates called 'Quoduultdeus.'

rexit . . . dies] If Bede is right in saying, ii. 7, that Deusdedit died July 14, 664, then his archiepiscopate reckoned from his consecration lasted less, not more, than nine years and four months. Possibly Bede reckons from his election ; in which case the date of his election would be Dec. 12, 654.

defuncto Ithamar] From Bede's anguage here, it has been inferred that Ithamar died very soon after Deusdedit's consecration, probably in the same year, 655 ; H. & S. iii. 100 ; Ang. Sac. i. 320. But considering Bede's way of grouping his facts according to subject rather than date, this must be regarded as very uncertain. Death of Ithamar.

Damianum] 'It marks the great spread of Christianity that the four bishops whose consecration is recorded in this chapter were all of native origin'; M. & L. Native bishops.

CHAPTER 21.

His temporibus] 653, v. 24, p. 354.

Middilangli] 'Middelengle,' AS. vers. and Sax. Chron. B. C. E. ; 'Middelseaxe,' A., wrongly. They occupied roughly the modern Leicestershire. They are mentioned in i. 15 as one of the tribes of Anglian origin. R. W. identifies 'Middelanglia' with Mercia, i. 89. The Middle Angles.

principe] om. AS. vers.; 'ealdormenn,' Sax. Chron. Bede seems to imply that he had the title of king, 'regis nomine . . . dignissimus.'

Peada] By a confusion very common in Saxon names, W. M. i. 77 calls him Weda ; so Elmham, p. 184. Peada.

persona] 'hada,' 'orders,' AS. vers.

filiam . . . coniugem] Who was said to have betrayed him to his death, c. 24, *ad fin.* In AA.SS. Feb. ii. 180, it is suggested that she may have been illegitimate, like Aldfrid.

p. 170. **cognatus**] A clear instance of the meaning 'brother-in-law'; *v.* on i. 27, pp. 50, 51. 'Cognatus.'

Cyniburgam] On her and her sister Cyneswith, cf. Hardy, Cat. i. 370, 371. On the death of her husband, Alchfrid, Cyneburg is said to have entered the monastery of Castor in Northamptonshire, where Cyneswith also took the veil; Hardy, *u. s.* There they were buried, and thence translated to Peterborough, according to Sax. Chron. E. *ad ann.* 963 ; cf. Fl. Wig. i. 265 ; H. H. p. xxvii ; G. P. p. 317. The Sax. Chron. E. brings them into connexion with the alleged endowment of Peterborough by Wulfhere and Oswy, *ad ann.* 656. Both they and their brother Wulfhere are Cyneburg.

mentioned on Alchfrid's memorial cross at Bewcastle; Stephens, Runic Monuments, i. 398 ff.

comitibus ac militibus] 'geferum 7 cyninges þegnum,' 'companions and king's thanes,' AS. vers.

Ad Murum] 'æt Walle,' AS. vers. Walton, eight miles from Newcastle; Camden, ii. 1054, 1055, 1087, ed. 1753. Walbottle; Smith.

Cedd. **Cedd**] See next chapter. Not to be confounded with his brother Ceadda, as is often done; a practice against which Fuller quaintly protests: 'though it is pleasant for brethren to live together in unity, yet it is not fit by errour that they should be jumbled together in confusion.' See Raine's Hexham, i. 21, 22.

Diuma. **Diuma**] Mentioned again, c. 24, p. 179; of the other two, Adda and Betti, we hear nothing more.

Uttan] The weak Saxon genitive from Utta, *v.* c. 15.

Gateshead. **Ad Caprae Caput**] Gateshead, on the Tyne, opposite Newcastle; 'æt Ræge heafde,' AS. vers., from 'ræge, a roe.'

nobilium et infirmorum] 'ge æðele ge unæðele,' 'both noble and non-noble,' AS. vers.

nec prohibuit Penda] The baptism of his own son Peada is a strong instance of this.

Dioceses and kingdoms. **p. 171. duobus populis**] Note that the bishops are bishops of the tribes, not of the cities as on the Continent; cf. S. C. H. i. 224-226. Hence the early dioceses are conterminous with the kingdoms; cf. *sup.* on ii. 3; Ang. Sac. i. 423. Note that the Middilangli, though in subjection to Mercia, still retain their separate existence.

Infeppingum] Not identified; cf. 'Færpinga þreo hund hyda is in Middel Englum;' Birch, i. 413–415.

Hii, ubi . . . coenobiorum] *v. s.* on c. 4.

temporibus Uulfheri regis] 658-675. For the chronology of these Mercian bishops, see notes to c. 24, p. 179.

CHAPTER 22.

Reconversion of the East Saxons. **Eo tempore etiam**] These words imply that the reconversion of the East Saxons was strictly contemporary with the conversion of the Middle Angles in the preceding chapter, *i. e.* 653.

abiecerant] In 616 or 617; *v.* on ii. 5, p. 91.

East Saxon chronology. **rex eiusdem gentis**] Of the kings of the East Saxons subsequent to Sæbert, Bede mentions Sigbert 'paruus,' Sigbert (sometimes called 'bonus' or 'sanctus'), and Swidhelm, son of Sexbald, here; Sighere and Sebbi, who ruled jointly, c. 30, iv. 6; Sighard and Swefred, sons of Sebbi, who also ruled jointly, iv. 11, *ad fin.* Bede

gives us little help towards constructing their pedigree or determining their chronology; hence probably their omission in the Sax. Chron., except that Sighere and Sebbi are represented as signing the spurious charter to Peterborough in 656 E., a date probably anterior to their accession. The way in which the pedigree was constructed by the antiquarians of the twelfth century may be seen in Fl. Wig. i. 250, 262-264; W. M. i. 99. They differ in some points from one another, and from the natural meaning of Bede's words. On the whole I place little reliance on them. As to chronology:—Sigbert 'the Little' must have been dead before the date of the events of this chapter, viz. 653. Sigbert 'the Good' lived 'tempore non pauco,' p. 173, after that date. But both he and his successor Swidhelm were dead before the plague of 664, as at that time we find Sighere and Sebbi reigning; c. 30. Swidhelm's reign must therefore have been a short one. Sighere and Sebbi were also reigning when Earconwald became bishop of London, probably in 675; iv. 6. In iv. 11 Sebbi is spoken of as sole king: 'socio ante se defuncto,' says W. M. i. 99; probably rightly, but probably also only drawing an inference, as we do, from Bede's words; R. W. places the death of Sighere in 683. Sebbi reigned thirty years; iv. 11. Hence his resignation and death cannot be later than 694, though Stubbs, D. C. B. iv. 594, places it in 695; nor earlier than 692, as Earconwald, who predeceased him, ib., certainly lived till 692, if not 693. (See K. C. D. No. 35; Birch, i. 115. A grant purporting to be made by Earconwald in 695 is clearly spurious; K. C. D. No. 38; Birch, i. 123.) Sebbi was succeeded by his sons Sighard and Swefred, *r. s.* He seems to have joined them with himself in the sovereignty before, and perhaps in preparation for, his actual resignation, as in the above charter they sign after him with the title 'Rex.' Swefred makes a grant to Waldhere, Bishop of London in 704; K. C. D. No. 52; Birch, No. 111. An attempt has been made to identify him with Bede's Swæbhard of Kent; v. 8, *ad fin.* But the fact that Bede gives the two names in such distinct forms, without any hint of identification, is, to my mind, conclusive against the theory. See however D. C. B. iv. 666, 744, 745, for a tradition that kings of Essex did bear rule in Kent; and R. W. does call Swæbhard, Sifred; i. 185.

recisurae] 'chips,' 'parings.' It is not in any dictionary that I have consulted; for form and sense cf. 'rasura,' i. 1, p. 13.

habita . . . conculcata] We should certainly expect 'habitae,' 'conculcatae'; for it is the 'recisurae,' not the 'uasa' that are meant. It is probably the occurrence of the latter word that has caused the mistake.

Date of Sigbert's baptism.

p. 172. **baptizatus est**] The identity of place and of the officiating prelate makes it probable that Sigbert's baptism took place at the same time as Peada's; c. 21. This confirms what was said above as to the date of the reconversion of the East Saxons.

Consecration of bishops in the Celtic Churches.

uocatis . . . aliis duobus episcopis] Not, I think, British bishops, as D. C. B. i. 430; but bishops of the Irish Church in Britain, the head of which was at Iona. Hence even in the Celtic Churches consecration by more than one bishop was preferred when attainable. Much as Bede 'detested' their paschal errors, he clearly did not regard their orders as invalid, as did Theodore and Wilfrid; iv. 2; H. & S. iii. 197; Eddius, c. 12; Bright, pp. 170, 171, 227, 228.

Title of East Saxon bishop.

Note also that though London still belonged to the East Saxons, iv. 6, Cedd is never called bishop of London by Bede, but always bishop of the East Saxons. Mellitus (ii. 4, p. 88) is called bishop of London; Earconwald (iv. 6) bishop in the city of London; Waldhere (iv. 11) bishop of the city of London; Ingwald (v. 23, p. 350) Lundoniensis antistes. What Wharton, Ang. Sac. i. 424, says of the earliest Mercian bishops would probably apply to Cedd also: 'nullam . . . cathedram siue certam sedem sibi positam habuerunt, in monasteriis uitam agere contenti.'

p. 173. **fecit per loca ecclesias**] So of Bernicia, above, c. 3, p. 132: 'construebantur . . . ecclesiae per loca.'

Ythancaestir.

Ythancaestir] Identified with Othona, one of the military stations under the Count of the Saxon Shore; M. H. B. p. xxiv. It was at the NE. corner of the tongue of land between the Blackwater and Crouch rivers, Essex; Camden, i. 411; Pearson, Hist. Maps. 'Anglice: St. Peter's on the Wall,' Smith.

Tilbury.

Tilaburg] Tilbury; famous in connexion with the history of the Armada.

The Pant.

Pentæ] The Pant river or Blackwater, Essex: 'hodie et amnis et ciuitas absorptae sunt,' Smith.

examine] So iv. 4, *ad fin.*

Asceticism.

disciplinam uitae regularis] No doubt, as in the case of Lastingham, c. 23, p. 176, 'iuxta ritus Lindisfarnensium ubi educatus erat.'

in quantum . . . poterant] On the asceticism of the Irish Church, *v.* Introd. p. xxx. On Cedd's own asceticism, see c. 23.

Death of Sigbert.

tempore non pauco] This is all that Bede tells us as to the date of Sigbert's murder, that it was 'some time after' the reconversion of the East Saxons.

unus ex his . . . comitibus] 'oþer þara gesiða,' 'one of the gesiths,' AS. vers.

inlicitum coniugium] Possibly a marriage within the prohibited degrees; *v. s.* on i. 27.

excommunicauit eum] This is the only mention of the exercise of this power in Bede.

p. 174. **sederat . . . in equo**] *v.s.* on c. 5.

Rendlæsham] Rendlesham in Suffolk.

suscepit . . . sancto] 'hine onfeng æt fulwihte bæðe him to godsuna,' 'received him at the bath of baptism as his godson,' AS. vers.; *v.s.* on c. 7, p. 139. Baptism of Swidhelm.

Aediluald] 'Homo bonus ac uerus Dei cultor;' Lib. Eli. p. 25. He succeeded his brother Ethelhere; see on ii. 15, p. 116. He must not be confounded with the Ethelwald or 'Oidiluald,' King of Deira, mentioned in the next chapter. Ethelwald of East Anglia.

CHAPTER 23.

Oidiluald . . . habebat] He is mentioned as one of Oswy's opponents in c. 14. He would seem to have got possession of Deira at some time after the murder of Oswin, possibly through Penda, who was at this time decidedly superior to Oswy in power, c. 24, and whose interest it was to keep the northern realm divided. (Fl. Wig. says, 'cui [Oswino] successit in regnum Oithelwald regis Oswaldi filius;' i. 21; cf. ib. 269.) Green, M. E. p. 300, says that Ethelwald was appointed by Oswy, and gives Bede as his authority. This seems to me impossible. Thus, even from the worldly point of view, Oswy's crime appears to have brought him no profit. At the time of Oswald's death Ethelwald cannot, as the author of the life of Oswald points out, S. D. i. 359, have been more than seven years old, and was therefore naturally passed over. At the time of Oswin's murder he would be fifteen or sixteen, and at the time of the battle of the Winwæd he would be nineteen or twenty. It is hardly surprising that he should have taken part against Oswy, to whom he certainly owed no gratitude, whereas he may have had obligations to Penda; cf. Vita Osw. *u.s.*: 'nec mirum . . . si filius sancti Oswaldi, dum aetatis incremento robustius uiguit, contra patruum pro regno reluctari contenderit.' But on any view the part he played in the actual battle was an unworthy one; c. 24, p. 178. But he may not have been altogether a free agent. He is not heard of again after the battle of the Winwæd; and he is not mentioned at all in the Sax. Chron. Oidilwald or Ethelwald of Deira.

p. 175. **nam . . . credidit**] 'ond cwæð þæt he . . . gelyfde,' 'and he *said* that he believed,' AS. vers.

qui ipsi . . . solebat] A sort of royal chaplain, the 'cynges

Royal chaplain.

preost' of Sax. Chron. E. 1032; where F. Lat. has 'capellanus regis.'

familiae ipsius] 'his hiwum,' AS. vers.

Discipline of Lindisfarne.

a quibus . . . didicerat] *i.e.* the monks of Lindisfarne, see below; but the discipline of Lindisfarne was of course Scotic at this time.

p. 176. petiit . . . conplere] For the construction, see on ii. 12.

Lastingham.

Laestingaeu] 'Lœstingaig,' Fl. Wig. i. 22. Lastingham, near Whitby. For its subsequent history, cf. Hardy, Cat. ii. 50; Mon. Angl. i. 342.

The 'propositus.'

statutis propositis] '7 þær prafost 7 ealdormon gesette,' 'and there appointed a provost and alderman,' AS. vers. The plural need not however mean that more than one 'propositus' was appointed at one time; but that Cedd, who was abbot of the monastery, carried on the management of it when absent in his diocese, by appointing 'propositi' from time to time. For the office of the 'propositus,' who answers to the later prior, *v.* Introduction, pp. xxviii, xxix, as also for the form of the word. It illustrates the non-diocesan character of Scotic episcopacy that Cedd should act as abbot of a monastery which was not in his own diocese; see on c. 4.

The plague.

tempore mortalitatis] 'in þa tide þære miclan deaðlicnesse 7 wooles þe ofer moncyn cumen wæs,' 'in the time of the great mortality and plague which came upon the race of man,' AS. vers. This was the plague of 664. On the visitations of the plague, *v.* on c. 27.

aduenientes] After the Synod of Whitby; *v.* c. 26.

de lapide facta] *i.e.* the earlier church had been of wood; *v.* on ii. 14.

in monasterio . . . Saxonum] *i.e.* either Tilbury or Ythancaestir.

Monks at the tomb of their abbot.

aut uiuere . . . sepeliri] So some of those who had followed Ceolfrid to Langres chose 'ad tumbam defuncti inter eos, quorum nec linguam nouerant, pro inextinguibili patris affectu residere;' Hab. § 21, p. 386; Haa. §§ 37, 38, pp. 402, 403. So Alcuin to the monks of Wearmouth: 'Patribus oboedite uestris, . . . adolescentulos bene docete, ut habeatis qui super sepulcra uestra stare possint, et intercedere pro animabus uestris;' Mon. Alc. p. 843; H. & S. iii. 471; cf. Tennyson, In Memoriam, viii.:

'I go to plant it on his tomb,
That if it can it there may bloom,
Or dying, there at least may die.'

'Militia caelestis.'

conmilitonibus] So c. 18: 'ut . . . intraret monasterium, . . . atque . . . pro aeterno magis regno militare curaret' (of Sigbert

of Essex); c. 24, p. 178: 'ad exercendam militiam caelestem' of the foundation of monasteries by Oswy); Hist. Abb. §§ 1, 8; cf. Rs. Ad. p. 339.

Intercession of saints.

p. 177. **intercessionibus . . . patris**] Bede believes in the intercession of departed saints for us; on John xvi. 26 he says, 'ubi ueraciter in nomine Iesu petunt electi, dum pro nostra fragilitate intercedunt, quatenus ad suae saluationis sortem pertingamus, a qua adhuc inter insidias hostium peregrinamur in terris; . . . *in die* etenim petunt, quia non in tenebris pressurarum, ut nostra in praesenti, sed in luce sempiternae pacis et gloriae, beatorum spirituum pro nobis intercessio funditur;' Opp. v. 18, 19. Bede also believes in our asking for that intercession. In the homily for St. John Baptist's Day he says, 'Ipsum itaque intercedendo rogemus impetrare, ut ad eum cui testimonium perhibuit, . . . peruenire mereamur;' ib. 243. So on Cant. v. 12: 'Cauernam maceriae cito uolatu petamus, id est, sanctorum . . . crebras pro nobis intercessiones . . . quaeramus. . . . Haec sunt etenim firmissima . . . ecclesiae praesidia;' Opp. ix. 313; cf. also v. 246, viii. 210, xi. 40. But he says no less distinctly, 'etsi sancti . . . nobis . . . possunt . . . intercessionis suae apud Dominum suffragia ferre; nemini tamen eorum, sed soli dilecto Saluatori nostro dicere debemus, "Filii autem hominum sub protectione alarum tuarum sperabunt";' Opp. ix. 234.

Fate of the unbaptized.

mortem . . . aeternam] On the fate of the unbaptized, cf. Opp. ix. 199: 'Catholica fides . . . etiam paruulos esse iudicandos confitetur eos, qui, . . . priusquam aliquid boni maliue . . . nosse poterant, sine baptismo rapti sunt. . . . Quamuis, ut sanctus Augustinus ait, mitissima . . . damnatio erit omnium, qui praeter peccatum . . . originale . . . nullum insuper addiderunt.'

CHAPTER 24.

Struggles of Mercia and Northumbria.

inruptiones] We have had instances of these 'inruptiones' in cc. 16, 17. The former, in which the royal city of Bamborough itself was only saved by what was thought to have been a miracle, must have happened before, the latter after the death of Aidan in 651. That in these irruptions the Britons, as earlier and later, were in alliance with Mercia seems plain, as both Tighernach and Ann. Ult. have an entry three years after the death of Oswald: 'bellum Ossu contra Britones.' It would certainly seem that what Bede has said above, ii. 5, p. 89, as to the power of Oswy as 'Bretwalda,' can only be understood of the time posterior to the battle of the Winwæd; and Bede may mean to hint as much by

the words 'nonnullo tempore' in that passage. See also on p. 180 below. Up to that date, with a partisan of Penda on the throne of Deira, with Bernicia open to invasion up to the very gates of the capital, and his son a hostage in the hands of his enemy (see below), his power must have been small.

necessitate cogente promisit] These words have been brought into connexion with a parenthetical remark which occurs in Nennius' account of the battle in which Penda fell, §§ 64, 65. After mentioning 'reges Brittonum . . . qui exierant cum . . . Pantha in expeditione usque ad urbem quae uocatur Iudeu,' he adds: 'tunc [*i. e.* on the occasion of this "expeditio"] reddidit Osguid omnes diuitias quae erant cum eo in urbe usque in manu Pendae, et Penda distribuit eas regibus Brittonum, id est, Atbret Iudeu' [the restoration of Iudeu]. Mr. Skene would identify 'urbs Iudeu' with the 'urbs Giudi,' which Bede, i. 12, p. 25, says was in the Firth of Forth; C. S. i. 254. See however note on i. 12. Professor Rhŷs would read 'Iuden,' understanding it of Edinburgh; C. B. pp. 132, 133. Jedburgh and Jedworth have also been suggested by Mr. Nash; Cambrian Journal, 1861, p. 15. In any case, if the statement is worth anything, it points to Oswy's being driven to the northern part of his kingdom. In Nennius, however, the treasure is extorted by Penda; in Bede it is offered to him by Oswy and declined.

'Perfidus.' **rex perfidus**] For the meaning of 'perfidus,' see on i. 7, p. 18. That Penda was 'perfidus' also in the ordinary sense, appears from ii. 20; and W. M. calls him 'hominem . . . ad furta belli peridoneum,' i. 21.

XII . . . praediorum] 'twelf boclanda æhte,' 'twelve estates of booklands,' AS. vers.

p. 178. siquidem . . . habuere] Om. AS. vers.

Egfrid a hostage. **obses tenebatur**] A striking proof of the depression of Oswy's power. It may have been in the 'expeditio Iudeu' that Oswy had to surrender him. He was the younger son and Oswy's favourite, according to Lib. Eli. pp. 24, 27, 28; see on c. 1.

Cynuise] 'Cynwisse,' AS. vers. W. M. calls her Kyneswitha, i. 77, which was the name of one of Penda's daughters; see on c. 21.

Ethelwald of Deira. **Oidiluald**] See on c. 23.

eisdemque . . . exspectabat] For this passage the AS. vers. has '7 feaht 7 wonn wiþ his eðle 7 wiþ his fædran,' 'and he fought and contended against his country and against his uncle'; which gives a very different complexion to the affair. It is hard to say whether this version is due to a mere misunderstanding, or

whether it was made deliberately; and if the latter, with what authority and motive.

duces] 'aldermonna 7 heretogena,' 'aldermen and dukes,' AS. vers.; 'cynebearna,' Sax. Chron. E. F.; 'regulos,' F. Lat. Among these were no doubt the British princes mentioned by Nennius. Both Tigh. and Ann. Ult. mention the slaughter of thirty kings, 'reges;' and both enter the battle twice, at an interval of six years. Princes slain on the Winwæd.

auctor ipse belli] Bede nowhere tells us how this was. The Liber Eliensis, after mentioning Anna's death, says, 'cui frater Edilherus successit in regnum. Hic Pendae regi amicus factus, sub eo regnaturus, deinde suscepit imperium,' p. 23. Ethelhere of East Anglia.

prope fluuium Uinuaed] 'neah Winwede streame,' AS. vers. Nennius, *u. s.*, says, 'Osguid . . . occidit Pantha in campo Gai, et nunc facta est strages Gai Campi, et reges Brittonum interfecti sunt, &c. (*ut supra*) . . . Solus autem Catgabail, rex Guenedotae regionis, cum exercitu suo euasit de nocte consurgens, quapropter uocatus est Catgabail Catguommed [*i. e.* "the battle-seizer who battle avoids," *or* "the fighter who fights shy"].' The site of the battle is very uncertain. Much depends on what is meant by the 'regio Loidis' below. Most commentators understand the district round Leeds to be meant; Camden; Smith; Thoresby, Ducatus Leodiensis, ed. Whittaker, pp. 143, 144; Whitaker, Elmete and Loidis, p. 3; Pearson, Historical Maps; Raine, D. C. B. iv. 166, who identifies the Winwæd with the Went, a tributary of the Don. Others, *e. g.* Skene, C. S. i. 254, 255; Nash, *u. s.* pp. 1–16, understand it of the Lothians. Mr. Skene's earlier view, P. & S., pp. cxvi. f., does not seem to have much to recommend it. As Leeds is in Deira, Ethelwald's territory, a battle there would imply a forward movement on the part of Oswy. There is nothing in Bede's narrative inconsistent with this. The words 'confisus occurrit,' *supra*, may be thought to favour it. The other view suits better with the situation as deduced from Nennius' account, if any value can be attached to that. Moreover, Fl. Wig., speaking of Penda's march to the Winwæd, says distinctly: 'in *Berniciam* ad debellandum regem Oswium ascendit,' i. 23. The second part of the name Winwæd is the Saxon wæð, 'a ford.' The first part may be connected with 'winnan,' to fight. It is impossible not to be reminded of the battle of Brunanburh, which in the Egils Saga, c. 52, is called 'Vinheiði,' 'Winheath,' and in S. D. 'Wendune,' or 'Weondune,' i. 76; ii. 93. Unhappily the site of Brunanburh is as uncertain as that of the Winwæd. Hen. Hunt. here again has a proverb: Battle of Winwæd.

'unde dicitur
In Winwed amne uindicata est caedes Annae
Caedes regum Sigbert et Ecgrice
Caedes regum Oswald et Edwine'; p. 60.

Cf. W. M. i. 76. On p. 97 Hen. Hunt.'s imagination conceives of Penda as visited by a sort of heaven-sent confusion in the battle. W. M., i. 55, exults in the downfall of 'illud uicinorum excidium, illud perduellionum seminarium.' Professor Rhŷs thinks that Celts from Cornwall, Ireland, and Scotland were present in Penda's army; C. B. p. 140. If so, this is another point of resemblance with Brunanburh. The battle was decisive as to the religious destiny of the English: 'with it all active resistance on the part of the older heathendom came to an end'; Green, M. E. p. 310.

dedit filiam suam] She is called Ethelfleda by W. M. i. 56. On the dedication of infants to the religious life by their parents, cf. Introduction, p. ix.

XII . . . terrarum] 'þa twelf boclond,' 'the twelve booklands,' AS. vers.

in prouincia Derorum] This shows that Oswy now for the first time got possession of the whole of Northumbria. We hear nothing as to the fate of Ethelwald.

Hartlepool. **p. 179. Heruteu**] 'Heorotea,' AS. vers.; 'Heortesig,' Fl. Wig. i. 23, *v.* critical note. Now Hartlepool. The cemetery of this monastery was discovered in 1838, and some remarkable slabs were found; Raine in D. C. B. iv. 879.

insula cerui] Cf. 'Insula que Cerui dicitur, que est inter Plumbinum [Piombino] et Elbam [Elba]'; Pertz, xviii. 302. The island of Capraja is probably meant.

Hild] On her *v.* iv. 23.

Foundation of **post biennium**] 657 A.D.; *v. inf.*

X familiarum] *i.e.* it was one of the twelve monasteries founded by Oswy in fulfilment of his vow.

Whitby. **Streanæshalch**] 'Quorum praecipuum monasterium, tunc foeminarum, nunc uirorum, . . . antiquo uocabulo Streneshalh, modo Witebi nuncupatur. . . . Illud coenobium, sicut et omnia eiusdem regionis, tempore Danicae uastationis . . . deletum; . . . nunc mutato nomine, paululum pro tempore restauratum, antiquae opulentiae uix tenue praesentat uestigium;' W. M. i. 56. For its restoration in the eleventh century, *v.* S. D. i. 111; ii. 202. W. M. is wrong in saying that it was a 'monasterium foeminarum' under Hild. It was a mixed monastery; iv. 23.

Elfled. **discipula . . . magistra**] 'discipula 7 leornung mon . . . magister 7 lareow,' AS. vers., retaining the Latin words together with the

translations. By 'magistra' Bede means abbess (which office she held in conjunction with her mother Eanfled, iv. 26, p. 267, cf. App. I. § 18, who seems to have retired thither after the death of Oswy). As abbess, Elfled was a great friend of St. Cuthbert, and more than one of his miracles are connected with her; Baed. Vit. Cudb. cc. 23, 34; Vit. Anon. §§ 28, 39. She played an important part in the final restoration of Wilfrid; Eddius, cc. 43, 59, 60, who calls her 'sapientissima uirgo, semper totius prouinciae consolatrix optimaque consiliatrix,' c. 60. There is a commendatory letter from her to Adolana, Abbess of Palatiolum [Palentz], near Trèves, in Mon. Mog. p. 49.

conpleto . . . numero] She was barely a year old at the time of the battle of the Winwæd, Nov. 15, 655. Therefore she must have been born at the end of 654 or the beginning of 655, and must have died at the end of 713 or in 714. Her death is mentioned in the Irish Annals, 'Filia Ossu in monasterio Ild moritur;' Ann. Ult. 712; Tigh. 713.

Aeduini] For Edwin's translation, cf. on ii. 20, p. 125. The others were probably buried there in the first instance. The Glastonbury myth translates Eanfled to Glastonbury; W. M. i. 25. Translation of Edwin.

tertio decimo . . . Decembrium] This would be Nov. 15, 654, as Oswy's thirteenth year extended from Aug. 5, 654, to Aug. 4, 655. But in v. 24, p. 354, Bede distinctly says that Penda fell in 655. The three oldest MSS. of the Sax. Chron. (A. B. C.) say the same. This date agrees with the statement above, c. 21, p. 170, that it was two years after the conversion of the Middilangli, and with the chronology of Wulfhere's reign; see below. It may therefore safely be adopted. We have had other instances, c. 14, pp. 154, 155, notes, in which Bede is one in arrear with Oswy's regnal years. This mistake may be connected with the mistake into which Bede has probably fallen as to the date of Oswy's death. See on iv. 5. Date of the battle of the Winwæd.

Lindisfarorum] On the oscillations of Lindsey between Mercia and Northumbria, *v. s.* on c. 11. Here, even after Oswy's victory, it so far remains Mercian as to be included in Diuma's diocese. But it does not follow from this that it was part of the district entrusted to Peada, any more than that he received the whole of Mercia. See below. Lindsey.

Diuma] The history and chronology of the Mercian episcopate are very obscure: 'Nusquam crassiores tenebrae, nusquam plures nodi quam in successione episcoporum Merciensium,' says Wharton, Ang. Sac. i. 423. Something may however be made out. Diuma was appointed after Penda's death, Nov. 15, 655, c. 21, pp. 170, 171; and most likely before Peada's murder, spring, 656. Mercian bishops.

The retirement of Ceollach is probably to be connected with the successful rebellion of Wulfhere against Oswy in 658, which put an end to Northumbrian influence in Mercia. Diuma must therefore have died in or before 658, and Bede, *u. s.*, says that he only laboured in his episcopate 'tempore sub pauco.' He also says that Ceollach's retirement was 'non multo post' his appointment, and that Trumhere was appointed, 'temporibus Uulfheri regis,' ib. There is therefore nothing in Bede inconsistent with the dates given by Thomas Chesterfield, Canon of Lichfield, in the fourteenth century, in his history of that see; Diuma, 656; Ceollach, 658; Trumhere, 659; Ang. Sac. i. 423–425, with Wharton's notes.

Bede counts Iona as part of 'Scottia.'

ad Scottiam rediit] 'to Scottum hwearf,' 'returned to the Scots,' AS. vers. Above, c. 21, p. 171, Bede had said, 'reuersus est ad insulam Hii.' We have therefore clear proof that according to Bede's usage Iona is in 'Scottia,' *i.e.* in Ireland. (It does not imply that he ever uses 'Scottia' in the modern sense of Scotland. See on i. 1; Rs. Ad. pp. 184, 341.) So again Colman 'missus a Scottia,' c. 25, p. 182, 'in Scottiam regressus est,' c. 26, p. 189; while in iv. 4 it is said that he 'relinquens Brittaniam . . . primo uenit ad insulam Hii,' p. 213. Lastly, in c. 27, p. 193, Egbert vows that he will never return to *Britain*, while in v. 9 he is divinely commanded to go to Iona. Adamnan, on the contrary, always includes Iona in Britain, and opposes it to 'Scottia'; *e. g.* in i. 13 he speaks of Columba as 'in Britannia peregrinantem;' cf. iii. 22. Persons leaving Iona for Ireland are spoken of as going 'ad Scotiam,' i. 17, 18, 22; and persons coming to Iona from Ireland come 'de Scotia ad Britanniam,' ii. 39; cf. iii. 23.

Ingetlingum] *v. s.* c. 14.

propinqua] Second cousin; she being a daughter of Edwin, who was nephew of Ælfric, Oswin's grandfather; c. 1.

High-born abbots.

p. 180. **propinquus . . . regis**] On the evils which sometimes resulted from the appointment of high-born abbots, *v.* Introduction, p. xxxv.

Oswy's overlordship.

ceteris . . . praefuit] 'in aldordome ofer wæs,' 'was over them in authority,' AS. vers.; *i.e.* as Bretwalda. So ii. 5: 'cunctis australibus . . . prouinciis . . . imperauit;' where the Bretwaldadom is spoken of. Of course the nature of Oswy's authority over these other southern provinces was different in kind from that which he exercised over Mercia, which he held for a time by right of conquest. Cf. c. 1: 'cum Osuiu . . . regnum eius [*sc.* Pendan] acciperet;' 'quod sibi' (adds W. M. i. 77) 'et uictoriae in patrem, et affinitatis iure in filium competere uidebatur.' He also says of Oswy: '*ex quo tempore* omnibus pene Anglis uel ipse

praesedit, uel praesidentibus imperauit.' The words of Bede and Malmesbury entirely bear out what was said above as to the date of the commencement of Oswy's overlordship. On the difference between 'regnum' and 'imperium,' see on ii. 5, p. 89.

gentem Pictorum . . . subiecit] This too seems to have been subsequent to the defeat of Penda. This ascendency Northumbria maintained under Oswy, iv. 3, *ad init.*; and under Egfrid, iv. 12, *ad fin.*; until the defeat and death of the latter in 685, when the Picts recovered their independence, iv. 26, p. 267. If Skene's suggestion cited on c. 1 is correct, Oswy was uncle to Talorg, King of the Picts at this time. Note that the Picts are said to have been subjected not 'imperio' but 'regno Anglorum'; cf. i. 25, ii. 5, notes. He reduces the Picts.

quo tempore . . . Merciorum] If the 'South Mercians' may be identified with the 'Middilangli' of c. 21, Oswy in this grant was merely confirming what Penda had already given. The Sax. Chron. is wrong: (i) in making Peada succeed to the whole of Mercia on Penda's death; (ii) in placing Peada's death two years after Penda's; (iii) in making Wulfhere succeed to the whole of Mercia immediately on Peada's death. Peada.

qui sunt . . . VII milium] 'þa seondon, þæs þe men cweðað, fif þusendo folces, . . . þara londes is seofon þusendo,' AS. vers.

proximo uere . . . paschalis] In 656 the *Roman* Easter was on April 17.

tribus annis] *i. e.* in 658. Wulfhere reigned seventeen years (below), which brings his death to 675, the date given, v. 24, p. 354. This confirms 655 as the date for the battle of the Winwæd. Chronology.

duces] 'heretogan 7 aldormen,' AS. vers.; cf. *sup.* on p. 178. The former word indicates military, the latter civil authority; cf. S. C. H. i. 112, 113, 158–160; Kemble, Saxons, ii. 125–150.

leuato] This phrase is probably a relic of the time when a newly elected king was raised aloft on a shield and presented to the multitude; Kemble, i. 154; Bright, p. 180, and reff.

Uulfhere] 'Suscitauit . . . Dominus sibi hunc mitissimum,' says Eddius, c. 14, of Wulfhere's elevation. He was a supporter of Eddius' hero, Wilfrid. (Yet cf. ib. c. 20.) On Wulfhere, cf. D. C. B. iv. 1194, 1195; Green, M. E. pp. 306–308, 328–330. Wulfhere.

occultum seruauerant] Cf. the case of Joash, 2 Kings xi.

principibus] 'ealdormen,' AS. vers. It would seem that after Peada's death Oswy administered the whole of Mercia by his own officials. Bede has been much commended for his evident sympathy with this movement for independence in Mercia, though himself a Northumbrian; Bright, pp. 179, 180. Revolt of Mercia.

Mercian bishops.

Trumheri . . . Uynfridum] Trumhere, 659–662; Jaruman, 662–667; Ceadda, 669–672; Wynfrid, 672–675 (?); Stubbs, Episc. Succ. p. 164.

CHAPTER 25.

Omission of the Synod of Whitby from Anglo-Saxon sources.

P. 181] This chapter and the next are not in the AS. vers. nor in the Capitula. It is very noteworthy that the Sax. Chron. also omits all notice of the Synod of Whitby. In the case of MSS. A. B. C. this may be due to the fact that in their text the notices of events are taken not from the main narrative of Bede, but from the chronological summary, v. 24, p. 354. But this explanation will not apply to MS. E., which (following in the steps of D., which is here defective) draws directly from the body of Bede's work, and from the Latin original.

Finan] Cf. AA.SS. Feb. iii. 21–23.

Lindisfarne an offshoot of Iona.

a Scottis . . . missus] Cf. the similar phrase, c. 5, *ad fin.*; *inf.* 'qui ipsum miserant,' 'missus a Scottia,' p. 182; 'qui me huc episcopum miserunt,' p. 184. We note how entirely the church of Lindisfarne formed part of the 'prouincia' of Iona.

Church of Lindisfarne.

ecclesiam . . . congruam] Cf. notes to c. 17, *supra.*

more Scottorum] See above on ii. 14.

Theodorus . . . dedicauit] Possibly in 678, when he went northwards on the occasion of Wilfrid's deposition; iv. 12; cf. D. C. B. iv. 928.

plumbi lamminis] So Wilfrid at York: 'culmina corrupta tecti renouans, artificiose plumbo puro detegens;' Eddius, c. 15.

quaestio . . . magna] On the paschal question, *v.* Excursus.

Ronan.

Ronan] Nothing seems to be known about this person. There are several Ronans in the Irish Calendar (see Mart. Don. Index) and two in the Scotch Calendar; Reeves, Ad. p. 416. Mabillon's proposed identification of him (Ann. Bened. i. 474) must be regarded as highly uncertain.

Paschal controversy.

quod esset . . . animi] Does this refer to Ronan or Finan? The word 'acerrimus' above might point to the former. If it refers to the latter we are reminded of Aidan's unsuccessful predecessor, 'austerioris animi uir;' c. 5, p. 137. Anyhow, as usual, bitterness begot bitterness.

p. 182. nonnumquam] According to Stevenson this difference of a week would have occurred in 665. If so, there was an obvious motive for holding the Synod in 664.

Date of Finan's death.

defuncto . . . succederet] Colman, when he retired, had been bishop three years; c. 26, p. 189. Finan would seem therefore to have died in 661. The Ann. Lindisf. place his death in 660,

though they give Colman an episcopate of three years, and place the Synod of Whitby in 664; Pertz, xix. 504. Tighernach also places Finan's death in 660, while Ann. Ult. and Mart. Don. p. 10, place it in 659, all three calling him 'mac Rimedo,' 'son of Rimid;' and a group of foreign chronicles place it in 658; Pertz, i. 87; ii. 237; iii. 2, 110. On the title wrongly given by Eddius to Colman, see on ii. 20. No doubt Aidan, Finan, and Colman did act as bishops for the whole of Northumbria; but they never received the pallium, nor were there any other bishops over whom they could exercise metropolitan authority; see on c. 3.

illorum . . . inbutus] Cf. Oswald, c. 3, p. 132; and contrast Oswin, c. 14, p. 157.

Uilfridum] See v. 19, and notes. Alchfrid was also influenced by Cenwalh of Wessex; Eddius, c. 7. Wilfrid.

multum temporis] Three years; v. 19, p. 324.

p. 183. **XL familiarum**] 'XXX familiarum,' v. 19, p. 325; and so Eddius, c. 8: 'terra XXX mansionum.'

Inhrypum] Ripon. For the form of the name, see on ii. 14, p. 115.

qui Scottos sequebantur] Including Cuthbert and Eata; *v.* notes on c. 26, v. 19.

Agilberctus] *v. s.* c. 7, p. 140, and notes.

quod interpretatur] This etymology is very obscure; I have found nothing either in the dictionaries or glossaries which throws any light upon it, though 'farus' and 'sinus' are both frequently glossed. My friend Mr. Mayhew tells me that this is an old crux. He says, 'The obvious translation of *stréones healh* is *the Rock of Gain.*' Synod of Whitby.

synodus fieri] It must have been held somewhat early in the year 664; for at the time when Ceadda set out for Kent, which must have been some little time after the Synod, the news of Archbishop Deusdedit's death (ob. July 14, 664) had not reached Northumbria, c. 28; cf. H. & S. iii. 106.

reges ambo] Oswy and Alchfrid. In c. 28, *ad init.* and in v. 19, p. 325, Alchfrid is also called 'rex.' So: 'Alchfrithus qui cum Oswiu patre suo regnabat,' Eddius, c. 7; 'regnantibus Oswiu et Alchfritho filio eius,' ib. c. 10. He was under-king of Deira: 'Alhfrid . . . qui regi Oithelwaldo, regis Oswaldi filio, in regnum successit'; Fl. Wig. i. 25; probably after the Winwæd; cf. on cc. 1, 23. For his subsequent fate, see on c. 28, *ad init.* Alchfrid.

Hild] 'Colmannus . . . Hildem . . . sectae suae fautricem . . . secum . . . duxit;' Eadmer, Vita Wilf. c. 10 (H. Y. i. 171). She probably accepted the decision of the council on the paschal controversy. But she continued her opposition to Wilfrid; for Pope John VI, in 704, referring to Wilfrid's earlier appeal of 679, speaks Opposition of Hild to Wilfrid.

of 'contrarii eius qui a Theodoro . . . et Hylda . . . ad eum accusandum huc . . . aduenerant'; Eddius, c. 54; H. & S. iii. 262. This was only a year before Hild's own death, and when she had already been five years 'tested' (examinari) by the 'long disease' of which she died; iv. 23, p. 256. In forming an estimate of Wilfrid's conduct, this is a consideration which cannot be omitted.

Cedd acts as interpreter.

Cedd . . . interpres] His brother Ceadda had, as a young man, lived some time in Ireland; iv. 3, p. 211. Whether Cedd had ever done the same, we are not told. But in any case he must have had ample opportunity of learning Irish from the Irish monks at Lindisfarne.

p. 184. quam ego per interpretem] Note that Agilbert, after all the years spent in Wessex, could not speak English; cf. c. 7, p. 140: 'pertaesus barbarae loquellae,' and note.

Pictos . . . Brettones] Cf. Fridegoda's contemptuous enumeration:

'Scottica plebs, et Picta cohors, uulgusque Britannum.'

Vita Metr. Wilf. v. 248; H. Y. i. 116.

Judaism of the early Church.

p. 185. iudaizante . . . ecclesia] There can be no doubt that in this account of the conference Bede states the arguments of the two parties in his own way, and in his own words. The account in Eddius, c. 10, is very much shorter. The points which the two accounts have in common are the appeal of Colman to the practice of St. John, the appeal of Wilfrid to the Council of Nicaea, and the determination of Oswy not to risk offending St. Peter. This particular argument as to the very gradual way in which Judaic observances were eliminated from the early Church, which shows a genuine historical sense, appears constantly in Bede's works: 'Primitiua in Hierosylmis ecclesia multas legis cerimonias etiam iuxta litteram obseruabat, iudaizantibus quoque eis qui ex gentibus uocati . . . fuerant. . . . Neque enim ualebant ea, quae a Deo esse constituta nouerant, repente quasi noxia repellere'; Opp. vii. 222, 223. 'Mota persecutione . . . retrahebant se . . . apostoli . . . ab ipsa iudaizandi consuetudine, quam ob deuitandum . . . scandalum . . . tenuerant'; viii. 136; cf. ib. 130, 185, 210; x. 2; xii. 66, 83. In Opp. x. 198 (= xi. 314) Bede rightly fixes on the destruction of the Temple as the great turning-point in the history of the Church with reference to this matter.

quomodo . . . Iudaeis] This passage is wrongly punctuated by the editors, who put a full stop after *abdicare*, thus destroying the sense; for the sentence 'quomodo . . . est' is parenthetical, and the words 'ne scandalum facerent,' &c., are explanatory of 'nec . . . ualentibus . . . abdicare.' The sense is: 'they could not for fear of offence suddenly give up the law, in the same way as it is neces-

sary for converts to abandon idolatry.' On the distinction here drawn, cf. the passage quoted above, on i. 30, from Opp. xii. 67, which has reference to one of the examples given below, the circumcision of Timothy by St. Paul.

quod . . . totondit] 'Haec fecit Paulus, non . . . oblitus quid de abolitione legis . . . statuerat, sed ne scandalizarentur qui ex Iudaeis crediderant. . . . Quidam codices plurali numero habent *totonderunt* . . . id est Priscilla et Aquila. Sed . . . Hieronymus et Augustinus . . . et singulari numero ponunt, et de Paulo interpretantur'; Opp. xii. 73. Here Bede by adding 'cum Priscilla' seems to adopt the plural, and to understand it of all three. The singular is of course correct (κειράμενος), but commentators are not yet agreed whether it refers to Paul or Aquila; see Meyer, Comm. *ad loc.*, Acts xviii. 18.

ad uesperam incipiebat] Cf. De Temp. Rat. c. 5: 'populus Israel . . . festa omnia sua, sicut et nos hodie facimus, uespere consummabat, dicente legislatore: "a uespera usque ad uesperam celebrabitis sabbata uestra"'; Opp. vi. 153. Festivals begin at evening.

p. 186. curabat; quod uos non facitis] Here Bede makes Wilfrid admit that the Celts were not strictly speaking quartodecimans. In Eddius he roundly asserts this, c. 12; cf. cc. 14, 15; see on ii. 19, p. 123. The Celts not quartodecimans.

Anatolius] Above, c. 3, p. 131, Bede has alluded to the appeal of the Celts to the authority of Anatolius, and indicated his opinion of its worthlessness. In his 'Epistola ad Wicredam . . . de aequinoctio uernali iuxta Anatolium,' Bede hints that the Latin text of Anatolius had been deliberately corrupted by the opposite party: 'uerisimile uidetur . . . libellum Anatolii . . . in aliquibus Latinorum exemplaribus esse corruptum, eorum . . . fraude, qui paschae uerum tempus ignorantes, errorem suum tanti patris auctoritate defendere gestirent.' Then after mentioning other hypotheses, he concludes: 'quid sane horum sit uerius, illi potius, qui Anatolium Graecum legunt, uideant'; Opp. i. 161. That the Anatolian Canon on which the Celts relied really was a forgery, see D. C. A. i. 593, 594; Bright, pp. 79, 198; M. & L. p. 220; Ideler, ii. 229, 230, 297, 298. Anatolius.

p. 187. patrem nostrum Columbam] Yet Columba himself was said to have foretold the paschal controversy; Ad. Vit. Col. i. 3 *ad fin.* Columba.

miracula] For the miracles of St. Columba, see especially Adamnan's life, which was written almost wholly from this point of view, Rs. Ad. p. 7.

possem respondere] For the argument, cf. the passage from Gregory's letter to Augustine, quoted on i. 31. If Wilfrid did use any argument of the kind, we cannot wonder that he should have provoked bitter hostility. Insolence of Wilfrid.

p. 188. simplicitate rustica] Cf. c. 4 *ad fin.*: 'ut barbari et rustici'; cf. Sig. Gembl. *ad ann.* 598. 'Columba . . . rustica simplicitate pascha dominico die celebrari neque didicit neque docuit;' Pertz, vi. 320. It is curious that having taken his phraseology from Bede, he should have departed so far from his facts, and made Columba a quartodeciman in the strict sense.

calculator] Cf. v. 21, p. 341.

uno de angulo] For the later derivation of Anglia from angulus, see on i. 15; ii. 1.

'Etiam' = 'yes.'

etiam] = 'yes.' Cf. *inf.* v. 2: 'dicito Gae [yea], quod est lingua Anglorum uerbum affirmandi, . . . id est, etiam'; p. 284; v. 6, p. 291; v. 9, p. 297. So H. Y. i. 441.

St. Peter, gate-ward of heaven.

p. 189. ne forte . . . probatur] So Aldhelm to Gerontius, King of Cornwall, on this same question: 'Si ergo Petro claues coelestis regni a Christo conlatae sunt, . . . quis, ecclesiae eius statuta . . . spernens, . . . per coelestis paradisi portam . . . ingreditur?' Aldh. Opp. p. 88; H. & S. iii. 272; Mon. Mog. p. 30.

CHAPTER 26.

domum rediit] It is clear therefore that Bede regards Agilbert as having come from Gaul to Northumbria on this occasion; *v. s.* on c. 7.

sectam] So in v. 19, p. 325, with reference to this same event: 'eliminata . . . Scottorum secta.'

Iona part of Scottia.

Scottiam regressus est] 'primo uenit ad insulam Hii'; iv. 4. So that here again we see that Bede considers Iona as part of 'Scottia'; see on c. 24. Under 664 the Ann. breves Fuldenses have 'Colmani obitus'; Pertz, ii. 237. The compiler, or the authority which he copied, mistook the 'Colman abiit' of other chronicles, Pertz, iii. 2; iv. 2, for 'Colman obiit,' which latter is found in Ann. Fuld.; Pertz, iii. 110*.

tractaturus cum suis] *i.e.* with the ecclesiastical authorities at Iona.

Cedd] *v. s.* cc. 22, 23, 25.

annus . . . XXII^{us}] Oswy's twenty-second year was from Aug. 5, 663, to Aug. 4, 664.

episcopatus . . . Scottorum] *v. s.* on c. 5.

Scottos austrinos] *v. s.* on c. 3.

permodico tempore] He died the same year, of the plague, c. 27.

p. 190. fratribus . . . maluerunt] Even these submitted with an ill grace to the new rules; see on iv. 27.

Eata.

Eata] He was abbot when Cuthbert entered Melrose in 651; Vit. Cudb. c. 6. He brought Cuthbert with him when he came

at Alchfrid's request to organise his new monastery at Ripon, ib. c. 7; shortly before 'paulo ante' Alchfrid transferred it to Wilfrid in 661, *supra*, c. 25, p. 183; v. 19, p. 325. Florence in fact calls him 'Hrypensis monasterii fundator,' i. 25; so in the same sense Ceolfrid is called founder of Jarrow; Hab. § 7, p. 370, note. Both Eata and Cuthbert quitted Ripon rather than conform to the Roman Easter and tonsure; c. 25, p. 182, note; Vit. Cudb. c. 8. 'Had they been permitted to remain, . . . it may . . . be that the church of Durham would never have been founded;' Raine's Hexham, i. 26. It was perhaps to take their place that Tunbert and Ceolfrid were invited from Gilling to Ripon by Wilfrid; Haa. § 3. They returned to Melrose, of which Eata had probably never resigned the abbacy. They must however, like Cedd, have accepted the decision of the synod on these points; and thus Colman, who could not bring himself to conform, was able to leave the monastery of Lindisfarne in the hands of one who had been trained in the school of Aidan. He seems to have retained the abbacy of Melrose along with that of Lindisfarne; Raine's Hexham, i. 26; S. C. S. ii. 209; D. C. B. ii. 21. In 678 he was consecrated bishop of Bernicia, with his See at Lindisfarne or Hexham, iv. 12, 27; v. 24, pp. 229, 269, 355. In 681 his diocese was divided, Tunbert being consecrated to Hexham, and Eata remaining at Lindisfarne, iv. 12 *ad fin.* and note. On Tunbert's deposition, 684, Cuthbert was elected to succeed him, and consecrated, Easter 685; and as he preferred to remain at Lindisfarne, Eata was transferred to Hexham, iv. 28, p. 273. As to the date of his death, see on v. 2 *ad init.* The life of him printed by the Surtees Soc. Misc. Biog. pp. 121-125, and again in Raine's Hexham, i. 211–215, is little more than a cento of passages taken from Bede. There is a church dedicated to Eata at Attingham or Atcham on the Severn (the birthplace of Ordericus Vitalis); the name of the place being no doubt also derived from him; cf. D. C. B. ii. 21.

Mailros] On its later history, cf. H. & S. ii. 28, 161.

unus de . . . pueris] One of the 'paruuli Anglorum' who 'inbuebantur praeceptoribus Scottis,' c. 3, p. 132; possibly redeemed by Aidan from slavery, c. 5, p. 136. The number twelve is of course an imitation of the number of the Apostles. For other instances of its occurrence, *v.* Rs. Ad. pp. 299–303; Morison's St. Bernard, p. 25. Aidan's twelve English boys.

non multo post] Fourteen years, 678, *v. s.*

ecclesiae Lindisfarnensi] Strictly of all Bernicia, with option of fixing his See at Hexham or Lindisfarne, *v. s.* In iv. 28, p. 273, Bede has committed the converse inaccuracy.

domum] *i. e.* to Iona.

secretario] *v. s.* ii. 1, p. 79.

Character of the Scotic missionaries.

quantae autem, &c.] In the whole of this paragraph Bede is obliquely glancing at the ecclesiastical evils of his own time; *v.* Introd. p. xxxv. The glow of the description shows how warmly Bede sympathised with the Scotic missionaries in spite of their paschal heresies.

nil . . . habebant] Cf. Ann. Stadenses, A.D. 1179: 'erat [in concilio Lateranensi] episcopus Hibernensis qui Henrico scholastico Bremensi retulit, se non habere alios reditus praeter tres uaccas lactantes, quas in defectu lactis parochiani sui per alias innouabant;' Pertz, xvi. 349.

potentium saeculi] So of Citeaux under Stephen Harding; cf. Morison's St. Bernard, p. 16.

p. 191. unde . . . habitus] A story however in the early life of Cuthbert seems to show that even then monks were not always popular in Northumbria. A crowd of people, seeing some monks in jeopardy, 'coepit irridere uitam conuersationis eorum, quasi merito talia paterentur, qui communia mortalium iura spernentes noua et ignota darent statuta uiuendi;' Vit. Cudb. Pros. c. 3.

ubicumque clericus, &c.] Cf. *inf.* iv. 27, p. 269, which is itself taken from Vit. Cudb. c. 9.

nam neque alia, &c.] Contrast the Ep. ad Egb. §§ 7, 8, pp. 410–412, notes.

CHAPTER 27.

Eclipse.

eclipsis solis] The AS. vers. retains the Latin words and adds a gloss: 'Þæt is sunnan asprungennis þæt heo sciman ne hæfde, 7 wæs eatolice on to seonne,' 'that is a failing of the sun, so that it had no light, and was dreadful to look on.' The regular word in the chronicles for the eclipsing of the sun or moon is 'āþýstrian,' lit. 'to grow dark.'

die tertio] It was really on the first. Bede makes the same mistake in the Chron. 'sequente anno facta est eclipsis solis, *quam nostra aetas meminit*, quasi decima hora diei, quinto nonas Maias'; Opp. Min. p. 197. For the reasons which made it memorable, see next note. Smith, *a. l.*, traces Bede's error to the incorrectness of the dates of the new moons in the Dionysian cycle of nineteen years.

Visitations of the plague

pestilentiae lues] There is a short chapter on the causes of pestilences in Bede's De Nat. Rer. c. 37; Opp. vi. 115; cf. Werner, pp. 118, 119. There were several visitations of the plague in the

seventh century in Britain and Ireland. This of 664 seems to have been the most noted of them. The coincidence with the eclipse, the highly dramatic incident of the deaths on the same day (July 14) of the king of Kent and the archbishop of Canterbury, iv. 1, would tend to impress it on men's minds. It carried off Tuda in the first year of his episcopate, and Bishop Cedd at Lastingham, c. 23. The death of Bishop Damian of Rochester. iv. 2 *ad fin.*, may have been due to the same scourge. It caused the partial apostasy of the East Saxons, c. 30. The incident of Egbert and Edilhun narrated here is to be assigned to this same visitation. Many, following Florence of Worcester, i. 27, *e. g.* Bright, pp. 207, 208, Stubbs and Raine in D. C. B. i. 323, 725, further assign to this the death of Boisil, Provost or Prior of Melrose, and the sickness and recovery of Cuthbert, who succeeded him in that office; Vit. Cudb. c. 8; cf. *inf.* iv. 27. But that must certainly be placed earlier; for Cuthbert was provost of Melrose 'aliquot annos'; ib. c. 9; and in 664 he was transferred to Lindisfarne. On the other hand it was subsequent to the expulsion of Eata and himself from Ripon in 661, and may probably be assigned to that year. So Raine, Hexham, I. xxi f.; and Smith and Stevenson on Vit. Cudb. c. 8. According to the life of Oswald the plague visited Northumbria in his reign, 634 × 642; S. D. i. 347–349. There were also outbreaks after 664. Ceadda died of the plague, March 2, 672; Fl. Wig. i. 30; Ang. Sac. i. 426; while during Cuthbert's residence on Farne, 676 × 684, nearly the whole of the Lindisfarne brethren were swept off by it; Introd. p. xxxii. It carried off St. Ethelthryth in 679 or 680, iv. 19, p. 244; and Cadwalader in 682; see on v. 7. The story told, Vit. Cudb. c. 33; Vit. Anon. § 35, implies a visitation in Cuthbert's episcopate, 685 × 687; probably the same during which Abbot Eosterwine died, and the incident of Ceolfrid and the little boy reciting the offices occurred; Introd. p. xii. According to Adamnan, Vit. Col. ii. 46, the plague was raging in Northumbria at the time of his two visits. These were probably in 686 and 688; see on v. 15. The story of the miracle at Barking implies a visitation subsequent to the foundation of that monastery, iv. 7; while that at Selsey, iv. 14, must be 681 × 686; see on v. 19.

p. 192. **Tuda**] 'Se wæs æfter Colmane Norþanhymbra biscop,' 'who was bishop of the Northumbrians after Colman,' adds AS. vers.; an addition necessitated by the omission of cc. 25, 26. Tuda.

Pægnalaech] There is an extraordinary variation in the later authorities as to the name of Tuda's burial-place. The Sax. Chron. *ad. ann.* 664, E. has 'on Wagele'; Gaimar (M. H. B. p. 781) has 'Paggle,' with the ordinary confusion of W and P; H. H. Pægnalaech.

p. 100, has Wemalet, with a *v. l.* Weinalet, which last may easily be a miswriting of Peinalec, which is not so far from Bede's form. Wagele has been identified with Whalley on the borders of Lancashire and Cheshire, *v.* Earle, Sax. Chron. *a. l.*; H. & S. iii. 444. Smith would identify Pægnalaech with S. D.'s Wincanheal, or Pincahala, ii. 43, 51, 376; and both with the modern Finchale, near Durham. But the whole matter is very uncertain.

The plague in Ireland.

Hiberniam quoque] The Ann. Ult. notice outbreaks of the plague in 663, 664, 666, 667, 682, 683, 699-702; Tigh. 664, 665, 667, 683, 684; F. M. 664, 666, 684. Cynifrid, formerly abbot of Gilling, died of the plague in Ireland; Haa. § 3. This was probably in 661, as it is mentioned in connexion with the migration of Tunbert and Ceolfrid to Ripon about that time. See on c. 26. The story of Wilbrord and the Irish scholar in c. 13. implies a visitation about 677, *v.* notes *a. l.* The Irish called it 'buide chonaill,' 'cron chonaill,' 'buidechair'; Lib. Hymn. pp. 123, 124; Ann. Ult. 555; F. M. 548, 664, and notes; the British called it 'y fall (*or* y fad) felen,' Rhŷs, C. B. p. 68; all names derived from the yellow colour of its victims. So 'flaua pestis,' Giraldus Cambr. Opp. iii. 57, 151. My friend and former good physician Dr. Tuckwell thinks that it was probably a malignant form of typhus.

nobilium . . . mediocrium] 'ge æðelinga ge oðerra,' both ethelings and others,' AS. vers.

Resort of students to Ireland.

qui . . . secesserant] Of this resort from Britain to Ireland for purposes of study or devotion Bede himself gives several instances. Besides the three mentioned in this chapter we have the cases of Wilbrord, c. 13; v. 10, *ad init.*; Tuda, c. 26; Ceadda, iv. 3, p. 211; Eddius, c. 14; Higbald, iv. 3, p. 211; Witbert, v. 9, *ad fin.*; the two Hewalds, v. 10; Haemgils, v. 12, p. 309. The case of Cynifrid from Haa. § 3, has been cited above. So the Frankish Agilbert, iii. 7, p. 140; cf. Bright, pp. 159, 160. The lives of the Cambro-British saints (ed. Rees) which are highly mythical, show that it was considered the correct thing for a British saint to have studied in Ireland, *e. g.* St. Cadoc, pp. 35, 36, cf. p. 59; St. Kebi, ib. pp. 184-186; cf. P. & S. pp. 112, 113. There is a letter from Aldhelm to a friend named Eahfrid who had spent six years in Ireland, 'uber sophiae sugens.' He says that the number of those who resorted to Ireland resembled a swarm of bees. He mentions as their subjects of study: grammar, geometry, physics, and the allegorical and tropological interpretation of scripture (*v.* Introd. § 14). He is however somewhat piqued that Britain, which has inherited the learning of Theodore and Hadrian, should have to resort to Ireland for instruction: 'ac si istic fecundo Britanniae in

cespite didascali . . . reperiri minime queant;' Opp. pp. 91–95. The letter would be very interesting if it were not almost unintelligible through the writer's puerile pomposity. In some cases the exile was not wholly voluntary, but was due partly to political causes. We find also exile in Gaul, iii. 8; iv. 23; Hist. Abb. §§ 2, 3; and in Italy, Hist. Abb. Anon. § 27.

magistrorum] In all the Irish monasteries there was a regular officer called the 'fer legind,' lit. 'man of reading,' lector, or professor; *v. s.* on c. 13.

sine pretio] That the Irish sometimes offered their learning for sale is shown by the story given above, on ii. 1, from the monk of St. Gallen.

duo iuuenes . . . de nobilibus] 'twegen geonge æðelingas,' 'two young ethelings,' AS. vers.

Ecgberct] See v. 9, and notes; cf. Opp. Min. p. 203.

Ediluini] *v. s.* c. 11, p. 149; *inf.* iv. 12, p. 229.

Rathmelsigi] Colman of Rath Maelsighe is commemorated in the Mart. Don. at Dec. 14. 'Colgan places it in Connaught, but the exact situation remains to be identified;' Rs. Ad. p. 379. Stevenson and M. & L. say Melfont or Mellifont, Co. Louth; but I find no real authority for this. Rathmelsigi.

adflicti] '7 him mon feores ne wende,' 'and their lives were despaired of,' AS. vers. adds.

p. 193. **cubiculo . . . quiescebant**] The infirmary of the monastery, the 'séocra manna inn' of the Sax. Chron. 1070 E., *v.* Introd. p. xxvii.

adeo] 'for Gode,' 'for God,' AS. vers.; so that the translator must either have read 'Deo' or misunderstood his text. The misunderstanding would be helped by passages like c. 4, p. 134, 'exulare pro Christo'; c. 19, *ad init.* 'pro Domino . . . peregrinam ducere uitam'; iv. 3, 23, pp. 211, 253, 'peregrinus pro Domino'; Hist. Abb. § 3, 'peregrinatio pro Christo.' Religious exile.

Brittaniam] As Egbert ended his days in Iona, this is another proof that Iona was not considered part of Britain, *v. s.* on cc. 24, 26; though 'ad ius quidem Brittaniae pertinet,' c. 3, p. 132. Iona not in Britain.

psalmodiam] *v. s.* on c. 5.

sacerdotii gradum] 'biscophade,' 'episcopal orders,' AS. vers. The evidence that Egbert was a bishop is collected in a note to v. 9, *ad init.*

nuper . . . DCCXXVIIII°] Om. AS. vers. This agrees with the date 731 for the writing of the Hist. Eccl.

p. 194. **cuius . . . curabat**] cf. iv. 30, p. 276; D. C. B. iii. 367. This threefold 'Lent,' if so it may be called, occurs frequently in Threefold Lent.

Irish sources. Thus we have 'corgus [= quadragesima] erraig,' or 'Spring-Lent,' Fél. p. xl. ; 'samchorgus 7 gemchorgus,' *i. e.* 'Summer-Lent and Winter-Lent,' L. Br. 261 b, 74. The last, or forty days before Christmas, is also called 'corgus Moysi,' 'Moses' Lent,' Fél. p. clxvi, from the idea that it commemorated Moses' forty-days' sojourn in the mount. The Spring-Lent is also called 'in corgus mór,' 'the Great Lent,' L. Br. 9 b, 7.

CHAPTER 28.

Wilfrid.

Uilfridum] See v. 19, and notes.

regem Galliarum] Clothaire III, King of Neustria.

suisque] '7 his hiwum,' 'and his household,' AS. vers.

plurimis] Eleven, besides Agilbert, v. 19, p. 325; Eddius, c. 12; and note on iii. 7 *sup.*

In Conpendio] Compiègne.

propter ordinationem] Below v. 19. p. 326, Bede omits these words; and Eddius, c. 12 says that Wilfrid remained abroad 'spatium temporis' after his consecration. Any delay prior to the consecration, which cannot however be later than 664 (see on v. 19), may have been the result of the very unnecessary number of consecrators employed, which looks like a touch of vanity on Wilfrid's part. Anyhow the delay was very prejudicial to his cause; cf. G. P. 'quo ultra mare moras nectente,' p. 211.

Causes of Ceadda's (Chad's) appointment.

imitatus industriam filii] Alchfrid's sending of Wilfrid was 'cum consilio atque consensu patris sui,' v. 19, p. 325. It is difficult to account for Oswy's change of front. Eddius and Eadmer both attribute it to the influence of the 'quartodeciman' party, H. Y. i. 21, 174, whom the latter represents as using the (surely not unreasonable) plea 'ne, ecclesia diutius carente pastore, fides Christi . . . iacturam incurrat;' cf. Raine's Hexham, i. 25. It is possibly connected with the fate of Alchfrid who had been the leader of the Roman party, c. 25, v. 19, pp. 182, 325. It is certain that at this point he disappears from history; and probable that that disappearance, whether by death or exile, was due to his rebellion against his father which Bede has incidentally mentioned in c. 14 *ad init.*; cf. D. C. B. i. 72; iv. 167. The date on Alchfrid's cross at Bewcastle is 'fruman gear . . . Ecgfriþu,' 'the first year of Egfrid'; Stephen's Runic Monuments, i. 398 ff.; Sweet, Oldest English Texts, p. 124; but whether this refers to the date of Alchfrid's death, or to that of the erection of the cross, I do not know. If his rebellion is rightly placed here, it would account for the triumph of Wilfrid's opponents, bringing Deira

more directly under Oswy's government, and increasing the preponderance of Bernicia, which was more under Celtic and less open to Southern influence than Deira; cf. H. Y. I. xxvi. For the grounds on which Oswy had decided the issue of the Synod of Whitby were not those of an ecclesiastical enthusiast. There is however no reason to suppose that Ceadda, any more than his brother Cedd, refused to accept the decisions of the Synod as to Easter and tonsure.

uirum sanctum, &c.] Cf. the beautiful character of him in iv. 3. Even Eddius, who regards him as a usurper, calls him 'seruum Dei religiosissimum et admirabilem doctorem'; c. 14. For later lives of him (which add nothing to Bede), *v.* Hardy, Cat. i. 275–277. His character.

p. 195. Eadhaedum . . . Hrypensis ecclesiae] He was in the first instance consecrated bishop of Lindsey, and was transferred to Ripon when Lindsey became Mercian again, probably in 679; *v.* on c. 11.

consecratus] 664; *v.* on v. 19.

adsumtis . . . episcopis] Probably Cornish; H. & S. i. 124. This instance of communion and co-operation between the Churches of the West Saxons and Britons is of great interest; but it probably formed one of the grounds on which Ceadda's consecration was objected to by Theodore; see on iv. 2. It may be added that Wine's own ecclesiastical position was not above criticism in point of regularity; he having been 'sub-introduced' into the diocese of Wessex while Agilbert still held it; c. 7, p. 140. Communion of the West Saxon with the British Church.

secus morem] 'secus' as an adverb means 'otherwise'; when used as a preposition it is a vulgarism for 'secundum.' Bede here combines the adverbial *sense* with the prepositional *use*, giving it the force of 'contra.' Mr. Gidley was the first to call attention to this point; M. & L.

non enim . . . episcopus] It has been pointed out that this is an exaggeration. Even if Damian of Rochester was dead by this time, there was Boniface of East Anglia; H. & S. iii. 106; Bright, p. 212.

castitati] Here, as often, 'castitas,' 'castus,' refer to purity from heresy; cf. v. 18, p. 321: 'Brettones . . . pascha non suo tempore celebrant, . . . alia . . . ecclesiasticae castitati . . . contraria gerunt'; iv. 18, p. 242: 'ab hereticorum contagiis castus'; v. 20 *ad fin.*: 'in catholicae fidei confessione castissimus'; so Opp. ix. 220, 233. 'Castitas' = orthodoxy.

oppida . . . castella] 'byrig 7 lond 7 ceastre 7 tunas 7 hus,' AS. vers.

Aidani] 'þæs gódan biscopes,' 'the good bishop's,' inserts enthusiastically the AS. translator.

ueniens . . . factus] See on v. 19, p. 326.

Anglo-Saxon version.

qui . . . patriam] 'þa ðe betweohn Ongle eardodon, 7 þære riht gelefdan láre wiðerwearde wæron, ge in gehælde rihtra Eastrena, ge in monegum oðrum wisum, oðþe heora treowa sealdon, þæt heo riht mid healdan woldon, oþðe ham to heora eðle hwurfen,' 'who lived among the English, and were opposed to the orthodox doctrine as to the holding the correct Easter, and in many other ways, either pledged their troth that they would join in holding the right, or returned home to their own country,' AS. vers. The additions were rendered necessary by the omission of cc. 25, 26.

manus darent] 'submitted,' 'surrendered.' The AS. translator has interpreted it on the analogy of the native phrase 'on hand syllan,' 'to bargain, promise, handsel'; cf. Icelandic 'handsala.' To surrender in Anglo-Saxon is 'on hand gán'; cf. iv. 2, where the translator has rendered it correctly.

CHAPTER 29.

P. 196. His temporibus] 667. Sax. Chron. E. 665; Jaffé R. P. p. 165.

Beginnings of English unity.

reges . . . agendum] This joint deliberation between Oswy and Egbert 'on the state of the Church of the English,' and the fact that their line of action was taken 'with the choice and consent of the holy Church of the race of the English,' mark an important stage in the development of a sense of unity among the English tribes in Britain, and show that the first impulse to such unity came from the ecclesiastical and not from the secular side; cf. iv. 1. In Hist. Abb. § 3 the sending of Wighard is ascribed to Egbert alone. He had of course a special interest in the matter, Canterbury being in his kingdom. W. M. i. 55. 56, recognises this while ascribing the principal credit to Oswy, 'de cuius [Theodori] in Angliam aduentu princeps Oswio debetur gratia, licet Egbertus . . . pro iure prouinciae multum illius delibet gloriae.'

aptum episcopatu] An unusual construction, probably due to the analogy of 'dignus,' &c.

presbyterum] Apparently not a monk; cf. D. C. B. iv. 1176.

morte] By the plague, iv. 1.

litterae] Briefly epitomised in the AS. vers.

Uitalianus] 657–672; *v.* D. C. B. iv. 1161–1163.

conuersus] This alludes to Oswy's conversion to the Roman Easter, &c., at Whitby.

p. 197. celebrandum] 'celebrando' would be better; and so some later MSS.

et post nonnulla] Here, as in ii. 19, Bede omits the passage on the Paschal question. Perhaps he felt that in c. 25 and v. 21, he had given his readers as much as they could stomach on that question, and that he could state the arguments himself better than they could be stated by the Papal See. Ussher recovered from a MS. which he believed to have belonged to Whitby, a portion of the missing passage: 'nunquam enim celebrare debemus sanctum pascha nisi secundum apostolicam et catholicam fidem, ut in toto orbe celebratur a Christiana plebe, id est secundum apostolicam regulam cccxviii sanctorum patrum, et computum sanctorum Cyrilli et Dionysii. Nam in toto terrarum orbe sic Christi una columba, hoc est ecclesia immaculata, sanctum paschae resurrectionis diem celebrat. Nam Victoris [*lege* Victorii] regulam paschae sedes apostolica non adprobauit, ideo nec sequitur dispositionem eius pro pascha'; Ussher, Vet. Epp. Hibern. Sylloge, No. 9, p. 126. By the '318 fathers' is meant the council of Nicaea; cf. iv. 17, p. 240. And for the appeal to Nicaea in the paschal controversy, cf. ii. 19; iii. 25, p. 186. We must undoubtedly read 'Victorii' for 'Victoris' with H. & S. iii. 112. Victor, Bishop of Capua in the sixth century, was the orthodox champion who answered Victorius; v. De Temp. Rat. c. 51, 'uerum ne nos amatores *Victorii* temere illum aggressos esse lacerent, legant librum doctissimi et sanctissimi uiri, *Victoris* . . . Capuani episcopi de pascha, . . . et quanti a . . . catholicis ecclesiae doctoribus aestimatus sit suus magister inuenient'; Opp. vi. 248. The whole chapter is a vigorous polemic against Victorius. Paschal controversy.

hominem . . . tenorem] Above, Bede speaks of the two kings as having merely sent Wighard to Rome to be consecrated; here the Pope treats Wighard as merely the bringer of Oswy's gifts 'qui haec obtulit munera' (cf. iv. 1, p. 201, on these gifts); and assumes that he has been asked to provide an archbishop. This is commonly treated as a mere instance of papal usurpation. But below, iv. 1, p. 203, Theodore is distinctly spoken of as 'episcopum quem petierant a Romano antistite'; so that probably some discretion was left to the Pope in the matter. Otherwise Wighard, like Wilfrid, might have been consecrated in Gaul; cf. ib. p. 211, '*petentibus* hunc [Vighardum] . . . archiepiscopum ordinari'; cf. Kemble, Saxons, ii. 365, 366. Question of Theodore's appointment.

p. 198. de sacratissimis uinculis] Cf. D. C. A. i. 611; ii. 1771.

totam suam insulam] Note the position assigned to Oswy.

CHAPTER 30.

P. 199. Orientalium Saxonum . . . reges] See on c. 22.

apostasiam] The plague had something of the same effect in Northumbria, though not to the same extent, iv. 27; Vit. Cudb. Pros. c. 9. On the general tendency to regard prosperity as the test of religious truth, cf. on ii. 13.

dicemus] iv. 11.

fidelem] 'believing,' in contrast with the apostasy of his colleague; cf. note on i. 7; and contrast 'perfidia' below.

Iaruman] *v.* c. 24, *ad fin.*; iv. 3. He succeeded Trumhere and was succeeded by Ceadda.

p. 200. uiam iustitiae] Cf. 2 Pet. ii. 21; M. & L.

destructis . . . aris] *v.* notes on i. 30.

ipsi sacerdotes . . . eorum] 'se biscop 7 heora lareowas,' 'the bishop and their teachers,' AS. vers.

BOOK IV. CHAPTER 1.

P. 201. Deusdedit] See above, iii. 20, note.

pridie Iduum Iul.] July 14.

eodem . . . die] *v. s.* on iii. 27.

non pauco tempore] Theodore was consecrated March 26, 668; and reached Canterbury May 27, 669, *infr.*; and c. 2. Bede, c. 2, dates Theodore's tenancy of the see from the latter date. He would therefore consider the vacancy as lasting till the same time. R. W. says: 'cessauit sedes IIII annis,' i. 159.

diximus] iii. 29.

praerat] 'wæs aldorbiscop,' 'was chief-bishop,' AS. vers.

Niridanum. **p. 202. Niridano**] This is the right reading; *v.* critical note: 'Locus est iuxta Montem Cassinum,' Smith; N and H are very easily confused in MSS. 'Nisidano' in Holder's text is a pure conjecture, and has no MS. authority; Elmham has 'Hiridano,' p. 202.

Hadrianus] On the latter lives and miracles of Hadrian, *v.* Hardy, Cat. i. 403, 404; cf. AA.SS. Ian. i. 595, 597.

ex tempore] 'æfter fæce,' 'after a time,' AS. vers.; 'at leisure,' 'in time'; cf. Pref. p. 5, note.

Theodore. **Theodorus**] Cf. Bede Chron. 'Theodorus . . . et Hadrianus, . . . uir aeque doctissimus, a Vitaliano missi Britanniam, plurimas ecclesias Anglorum doctrinae ecclesiasticae fruge foecundauerunt;' Opp. Min. p. 197. Pope Zacharias, writing to St. Boniface in 748,

says: 'Theodorus Greco-Latinus ante philosophus et Athenis eruditus, Romae ordinatus, pallio sublimatus ad . . . Britanniam transmissus iudicabat et gubernabat;' cf. the passage given from Aldhelm on iii. 27, p. 192, above. On the later lives of Theodore *v.* Hardy, Cat. i. 362, 363. There is an admirable account of Theodore in D. C. B. iv. 926, ff., by Dr. Stubbs.

sufficiensque . . . propriorum] '7 eac swylce þæt he wæs in his agnum geferscipe wel gemonnad,' 'and also that he was well manned in respect of his own company;' AS. vers.

p. 203. **Grecorum more**] This has been thought to refer to the Monothelite controversy, Bright, pp. 220, 221. If so, the Pope's suspicions proved groundless, as the council of Hatfield showed that Theodore and the English church were quite sound on this point; see cc. 17, 18, and notes. Monothelitism.

tonsuram] See Excursus on the Easter and Tonsure controversies.

die VII. Kal. Apr.] March 26; this was a Sunday in 668. His ordination as subdeacon four months previously must have been in Nov. 667.

VI Kal. Iun.] May 27.

Iohanni . . . illius] John, Archbishop of Arles, 658–675; Gallia Christ. i. 542.

scripta commendaticia] 'gewrit . . . þæt heo mon mid áre onfenge,' 'writings (to the effect) that they should be received with honour,' AS. vers.

Ebrinus . . . regiae] Mayor of the palace to Clothaire III. He succeeded Erchinwald, iii. 19. p. 168, about 657, and was murdered 680; *v.* Martin, Hist. de France, ii. 151–162. In iii. 19, Bede, following the life of St. Fursa, calls his predecessor 'patricius.' Here he gives Ebroin the title 'maior domus regiae' ('se ealdorman,' 'the alderman'; AS. vers.). Ebroin

Agilberctum . . . diximus] *v.* iii. 7, 25, 26, 28; pp. 140, 183, 189, 194. He was a partisan of Ebroin, and his accomplice in some of his worst acts. Yet he ranks as a saint; Martin, *u. s.* pp. 159, 161. Agilbert.

Emme] or Emmo; Bp. of Sens 658–675; Gams, p. 629. Emmo.

Faronem] Bp. of Meaux 626–672; Gams, p. 575. His life, by Hildegar his successor in the ninth century, is in Mabillon, AA.SS. ii. 606–625. Faro.

quem petierant] *v. s.* on iii. 29.

Raedfridum . . . suum] 'Reðfrið his gerefan,' 'his reeve,' AS. vers.; 'high-reeve,' D. C. B. iv. 927. High-reeve.

Quentauic] Étaples. The name means 'uicus ad Quantiam'; *i. e.* on the Canche; cf. Bouquet, iii. 580. Quentawic.

Ebroin's suspicions.

legationem imperatoris . . . gerebat] Dr. Stubbs says: 'Ebroin suspected that Hadrian was acting in the interests of Constans, who was now dying at Syracuse, but whose residence in the West had fluttered the Frank kingdom; it was possible that an alliance was in contemplation between the English kings and the Emperor'; D. C. B. iv. 927 (cf. Lappenberg, i. 118; E. T. i. 115, 116). 'It is not impossible that Theodore had followed the Emperor Constans on his journey to the West;' ib. 926; cf. ib. 1162.

p. 204. **regnum**] 'Froncna rice,' 'the kingdom of the Franks,' AS. vers.

Abbot Hadrian.

uenit] For the date of his arrival in Britain *v.* on v. 20, *ad init.*

statim . . . dedit] This can hardly be correct. In Hist. Abb. §§ 3, 4, *infr.* pp. 366, 367, Bede says that on Theodore's arrival in Britain, Benedict Biscop, who had accompanied him from Rome at the Pope's request, received the monastery of St. Peter, and ruled it for two years. Therefore Hadrian cannot have been abbot until 671; and his arrival in Britain can hardly be later than 670; cf. Fl. Wig. i. 28, 29, and notes. Elmham boldly argues from the present passage that Biscop never was abbot of St. Augustine's at all, p. 204. There are three charters extant in which grants are made to Hadrian as abbot of St. Peter's; the first genuine, the other two spurious; K. C. D. Nos. 27, 30, 41; Birch, Nos. 67, 73, 90.

praefatus sum] i. 33; ii. 3.

praeceperat, &c.] Hence, in a privilege granted by Pope Adeodatus to Hadrian for his monastery, he is spoken of as 'abbas ab apostolica sede ordinatus atque destinatus'; H. & S. iii. 123. Elmham, as a true Augustinian, insists that Hadrian received the abbacy from Theodore, 'non . . . ut ab archiepiscopo, sed ut ab apostolicae sedis legato,' p. 204.

'Dioecesis.'

diocesi] A diocese, in the political terminology of the later Roman empire, was the union of several provinces. Hence, when the word was transferred to the ecclesiastical sphere it indicated, not a diocese in the modern sense, for which the original term was *παροικία*, parochia, (see on c. 5), but the union of several (ecclesiastical) provinces under a patriarch, or of several dioceses (in the modern sense) under an archbishop; *i. e.* an (ecclesiastical) province. On the other hand, it was also used to denote 'baptismalis ecclesiae territorium'; *i. e.* the modern parish. See Ducange; D. C. A. *s. v.* It is probable that Bede uses it here of Theodore's province. We have seen (iii. 4, notes) that Adamnan uses the term of the district subject to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the monastery of Iona, a use based on a correct analogy, since Iona was the head of a federation of monasteries, *v. s.* on iii. 4.

prouideret] A word of evil omen in connexion with papal influence on ecclesiastical appointments. Papal provisions.

CHAPTER 2.

secundo . . . dominica] *i. e.* May 27, 669, the anniversary of the day on which he had set out, c. 1. This was a Sunday in 669.

manus dare] *v.* iii. 28, *ad fin.* 'him eall Ongolcyn hyrnesse geþafode,' 'the whole English *race* yielded him obedience,' AS. vers.; of Elmham, p. 206. 'Theodore seems steadily to have ignored St. Gregory's plan for creating two provinces,' D. C. B. iv. 929. He was the first of the archbishops whom all the nations recognised, and in their recognition of him was contained the germ of the unity which was not realised in secular matters for nearly three centuries to come,' ib. 930. In G. P. pp. 51, 52, there is an alleged letter of Vitalian's to Theodore which says: 'nobis uisum est . . . commendare tuae sagacissimae sanctitati omnes ecclesias in insula Britanniae positas.' It is the fourth of the Malmesbury series of letters connected with the primacy of Canterbury. It is not such a glaring forgery as some of the others; but it is not genuine. By a further growth of legend, Thorn, c. 1769, gives Theodore legatine authority over England, Scotland, and Ireland; cited M. & L. Position and policy of Theodore.

discipulorum caterua] Among the pupils of Theodore and Hadrian Bede mentions Albinus; Pref. p. 6, v. 20, *ad init.*; Tobias, Bp. of Rochester, v. 23, p. 348. Aldhelm was also a pupil of Hadrian. In Aldh. Opp. ed. Giles, p. 330, is a fragment of a letter addressed by Aldhelm: 'reuerendissimo patri meaeque rudis infantiae uenerando praeceptori Adriano.' For earlier schools at Canterbury, cf. on iii. 18; W. M. i. 16, says that Theodore and Hadrian 'insulam, tyrannorum quondam nutriculam, familiare philosophiae domicilium effecerint.' Schools and scholars.

metricae . . . arithimeticae] 'in metercræft 7 in tungolcræft 7 in grammaticcræft,' 'in metre-craft, and in star-craft, and in grammar-craft,' AS. vers.; substituting 'grammar' for the 'ecclesiastical arithmetic' of the original. By this last is meant those studies connected with the calendar, in which Bede himself was so great a proficient; Introduction, § 11 cf. D. C. A. *s. v.* 'Calendar'). Astronomy or 'star-craft' would be studied largely with a view to this. Bede himself also wrote on 'metre-craft'; he was in fact indirectly, through Benedict Biscop, largely indebted to Subjects of study.

this Canterbury school. For these subjects of study, cf. the passage quoted from Aldhelm on iii. 27.

The Picts.

p. 205. barbaris nationibus] Bede is probably thinking of the Picts, who were such a serious danger to Northumbria in his own time; *v.* Introd. p. xxxiv. He would not speak of the Scots, either of Ireland or Britain, as barbarians; the former of whom he calls 'gens innoxia et nationi Anglorum semper amicissima,' c. 26.

sonos cantandi] *v.* on ii. 20.

Aeddi or Eddius.

Aeddi] This is the biographer of Wilfrid. He mentions himself once in the course of his work, c. 14, where he tells how Wilfrid 'episcopalia officia per plura spatia agens, cum *cantoribus* Ædde et Eonan, et caementariis, omnisque paene artis institoribus, . . . instituta ecclesiarum Dei bene meliorabat.'

Misstatement.

primus . . . didicit] This is an extraordinary statement. Wilfrid was consecrated in 664. Prior to that date the following five bishops of English birth were consecrated, of whose orthodoxy there does not seem to be the slightest suspicion: Ithamar, 644; Thomas, 647 or 648; Boniface, 652 or 653; Deusdedit, 655; Damian, (?) 655. Cf. the somewhat similar exaggeration about Wine above, iii. 28, p. 195.

Increase of the episcopate.

ordinabat . . . episcopos] Bisi for East Anglia, c. 5; Chad, reconsecrated and transferred to Mercia, cc. 2, 3; Putta at Rochester, *infra*; Leutherius for Wessex, iii. 7; Wynfrid in succession to Chad, c. 3, *ad fin.* Wilfrid, though consecrated in Gaul, was established as bishop of Northumbria by Theodore, c. 3; *v.* H. & S. iii. 18. On Theodore's arrival, 'Theodore, with Wilfrid, Chad, and Wine formed the whole episcopate of the English Church. As Wilfrid and Chad were . . . claimants of the same see, and Wine a simoniac, Theodore had before him a fair field for reform, organisation, and administration'; D. C. B. iv. 927.

Ceadda's (Chad's) consecration irregular.

non . . . rite . . . consecratum] Chad's consecration might be considered irregular on two grounds: 1. that he had been consecrated to a see already occupied; 2. that he had been consecrated by two schismatical British bishops. Eddius bases Chad's deposition on both grounds, making him confess 'peccatum ordinandi [*i. e.* the sin of *being ordained*] a Quatuordecimanis in sedem alterius,' c. 15. Eadmer makes Chad resign on the former ground alone; H. Y. i. 179; so R. W. i. 159. In Bede Chad does not admit any wrong in himself; he merely yields to Theodore's judgement: 'si . . . nosti,' &c.; cf. Bright, pp. 227, 228.

episcopatum dimittere] Not 'to resign the bishopric' (as Bright, p. 228) but 'to give up the episcopal office.' Above, Dr. Bright has construed 'episcopatum . . . suscepisse' quite rightly.

ipse . . . denuo . . . consummauit] Bede connects this reconsecration of Chad (for such the word *denuo* implies) with his resignation or deposition; Eddius with his transference to Mercia. Eddius represents this as the work, not of Theodore, but of Wilfrid, and makes it follow immediately on the deposition; whereas Bede, c. 3, v. 19, p. 326, represents Chad as retiring for a time to Lastingham. If the events took place as Bede represents, Theodore must have consecrated Chad as a bishop without a see. Moreover, Eddius says that the bishops 'Ceaddan . . . per omnes gradus ecclesiasticos ad sedem praedictam plene . . . ordinauerunt,' c. 15, which if taken literally would imply that not only his consecration but his orders were treated as invalid. Cf. Bright, pp. 228, 229, and Note C. So St. Kentigern, who had been consecrated in the Celtic manner by a single bishop (*v. s.* on i. 27; iii. 22), is said to have intreated St. Gregory to confirm his election, 'que deerant consecrationi eius supplens'; N. & K. p. 210. Reconsecration of Chad.

p. 206. **rediit**] On returning from Gaul Wilfrid was attacked by the heathen South Saxons, and ultimately landed at Sandwich; Eddius, c. 13. Hence he was naturally asked to perform episcopal functions in Kent. Wilfrid.

at ipse] *i. e.* Theodore, not Wilfrid; and so it is distinctly understood by Fl. Wig. i. 28, 29, and G. P. p. 216. Eddius says that Wilfrid had ordained Putta priest, implying that he did not consecrate him bishop, c. 14. On Putta, see c. 12, *infra*, p. 228.

defuncto Damiano] He probably died before Deusdedit, otherwise the latter would have consecrated a successor; and almost certainly before Ceadda reached Kent in 664, otherwise the latter would have been consecrated by him and not by Wine. He may have been one of the victims of the plague of 664; hence the 'iamdiu cessauerat' of Bede; cf. H. & S. iii. 100. Damian.

CHAPTER 3.

mortuo Iarumanno] The death of Jaruman (Gearomonn, AS. vers.) is often placed in 669 (*e. g.* Hardy's Le Neve, i. 538; cf. Fl. Wig. *sub ann.*) by a false inference from this passage. The Mercian see had certainly been vacant some time before Chad's transference to it. Eddius says distinctly that Wilfrid, during his three years' retirement at Ripon, 666–669, 'frequenter a Wlfario rege Merciorum ad officia . . . episcopalia in regione sua . . . inuitatus est,' c. 14; and Fridegoda, in his life of Wilfrid, speaks of Date of Jaruman's death.

Chad as appointed 'sedi longum pastore uacanti,' H. Y. i. 123. Chesterfield places Jaruman's death in 667, and this date is accepted by Wharton, *ad loc.*; Ang. Sac. i. 425; and Stubbs, Ep. Succ. p. 164.

postulauit a rege Osuio] His consent was required as Chad was a Northumbrian.

omnium Nordanhymbrorum] See note on v. 19, p. 326.

Wilfrid. **sed et Pictorum . . . poterat**] So a little later Eddius says: 'sicut . . . Ecgfritho . . . regnum ad Aquilonem et Austrum . . . augebatur, ita Wilfritho . . . ad Austrum super Saxones, et ad Aquilonem super Brittones et Scottos, Pictosque, regnum ecclesiarum multiplicabatur,' c. 21. For the extent of Oswy's dominions, *v.* on ii. 5, iii. 24.

ambulando] See on iii. 5.

p. 207. Lindisfarorum] See on iii. 11.

Adbaruae] 'æt Bearwe,' AS. vers., from 'bearw, a wood *or* grove.' Barton-on-Humber; Smith. Barrow, near Goxhill, Lincs.; Stev. The form of the name is decidedly in favour of the latter view.

Lichfield. **Lyccidfelth**] Lichfield. 'Licitfeld est uilla exigua in pago Statfordensi longe a frequentia urbium . . . Ecclesia angusto situ erat, antiquorum uirorum mediocritatem et abstinentiam praeferens. Locus pudendus nostri aeui episcopis, in quo episcopalis dignitas diuersari deberet;' G. P. p. 307; *v. s.* on iii. 3.

mansionem] 'sundor wic,' 'separate dwelling,' AS. vers.

Chronology. **duobus annis ac dimidio**] If Chad was transferred to Mercia in the latter part of 669, as would appear from Bede's narrative, his death is rightly placed by Fl. Wig. in 672; and, as he died on March 2, his accession must be dated August or September. Chesterfield (Ang. Sac. i. 426) places his death in 670; but this is due to the erroneous assumption that he succeeded immediately on the death of Jaruman.

mittendi] 'spargendi,' Vulgate. This is from the old Latin, Sabatier Latinae Versiones Antiquae, ii. 358; cf. some verses on this subject attributed to Bede in S. D. ii. 23.

clades] *v.* on iii. 27.

'Living stones.' **uiuos . . . lapides . . . transferret**] This metaphor (derived from 1 Pet. ii. 5) occurs more than once in Bede's work De Templo Salomonis. Thus on 1 Kings, vi. 7, he says: 'hic tundimur aduersitatibus, . . . ut illic locis . . . congruis disponamur, et, castigatione cessante, solo amoris glutino . . . adinuicem copulemur,' Opp. viii. 284. Elsewhere in the same work (ib. 270, 274) he treats the transference of the stone from the quarry to the building as

a type of the translation of the soul from a state of nature to a state of grace.

p. 208. Aedilthryde] *v.* c. 19.

eratque . . . eius] 'ond he wæs hire þegna 7 huses 7 hire geferscipes ofer all aldermon,' 'and he was chief of her thanes and house, and her company generally,' AS. vers. The Liber Eliensis calls him 'maior familiae eius,' 'paedagogus et princeps domus illius,' pp. 36, 62. His day is March 4 according to AA.SS. Mart. i. 313; which also states that there was a church at Gloucester dedicated to him. Owine.

ut quidam] Cf. Introd. p. xxxv.

quo minus . . . inpendebat] On manual labour in monasteries, *v.* Introd. p. xxv. On Bede's reverence for God's unlearned saints, ib. pp. xxi, xxii.

p. 209. ne hoc . . . dicas] This is a frequent injunction in mediaeval miracles. It is of course modelled on the command of Christ to the three apostles who were witnesses of the Transfiguration. Cf. Bede, Vit. Cudb. c. 10, where this command is expressly quoted; ib. c. 24 = Vit. Anon. § 28; *infra*, v. 19, p. 329; Vita Metr. Cudb. c. 45; cf. H. Y. i. 217, 258. 'Tell the vision to no man.'

p. 210. ab ergastulo corporis] *v.* Introd. pp. lxvii, lxviii.

frater quidam . . . Trumberct] This is the only place, as far as I know, in which Bede mentions any of his teachers by name. Trumbert.

si forte, &c.] How much in accord with Bede's own mode of thought this is appears from his comment on Ezra x. 9: 'cum pluuias . . . ultra solitum cadere cernerent . . . intellexerunt hoc ob sua scelera factum, iramque . . . coelestem ex ipsa aeris perturbatione admoniti timuerunt. Ideoque . . . in platea domus Domini, assumpto poenitentiae . . . habitu consederunt. Hoc propter eos, qui, turbatis licet elementis, . . . atque ipso iudice per aperta indicia uim suae irae minitante, nihil omnino de correctione morum, qua iudicem placent, plagamque impendentem euadant, inquirunt; sed tantum seduli pertractant qua arte aduersa, quae exterius propter peccata desaeuiunt, aut euitent, aut superent;' Opp. viii. 456, 457. For prayers against lightning, cf. D. C. A. ii. 992. Warnings of the elements.

p. 211. Ecgbercti] *v.* on v. 9.

Ceadda . . . in Hibernia] *v.* on iii. 27.

Hygbald] 'There can be little doubt that he is identical with the Hygbald whose name occurs in the Liber Vitae Dunelm. p. 9. His monastery seems to have been Bardney;' D. C. B. iii. 183. Hygbald.

p. 212. utrum de se . . . incertum] Fl. Wig. however states it as a fact; i. 30.

sexto die] March 2, 672, *v. s.*

Civil and ecclesiastical boundaries.

qui . . . praeesset . . . tenebat] Here again we note the coincidence of the boundaries of ecclesiastical and temporal authority.

CHAPTER 4.

P. 213. primo uenit . . . Hii] *v.* on iii. 26, *ad init.*

Inisboffin.

uitulae albae] Rather 'uaccae albae,' as in Tigh. and Ann. Ult. ('ealond hwitre heahfore,' 'the island of the white heifer,' AS. vers.). The Ann. Ult. and the F. M. place Colman's settlement at Inisboffin in 667. He went there 'cum reliquiis sanctorum,' 'with relics of saints,' according to the oldest annals printed in Stokes' Tripartite life of Patrick, p. 518. This in Tigh. and Ann. Ult. is contracted into 'cum reliquis sanctorum,' which the F. M. have translated 'go naomaib oile imaille fris,' *i. e.* 'cum reliquis sanctis secum.' Colman may well have taken to Ireland some of the relics which he carried away from Lindisfarne; iii. 26, p. 190. The Inisboffin meant is the one off the coast of Mayo. Here he died on Aug. 8, 674; F. M. Ann. Ult. *ad ann.* Aug. 8 is his day in the Félire of Oengus, and in the Martyrology of Donegal, where he is called Colman of Inisboffin. The gloss on the former calls him Colman of Iona and Inisboffin. None of the Irish authorities seem to mention his connexion with Mayo. The Edinburgh MS. of the Irish life of Columba absurdly represents Colman as sent to Northumbria by St. Columba; Lism. Lives of Saints, p. 315; *v.* F. M. *u. s.* notes; O'Flaherty's Iar-Connacht, ed. Hardiman, pp. 115, 294, 295.

Mayo.

Magéo] Mayo. This monastery continued to be recruited from England. The F. M. *ad ann.* 768 mention a Bishop Aedan, of Mayo, under which Irish disguise Sim. Dun., ii. 44, *ad ann.* 768, 773, shows that an English Eadwine really lurks; cf. ib. 51; H. & S. iii. 460, 462. Alcuin writes to the English monks of Mayo: 'pro Christi nomine patriam relinquentes, peregrinari uoluistis, et tribulationibus opprimi nefandorum non renuistis hominum. . . . Lectionis studium . . . exercete. Magnum enim lumen scientiae a uobis per diuersa patriae nostrae processit loca. Sine reprehensione estote omnibus, et luceat lux uestra in medio nationis perbarbarae, quasi . . . stella in occidua caeli parte. . . . Et domnum Episcopum habete quasi patrem'; Mon. Alc. pp. 847, 848. We may notice here: i. The change of feeling towards the Irish; cf. on c. 2. ii. That whereas the Irish had formerly taught the English, now the positions are reversed. Up to a much later period Mayo was still called 'Magheo na Saxan,' 'Mayo of the Saxons;' *v.* F. M. *ad ann.* 1169, 1176, 1209, 1236, 1478.

quod uidelicet . . . incolis] 'þæt mynster oð gen to dæge Englisce men þær in elþeodignesse habbað,' 'that monastery Englishmen to this day occupy there in exile *or* pilgrimage,' AS. vers. See preceding note.

p. 214. **conuersis . . . ad meliora**] This refers to the adoption of the Roman Easter by the Northern Irish. See on v. 15.

examen] The same word is used of Cedd's monasteries of Ythancaestir and Tilbury, iii. 22, p. 173.

CHAPTER 5.

Anno . . . secundus] Feb. 15, 670, is within the first year of Theodore's arrival, seeing that he did not reach England till May, 669. Again, below, cf. v. 24, p. 354, Bede says distinctly that the Council of Hertford was held on Sept. 24, 673, in the third year of Egfrid. But if Egfrid's accession was in Feb. 670, this would be his fourth year. In c. 12 Bede says that the comet of Aug. 678 was in Egfrid's eighth year; but Aug. 678 is in the ninth year from Feb. 670. It may have been the perception of this which led the AS. translator to substitute 'ninth' for 'eighth.' In c. 17 Bede says that the Council of Hatfield, which was held Sept. 17, 680, was in the tenth year of Egfrid; but Sept. 680 is in the eleventh year from Feb. 670. Cf. also note on c. 21, and Hist. Abb. §§ 4, 7. Again, in c. 26 Bede says that Egfrid was slain in May, 685, in the fifteenth year of his reign; but if he came to the throne in Feb. 670, this would be his sixteenth year. Further, in iii. 14, *ad init.* Bede says that Oswy coming to the throne in Aug. 642 held it 'per annos uiginti octo.' But if he died in Feb. 670 he only reigned twenty-seven years and a half. All these independent indications seem to show that here and in v. 24, p. 354, Bede or his copyists have written 670 for 671; and that Oswy's death and Egfrid's accession ought to be placed in 671; and so the latter is placed by two (not independent) foreign chronicles; Pertz, ii. 237, iii. 116*; though the English authorities naturally follow the direct words of Bede and give 670. Date of Oswy's death and Egfrid's accession.

Osuiu rex] 'Rex maximus,' H. H. p. 61; 'his successors sank into merely local sovereigns,' Green, M. E. p. 306. He was interred at Whitby, see on ii. 20, p. 125; iii. 24, p. 179. Oswy.

synodicae actionis . . . textus] On the canons of this council, and the earlier sources from which they are taken or modified, *v.* Bright, pp. 240–249, 441–444; H. & S. iii. 118–122. 'This act . . . is of the highest historical importance as the first constitutional measure of the collective English race;' D. C. B. iv. 928. Council of Hertford.

Indictions.

p. 215. indictione prima] If Theodore (like Bede himself) used the Caesarean indiction, this day, Sept. 24, 673, was the very first day of the first indiction. If he used the pontifical indiction the date here is not affected, as that indiction commenced with the beginning of the year. But it must again be repeated that the usage of Theodore proves nothing as to that of Bede; *v.* on i. 23.

quaeque] = quaequae, as often in this document and elsewhere. See on i. 32.

Canons.

librum canonum] 'collectionem canonum ecclesiae in concilio Calchedonensi approbatam, et a Dionysio Exiguo non diu antea in Latinum sermonem traductam et in ecclesiam occidentalem receptam;' Smith; cf. D. C. A. i. 399.

notaueram] 'awrat,' 'wrote,' AS. vers.

Parochia and Plebs.

p. 216. parrochiam] We have seen above on c. 1, *ad fin.*, that the word 'dioecesis' in its ecclesiastical application ranges from a patriarchate to a parish in the modern sense. The word *παροικία*, 'parochia,' is the collective of *πάροικος*, and is applied to the body of Christians living as 'strangers and pilgrims,' *πάροικοι καὶ παρεπίδημοι*, in any place; Lightfoot, App. Ff. I. ii. 6. More specifically it meant the body of Christians living under one bishop; but it soon came to mean the area in which they dwelt, *i. e.* the modern diocese; in which sense it is used throughout this document. 'Parochia' however, in the modern sense of 'parish,' occurs as early as the Council of Agde, 506 A. D.; Bright, pp. 243, 244; D. C. A. ii. 1554, ff. Closely connected with this is the history of another word, which also occurs in this canon: 'plebs' or 'plebes' ('*plebs*, hominum; *plebes*, ecclesiarum;' Hugucio, cited by Ducange, *s. v.*). This means (i) the laity living under a single bishop, or (ii) under a single priest, *i. e.* the inhabitants of either a diocese or a parish; and, by an easy transference, (iii) the diocese or (iv) the parish itself. In the first sense it is used here, and in a sense closely allied if not identical in c. 28, p. 273: 'commissam sibi plebem;' Epist. ad Ecgb. § 2, p. 406: 'subditam sibi plebem.' So Gelasius (492 × 496) writes 'clero et plebi Tarentino;' Jaffé, R. P. p. 60, and so fq.; cf. the councils of Carthage and Hippo (fourth century), cited by M. & L. *a. l.*: 'ne quisquam episcoporum alterius plebes uel dioecesim . . . pulsare debeat;' 'a nullo usurpentur plebes alienae.' On the other hand, Nicolas I (858 × 867), writes to Ado, Archbishop of Vienne: 'de plebibus uel baptismalibus ecclesiis in dioecesibus . . . constituendis'; ib. 250 (cf. H. & S. i. 329: 'quinque plebes adiudicatae sunt Urbano Episcopo Landauiensi). In these passages it clearly means parishes. In this

sense it has given us the modern Italian 'piéve' and the modern Welsh 'plwyf.' But in mediaeval Welsh 'plwyf' means 'diocese'; cf. H. & S. i. 359: 'rhan fawr o blwyf Teilo,' 'a great part of the *plwyf* of Teilo,' *i. e.* of the diocese of Llandaff. See Ducange, *s. v.* 'plebs,' where however the passages are not classified with sufficient distinctness; and D. C. A. ii. 1645, 1646. The first two senses seem combined in Opp. viii. 400, where Bede says, 'episcopi ac presbyteri . . . plebem fidelium . . . debent aedificare.'

ut . . . monasteria, &c.] This canon, which goes beyond the corresponding one of the Council of Chalcedon, marks a stage in the development of monastic exemptions from episcopal jurisdiction, which eventually had such disastrous effects on the monasteries themselves; cf. St. Bernard, cited by Morison, p. 426. The bishops however in the later Middle Ages were very remiss in the use of such powers as they had; *v.* Raine's Hexham, I. cii.; D. C. A. i. 643. Monastic exemptions.

ipsi monachi] Some editions, 'mira ignorantia dicam an oscitantia' (Smith), read 'episcopi.' This is impossible, though Todd defends it, Life of St. Patrick, p. 49. Monastic episcopacy, such as we have traced in the Irish Church, never existed in the English Church. 'Ipsi' is the reading of all the MSS. which I have examined. The 'oscitantia' is the result of the ease with which in some MSS. the abbreviations epī (episcopi) and ipī (ipsi) may be confounded. Lightfoot, App. Ff. II. iii. 9, gives no less than four instances of the converse mistake from the MS. of the Latin version of the Ignatian epistles. For the canon itself, cf. the Dialogue of Egbert, H. & S. iii. 406. Mis-reading.

per dimissionem . . . abbatis] Signified no doubt by 'litterae dimissoriae,' ἐπιστολαὶ ἀπολυτικαί. These letters allowing a monk to settle in another monastery, or a clerk to settle in another diocese, or (which is the sense which has survived to modern times) to be ordained by a bishop of another diocese, are different from the 'litterae commendaticiae' mentioned below, given to a clerk who had permission to travel; *v.* Bright, p. 245; Ducange, *s. v.* 'dimissoriae litterae.' Letters dimissory.

ut nullus clericorum, &c.] For this canon, cf. Egbert's Dialogue, *u. s.*; and the legatine synod of 786 or 787, H. & S. iii. 451.

commendaticiis litteris] Cf. 2 Cor. iii. 1, συστατικαὶ ἐπιστολαί, 'commendatitiae epistolae' (Vulgate), whence these terms passed into the technical language of the Church. In the Dialogue of Egbert, *u. s.*, such documents are called 'literae pacificae.' Letters commendatory.

excommunicationi] 'biscopes dome,' 'the bishop's doom,' AS.

Excommunication.

vers. The only instance which Bede gives of the exercise of this power is by Cedd, iii. 22, p. 173.

ut episcopi atque clerici, &c.] Cf. Dialogue of Egbert, *u. s.* p. 407.

Clovesho.

Clofeshoch] This place has never been successfully identified. It was almost certainly in Mercia, and probably near London. 'It is singular that no recorded Council of Clovesho occurs until . . . seventy years subsequent,' *i. e.* the famous council of 747; H. & S. iii. 122. But, as M. & L. point out, a council at Clovesho in 716 is given in H. & S. iii. 300, 301.

consecrationis] Here some of the best MSS. and editions (including that of Smith) 'mira oscitantia' read 'congregationis.'

Division of dioceses.

sed de hac re . . . siluimus] A sentence ominous of the troubles which resulted from the attempt to carry out this resolution. In the letter to Archbishop Egbert, §§ 8, 9, *inf.*, pp. 411–413, written towards the end of 734, Bede gives us his view of what the limit of a diocese should be, and of the need for further division still existing. The process has gone on continuously to our own days, and is not completed yet. This clause 'sed . . . siluimus' is omitted in the AS. vers., probably because this need for 'silence' had passed away.

Remarriage after divorce.

p. 217. quod si quisquam . . . coniugi] This canon, which, in the case of a dissolution of marriage on the one ground allowed by Christ, forbids the remarriage even of the innocent party, went beyond the actual law of the Church, which discouraged, but did not prohibit, such marriages. In his Penitential (if his views are accurately represented there) Theodore is much less strict on this point; H. & S. iii. 199; *v.* Bright, pp. 247, 248. Bede however himself takes the stricter view. See the passage cited on c. 19.

his itaque . . . incolumes] *om.* AS. vers.

Kentish chronology.

mense Iulio obierat] The Ann. Lindisf. et Cantuar., which are of ancient English origin, give the exact day: IV Non. Iul., *i. e.* July 4th; Pertz, iv. 2.

tenuit] He died Feb. 6, 685; c. 26, p. 268, where he is said (less exactly than here) to have reigned twelve years. On Hlothhere, cf. D. C. B. iii. 112, 113.

East Anglian diocese

Bonifatio . . . defuncto] He was consecrated, as we have seen, in 652 or 653 (*v.* notes on ii. 15, iii. 20). Therefore his death must be placed in 669 or 670; and the consecration of Bisi must fall 669 × 673. From the position of Bisi's name in the list of prelates attending the Council of Hertford it has been argued that he was the first bishop consecrated by Theodore.

divided.

duo . . . episcopi] Æcce to Dunwich in Suffolk, the original East Anglian see, and Badwine to Elmham, the new see for Norfolk;

v. Bright, p. 250, and cf. on iii. 18, p. 162. It is commonly stated that this division took place in 673. This, as far as I can see, is a mere inference from the fact that Bede mentions it here immediately after the Council of Hertford. But when we remember Bede's manner of grouping his facts by subjects rather than chronology such an inference seems highly precarious. R. W. places it in 674, i. 163.

CHAPTER 6.

P. 218. Non multo . . . tempore] The (twelfth century) Peterborough additions to the Sax. Chron. E. *sub ann.* 656, *ad fin.*, represent Wynfrid as deposed in 673 by the Council of Hertford. This at any rate is contrary to Bede's narrative. Flor. Wig. places the deposition of Wynfrid in 675, and this has been generally accepted; though it may be doubted whether it represents more than his own estimate of the value to be assigned to Bede's 'non multo . . . tempore.' If, as Bede implies, c. 12, p. 229, the district of Lindsey was separated from Sexwulf's diocese in consequence of Egfrid's conquest of Wulfhere, then Sexwulf's accession cannot be later than 675, as Wulfhere died in that year. This would dispose of the assertion in G. P. p. 221, that Wynfrid was expelled by Ethelred, Wulfhere's successor, because he favoured his enemy, Egfrid of Northumbria. The charter of Osric of 676, signed by Sexwulf as bishop (K. C. D. i. 17; Birch, i. 69, 70), is open to suspicion; *v.* H. & S. iii. 129; and should not be cited as evidence. But Sexwulf was certainly bishop of Mercia in 676, when Putta of Rochester took refuge with him; c. 12, p. 228. Eddius, c. 25, *seems* to represent the expulsion of Wynfrid as contemporary with that of Wilfrid in 678: '*eo tempore* . . . Winfrithus . . . expulsus,' &c. On crossing to the Continent he fell into the hands of the agents of Ebroin and Theodoric, who had been bribed by the enemies of Wilfrid to lay hands on the latter, but were deceived by the similarity of name; 'bono errore,' says Eddius, though it may be doubted if Wynfrid thought it so. If we could accept the statement of G. P. (*v. s.*), this would fit in very well with the date 678, as Ethelred's hostility to Egfrid culminated in the battle on the Trent in 679, whereas up to 676 his arms were directed principally against Kent; c. 12. But in face of Bede's narrative it seems impossible to place Wynfrid's deposition so late as 678. We must either suppose Eddius to be mistaken, or understand 'expulsus' to mean 'having been (previously) expelled.'

Date of deposition of Wynfrid.

per meritum . . . inoboedientiae] It has been commonly supposed

Cause of it.

that Wynfrid's disobedience consisted in resisting (like Wilfrid) the division of his diocese in accordance with the decree of the Council of Hertford; and this is confirmed by the tradition that some division of the diocese did take place under his successor Sexwulf; Fl. Wig. i. 36, 239, 240, 243. But the subject is beset with extraordinary difficulties; *v.* H. & S. iii. 127–130; D. C. B. iv. 929. We are again reminded of Wharton's words, Ang. Sac. i. 423: 'nusquam crassiores tenebrae . . . quam in successione Episcoporum Merciensium.' If the division took place as Fl. Wig. says in 679 or 680, it seems strange that Theodore should have waited so long after Wynfrid's deposition; and this might furnish an argument for a later date for that event.

Sexwulf and the foundation of Peterborough.

Sexuulfum . . . Medeshamstedi] The legends connected with the foundation of Medeshamstead (Peterborough) are given in the Peterborough additions to the Sax. Chron. E. See under the years 654, 656, 675, and notes. According to the same authority Sexwulf was succeeded as abbot by Cuthbald. This, as a Peterborough fact, may probably be accepted; see my edition. pp. 33, 36, 37. Cuthbald has been identified with the abbot of Oundle mentioned in v. 19, *ad fin.*; D. C. B. iv. 590, 591. The Sax. Chron. A. B. C. place Sexwulf's death in 705, but wrongly; he must have died before 692, as in that year, at latest, Wilfrid, on his second expulsion, succeeded to his functions; *v.* v. 19, notes; H. & S. iii. 129.

Gyruiorum] See on iii. 20, *ad init.*

Wynfrid's journey to the Continent.

rediit . . . finiuit] The story quoted above from Eddius shows that in 678 Wynfrid attempted to make a journey to the Continent. Eddius seems to imply that this was immediately after his deposition; but we have seen that Bede's narrative is opposed to this. Wharton, Ang. Sac. i. 426, makes the very natural suggestion that Wynfrid, like Wilfrid, may have intended to appeal to Rome. If so, it seems again strange that he should have waited three years before doing so. Eadmer however, Vita Wilfridi, c. 29; H. Y. i. 190, speaks of him as 'tunc in peregrinationem pro Dei amore euntem.' He also speaks of him as 'nuper depositum,' but this only shows that he derived the same impression that we do from Eddius' narrative. It may have been in consequence of his misadventure that Wynfrid returned to his monastery and died there, as Bede relates. Bede says nothing of his journey to the Continent, though he certainly had Eddius' life before him.

tum etiam] *i. e.* c. 675, according to Bede's narrative; cf. Fl. Wig. i. 33; R. W. i. 164. 'It may denote the recovery of some independent power for the East Saxons after the death of Wulfhere;' D. C. B. ii. 178.

meminimus] iii. 30.

Earconualdum] Ini of Wessex, in his laws (690 × 693), speaks of Earconwald as 'my bishop,' which seems to show that at that time Essex must have been under the hegemony of Wessex; H. & S. iii. 214, 218, 219; cf. ib. 350. For the later lives of him, *v.* Hardy, Cat. i. 293–295; AA.SS. Apr. iii. 780–787; R. W. i. 164, 165. For the date of his death, see on c. 11. He was a witness of the reconciliation of Theodore and Wilfrid in 686 or 687; Eddius, c. 43. He signs two charters, one genuine, the other spurious; K. C. D. Nos. 35, 38; Birch, Nos. 81, 87. The genuine one belongs to 692 or 693. There is a letter from one Sigebald, perhaps Abbot of Chertsey, to Boniface, 732 × 745, saying that if he survives Boniface he will pray for his soul as he does for that of Earconwald; Mon. Mog. p. 167; H. & S. iii. 350. Earcon-wald.

sorori suae Aedilburgae] Capgrave's life, AA.SS. Oct. v. 648 ff., makes her a daughter of Offa of Lindsey, of whom nothing is known. The statement that her father was (a non-existent) Offa, King of the East Angles, is not in Capgrave, but in the Bollandists' notes. This has misled Sir T. Hardy, Cat. i. 385. The mistake is perhaps due to a confusion with the Ethelberg of iii. 8, who was a daughter of Anna of East Anglia. For another suggestion, see D. C. B. iv. 68; and the confusion between East Anglia and Essex runs through many writers, mediaeval and modern. See on v. 19, *ad init.* Ethelberg.

regione Sudergeona] 'Suðrigna lande,' AS. vers., which shows that -geona is the AS. gen. plural. For the various forms in which the name occurs in the AS. Chron., see the index of place-names. Surrey.

p. 219. **Cerotaesei**] 'Ceorteseig,' AS. vers. Chertsey. Both Fl. Wig. i. 33, and G. P. p. 143, say that Earconwald founded Chertsey, 'adminiculo Frithewoldi subreguli.' And in K. C. D. Nos. 986–988; Birch, i. 55–59, 64, 65, are grants and confirmations by Wulfhere, Frithewald and Earconwald, and in H. & S. iii. 161–164 is a privilege of Pope Agatho to the monastery of Chertsey. They are all from the same MS., Cotton, Vit. A. xiii, and they are all forgeries. Moreover we can point with tolerable certainty to the exact period at which they were forged. In G. P. *u.s.* we read: 'splenduit ibi religio, usque ad Danos, qui . . . locum illum pessundedere. . . . At rex Edgarus . . . illud [monasterium] refecit in solidum, *undique ueteribus cartis conquisitis*, quarum testimonio praedia reuocaret ad locum, quae quidam ex magnatibus seu ui, seu uetustatis auctoritate occuparent ad ius suum.' A demand of this kind never failed to create a supply. Of course in many cases the land may have been justly claimed, though the documents by which the claim was supported were forged. Chertsey. Forgery of charters.

Barking. **In Berecingum**] Barking in Essex. The Bollandists place the foundation of Chertsey and Barking about 666; AA.SS. Oct. v. 648; cf. Mon. Angl. i. 436; but this is very uncertain.

CHAPTER 7.

Earlier life of Ethelberg. **descripta habentur**] These chapters, 7–11, are evidently taken from some earlier authority which in cc. 10, 11, pp. 224, 225, Bede speaks of as a 'liber' or 'libellus,' probably some life of St. Ethelberg, as he uses the same term 'libellus' of the life of St. Fursa, from which iii. 19 is taken; cf. pp. 165, 168. This life, if extant, has not been identified. The style however of these chapters is very like Bede's, so that he has probably worked up his materials in his own way.

Plague. **saepe dictae cladis**] The only visitation of the plague which Bede has 'often' mentioned is that of 664. If that is the one meant here, the foundation of Barking must be placed a good deal earlier than is commonly done; see on cc. 6, 9, 10.

Time of matins. **expletis . . . psalmodiis**] The picturesque effect of the following story is much heightened if it be remembered that matins were said before daybreak; *v.* Introd. p. xxvi. For psalms and prayers at the graves of the departed, *v.* note on iii. 5.

CHAPTER 8.

'Meditari.' P. 220. **meditari**] 'to learn his lessons;' *v.* on iii. 5, and critical note here. M. & L. aptly compare Chaucer's 'litel clergeoun' in the 'Prioress' Tale,' who says:

> 'Now certes I wol do my diligence
> To conne it al, er Cristemasse is wente' (vv. 87, 88).

tertio] =ter.

CHAPTER 9.

Date of Ethelberg's death. P. 221. **Cum autem . . . mundo**] Fl. Wig. i. 26 says that Ethelberg died on Oct. 11, 664. The knowledge of the day of her death may have been kept alive by annual commemorations; the year may be only the result of two inferences drawn from Bede's narrative by Florence, neither of which can be regarded as certain: (i) that Ethelberg died of the plague; (ii) that the plague was that of 664. See notes on c. 10.

p. 222. **cuius ut uirtus, &c.**] Cf. the cases of Hild, c. 23, p. 256;

and of Herbert, c. 29, p. 275. Cf. on Cant. v. 22: 'Est et tertia Domini ad ostium nostrum pulsatio, cum nos de hac uita rapiendos, praemissis infirmitatibus, admonet. . . . Confestim autem Domino sic pulsanti aperimus, si mortem laeti excipimus, neque ad iudicium eius induci formidamus;' Opp. ix. 299, 300. And on Luke xii. 36: 'uenit quippe cum ad iudicium properat; pulsat uero cum iam per aegritudinis molestias esse mortem uicinam designat. Cui confestim aperimus, si hunc cum amore suscipimus; aperire . . . non uult, qui exire de corpore trepidat'; Opp. xi. 70. 'I stand and knock.'

in qua . . . pausare] 'þe ðа sweostor in reston,' 'wherein the sisters rested,' AS. vers.; cf. c. 23, p. 257: 'in dormitorio . . . pausans.' So here the dormitory is meant. Hussey and Moberly take it of the death-chamber; cf. c. 24. But though 'pausare' might be used of resting in the grave, it cannot mean the act of dying. Dormitory.

p. 223. infirmitate decocta] So 'infirmitate decoquitur'; c. 29, p. 275.

bene uenisti] 'You are welcome'; cf. French 'bien-venir,' 'bien-venu'; *e.g.* 'partout sont ils bien-venus,' Froissart, II. iii. 25. Cf. 'Wilcoma [Abbess of Chelles]; quod "Bene uenias" resonat Anglica lingua,' Hardy, Cat. i. 377. 'Bene uenire.'

p. 224. nuntiare uenisset] For the construction cf. iii. 2, *ad fin.*

CHAPTER 10.

Hildilid] To her, in conjunction with others, Aldhelm dedicated his work De Virginitate; Opp. ed. Giles, p. 1. She is mentioned in a letter of St. Boniface to the abbess of St. Mildred's, Thanet, in a way which shows that she was a friend of his, and that she did not die before 709; Mon. Mog. pp. 53, ff. If Ethelberg died in 664, Hildilid must have been abbess at least forty-five years; and Bede says that she was abbess 'multis annis . . . usque ad ultimam senectutem.' Fl. Wig. mentions her succession in 664, *v. s.*; and again in 675, which is perhaps a more likely date. Hildilid.

libro . . . libellus] *v.* on c. 7.

quisque] ='quisquis.'

p. 225. quae famularum . . . reuersa est] Cf. iii. 9, *ad fin.*

CHAPTER 11.

Sebbi] *v.* notes on iii. 22.

in regno . . . exegisset] Therefore Bede does not regard the government of an earthly kingdom as incompatible with the service of the heavenly kingdom; cf. ii. 20. But he thinks that Secular affairs sinful.

public and even domestic affairs can hardly be administered without some defilement: 'publicani . . . uocantur, qui . . . publicis implicantur negotiis, quae sine peccato aut uix, aut nullatenus ualent administrari'; Opp. v. 222; cf. x. 54: 'cura rei familiaris, quae uix sine culpa . . . agitur.' Bede would have all men like Abraham, sitting in the tent *door* (Gen. xviii. 1), ready to depart at any moment, not immersed in business in the midst of the tent; Opp. vii. 194.

Waldhere. **Ualdheri**] There is a letter from him to Archbishop Bertwald, H. & S. iii. 274. He receives a grant from Swefred in 704; K. C. D. No. 52; Birch, No. 111; and signs a grant of Ethelbald of Mercia; K. C. D. No. 79; Birch, No. 153.

Earconwald. p. 226. **Erconualdo successerat**] Earconwald must have died 692 × 694. See on iii. 22; 'about 693,' Stubbs, in D. C. B. ii. 178. He was buried in St. Paul's; but the resting-place of his successors was involved in obscurity; G. P. p. 144; Elmham, p. 271; AA.SS. Apr. iii. 782-784.

p. 227. **Sighardo . . . Suefredo**] *v.* notes on iii. 22.

Miracle. **inuentum est, &c.**] Similar miracles are related in connexion with the burial of Wilbrord; Alcuin's Prose Life, c. 25; Metrical Life, c. 25; Mon. Alc. pp. 57, 74; and of Anselm, G. P. p. 123. In the latter case the idea of bending the body was rejected: 'quia [nollent] corpus curuando iniuriam . . . Sancti Spiritus facere organo.'

'Doctoris gentium.' **doctoris gentium**] St. Paul; who so entitles himself; 1 Tim. ii. 7. Bede, however, applies the phrase also to St. Matthew; Opp. v. 222. Sebbi's tomb in St. Paul's was shown until the great fire of 1666.

CHAPTER 12.

Quartus . . . Uini] On the early history of the West-Saxon bishopric, *v.* iii. 7, and notes.

West Saxon History after Cenwalh. **mortuus . . . Coinualch**] His death is placed in 672 by the Sax. Chron.; it was contemporary with Benedict Biscop's return from his fourth visit to Rome; Hist. Abb. § 4, where Bede speaks of Cenwalh as 'inmatura morte praereptus,' and says that he had been a great friend and benefactor to Benedict.

acceperunt . . . X] The Sax. Chron. says that Sexburgh, Cenwalh's queen, reigned for a year after him, that Æscwine, son of Cenfus, succeeded in 674 (R. W. regards him as king in 673; i. 162), that he died in 676, and was succeeded by Centwine, that in 685 Cædwalla 'began to strive for the kingdom.' Eddius, c. 40,

distinctly says that Centwine was king of Wessex when Wilfrid took refuge there in 681. Fl. Wig. notes the divergence between Bede and the Chron. In i. 272, he cites a third authority, the Dicta regis Ælfredi, according to which it was not Æscwine but his father Cenfus who succeeded Sexburgh. He places Centwine's death in 685, which is probably only an inference from the Chron. Aldhelm, in a poem written under Ini, distinctly says that Centwine entered a monastery before his death; Opp. pp. 115, 116; possibly compelled to do so by Cædwalla. W. M. of course buries him at Glastonbury, i. 25. Later writers draw on their imagination; cf. W. M. i. 32; G. P. p. 352; Wendover *ad ann.* 672 (followed by Matth. Paris and Westminster); cf. Rudborne in Ang. Sac. i. 194. We might reconcile Bede and the Chron. by supposing that among the contending aldermen (AS. vers for 'subreguli'), Æscwine and Centwine attained sufficient predominance to take the title of king, until Cædwalla once more united the kingdom in his strong hand; cf. W. M. i. 32. On this temporary reversion to a form of government anterior to the institution of royalty, see Allen, Prerogative, p. 165; F. N. C. i. 580, 581; S. C. H. i. 171. For an earlier instance in Wessex, cf. Sax. Chron. E. 626; *sup.* ii. 9, last note; Palgrave, Engl. Com. p. 405; F. N. C. i. 26, 27. This confusion in the kingdom of Wessex justified the abandonment for a time of the plan of dividing the diocese. 'It was . . . clear that if the West Saxons were to remain one kingdom, they must remain one diocese.' On Hædde's death these reasons no longer existed; D. C. B. ii. 874.

Haeddi] See notes to iii. 7, and v. 18, *ad init.* He signs two grants of Ethelred of Mercia, both attributed to 691 × 692; the former genuine, the latter spurious; K. C. D. Nos. 32, 33; Birch, Nos. 75, 76. Hædde.

p. 228. duobus annis] Bede places Cædwalla's abdication in 688, v. 7, 24, pp. 290, 355. Therefore he must date his accession 686. This is not inconsistent with the Chron., which merely says that in 685 he 'began to strive for the kingdom,' 'winnan æfter ríce.' Date of Cædwalla.

Aedilred . . . fedaret] This ravager of monasteries afterwards became himself a monk and abbot of Bardney; see on iii. 11, and v. 19. Theodore in 686 addresses him as 'tua miranda Sanctitas'; Eddius, c. 43; H. & S. iii. 171; Fl. Wig. i. 264, calls him 'sanctus Æthelredus'; cf. D. C. B. ii. 227; while W. M. i. 78 says that he was 'animi religione quam pugnandi exercitatione celebrior.' In G. P. p. 135, it is stated that he invaded Kent, 'nescio quo insolenti Cantuaritae regis responso incensus.' But this is imagination. Ethelred of Mercia.

'The expedition was probably connected with the internal divisions in the Kentish kingdom, where the Mercian influence seems to have alternated with the West Saxon'; D. C. B. iv. 226. In a spurious charter of Swæbhard of Kent, Ethelred is represented as signing it while on this expedition; K. C. D. No. 14; Birch, No. 42. In another spurious charter he is called 'rex Christianissimus Merciorum, immo . . . totius . . . Britanniae'; K. C. D. No. 40; Birch, No. 89. 'Under Æthelred, Mercian history is all but a blank,' Green, M. E. p. 387.

See of Hereford.

accepta . . . non grandis] This has sometimes been taken as marking the foundation of the see of Hereford; H. & S. iii. 126. 130; Stubbs, Ep. Succ. pp. 3, 171; Hardy's Le Neve, i. 454; cf. Bright, p. 264. But the whole tenor of Bede's narrative is against the idea that Putta discharged episcopal functions after the loss of Rochester. He lived as a simple priest to the end of his life. The 'agellus non grandis' cannot refer to the extent of a diocese, but indicates the plot of land with which his church was endowed; cf. iii. 17, p. 160, of Aidan: 'utpote nil propriae possessionis, excepta ecclesia sua et adiacentibus agellis habens.' Fl. Wig. mentions the death of a Putta, Bishop of Hereford, under 688 (cf. ib. 238; G. P. p. 298), but he says no word to identify him with Putta, ex-Bishop of Rochester. Yet this identification is the sole ground for the above statement. It is true that the see of Hereford must have been founded about this time if its first bishop died in 688. Bede, however, says nothing on the subject. Nor does it appear in Fl. Wig.'s list of sees created out of Mercia in 679, i. 240.

Bishops of Rochester.

Cuichelmum . . . Gebmundum] Bede gives no materials for fixing the dates of these two bishops, and (perhaps for that reason) they are not mentioned in the Sax. Chron. Fl. Wig. places all these transactions under 676, but no argument can be drawn from this (with Le Neve, ii. 555), as he has simply transferred this paragraph of Bede, almost unaltered, to his own pages. Stubbs, Ep. Succession, p. 4 (on what authority I know not), places the consecration of Gebmund in 678. For the date of his death, see on v. 8, *ad fin.*

qui est annus . . . VIII] See note on c. 5.

Comets.

cometa] Cf. Bede, De Natura Rerum, c. 24: 'Cometae sunt stellae flammis crinitae, repente nascentes, regni mutationem, aut pestilentiam, aut bella, uel uentos, aestusue portendentes . . . Breuissimum quo cernerentur spatium septem dierum annotatum est, longissimum LXXX;' Opp. vi. 111. This therefore was a comet of the longest duration; cf. v. 23, p. 349. There was a comet in April 1066 which was widely regarded as portentous. This how-

ever was of the shortest duration, '7 swa scean . . . seofan niht,' 'and so shone seven nights'; Sax. Chron. *ad ann.* with notes. 'Balthasar Bekker . . . and Pierre Bayle . . . overthrew the superstition,' M. & L.

p. 229. orta . . . dissensione, &c.] *v.* v. 19, p. 326, and notes.

Bosa] Alcuin, in his poem De Sanctis Ebor. vv. 846-874, gives a very favourable character of Bosa, 'uir sine fraude bonus.' He is mentioned in the so-called poetical Martyrology of Bede; Opp. i. 53; cf. AA.SS. Mart. ii. 10*–12*. Bosa.

Eata] *v.* on iii. 26, p. 190.

Eadhaed] He had been sent with Ceadda in 664, when he went to be consecrated first to Kent, and then to Wessex, iii. 28. Eadhed.

Lindisfarorum] *v.* on iii. 11.

nuperrime] It cannot have been later than 675, as Wulfhere died in that year, possibly in consequence of this defeat.

superato . . . Uulfhere] On this Eddius, c. 20, says: 'Wlfharius . . . superbo animo . . . omnes Australes populos aduersum regnum nostrum concitans, non tam ad bellandum quam ad redigendum sub tributo . . . proponebat. Ecgfrithus uero . . . in Deum confisus . . . hostem superbum . . . cum paruo exercitu prostrauit; . . . regnumque eius sub tributo distribuit, et eo postea quacunque ex causa moriente . . . aliquod spatium pacifice imperauit.' In G. P. pp. 218, 219, Wulfhere's motive is said to have been revenge for the death of his father Penda (twenty years previously)! But 'terga turpiter nudatus, inglorius effugit, *nec multis post diebus superstes* partem prouinciarum [*i.e.* Lindissi] Northanimbrorum regi cessit.' The Hist. de S. Cuthberto, S. D. i. 200, says that he fled 'uno tantum comitante puerulo.' 'Et hoc obtinuit [Egfrid] per auxilium sancti Wilfrithi qui cum eo fuit, maxime uero per orationes sancti Cuthberti qui absens erat.' Eddius, c. 19, naturally ascribes all Egfrid's successes to Wilfrid, and all his subsequent disasters to his quarrel with him. So G. P. p. 219. Wulfhere.

Ediluini . . . Cyniberctum] There are no means of dating the accessions of these bishops. Edgar signs a charter of 706; K. C. D. No. 56; Birch, No. 116, and the Council of Clovesho in 716; H. & S. iii. 300. Cynibert supplied Bede with materials for his history; Pref. p. 7. He died in 732; S. D. ii. 30. For Ethelwine, cf. iii. 11, 27, pp. 149, 192. Bishops of Lindsey.

habebat . . . Sexuulfum] *i.e.* Lindsey being then subject to Mercia, Sexwulf, as bishop of Mercia, acted as bishop in Lindsey.

post tres . . . annos] *i.e.* 681.

Tunberctum] He had been abbot of Gilling; Hist. Anon. Abb. § 2. On Gilling, *v.* iii. 24, p. 179. Tunbert.

Eata's see. **remanente Eata, &c.**] This seems to show that Eata had chosen Lindisfarne, and not Hexham, as the seat of his bishopric (see on iii. 26); cf. Raine's Hexham, I. xviii, xxiii; while the phrase of iv. 28, p. 273, 'Eata *reuerso* ad sedem ecclesiae Hagustaldensis,' points the opposite way. For the boundaries of Hexham diocese. cf. Raine, *u. s.* pp. xix. 20.

Bishopric of the Picts. **Pictorum**] The seat of this bishopric seems to have been in the monastery of Abercorn on the Forth, c. 26. The Picts meant are of course those Picts north of the Forth who were subject to Northumbrian rule, *v. s.* on c. 3, and references there given. After the defeat of Egfrid in 685, the Picts emancipated themselves from that rule, and Trumwine had to retire to Whitby, c. 26. In later times, when the existence of the Pictish kingdom north of the Forth had been forgotten, the name of Scots having supplanted that of Picts in those regions, and the only Picts then known being those of Galloway, the mistake was made of supposing that Trumwine's see was Whitern or Candida Casa (so the lists of bishops in Fl. Wig. i. 246; Richard of Hexham, c. 6, and many later writers; cf. G. P. p. 254, margin); whereas Pehthelm was really the first Anglian bishop of Candida Casa, v. 23, p. 351. Nicolas, prior of Worcester, writing to Eadmer in 1120 on the primacy of the see of York in Scotland, avoids this error, but says: 'Pictorum uero episcopi sedes, cuius mentionem sanctus Beda facit, ubi fuerit, penitus ignoro'; H. & S. ii. 204; cf. ib. 6, 7; S. C. S. i. 262, 268, ii. 170, 273. That Bede is not thinking of those Picts who may have spread to the south of the Forth (as Bright supposes, p. 324), is shown by c. 26, p. 267, where he distinctly says that the Forth 'Anglorum terras Pictorumque disterminat.'

recepisset] On the date, *v. s.* on iii. 11.

Ripon. **Hrypensi ecclesiae praefecit**] Cf. iii. 28: 'Eadhaedus . . . postea . . . Hrypensis ecclesiae praesul factus est.' These phrases are commonly taken to indicate the establishment for a time of an episcopal see at Ripon; and so the AS. vers. takes it in both cases: 'Eadhæd he gesette to biscope Hrypsetna cirican'; 'Eadæth . . . æfter þon . . . in Hrypum wæs biscop geworden.' The Latin phrases are not however in themselves conclusive, for even 'praesul' is sometimes used of abbots, *v.* Ducange, *s. v.*, and cf. H. & S. ii. 6: 'the possible see of Ripon,' ib. iii. 130. Eddius, however, distinctly makes this attempt to convert Wilfrid's monastery of Ripon into a bishop's see one of Wilfrid's grounds of complaint, c. 45. It probably represents an attempt to divide the Deiran diocese, as the Bernician was divided between Lindisfarne and Hexham; Raine's Hexham, I. xviii.; cf. Bede's policy of

locating new bishoprics in existing monasteries, Ep. ad Egb. § 10, pp. 413–414.

CHAPTER 13.

P. 230. On the arrangement of this and the two following chapters, see the critical notes to the headings of this and the next chapter.

Uilfrid] See on v. 19. Wilfrid.

patria] Wilfrid's 'patria' is Northumbria, coincident in extent with his 'parrochia' or diocese. See on iii. 11, for the absence of unity among the Teutonic tribes in Britain at this time; though we trace a rudimentary feeling for it; c. 14, note.

diuertens] For the date, see on v. 19. For Wilfrid's earlier adventures with the South Saxons, *ib.* and Eddius, c. 13. On the condition of Sussex at this time, cf. Bright, pp. 183, 302; 'prouincia gentilis usque ad illud tempus perseuerans uixit, quae pro rupium multitudine et siluarum densitate, aliis prouinciis inexpugnabilis restitit'; Eddius, c. 41. Sussex

Aedilualch] 'Æðelwalh,' AS. vers.; 'Æþelwald,' Sax. Chron. A.; 'Æþelwold,' B. E.; 'Aþelwold,' C. Ethelwalh of Sussex.

non multo ante] Twenty years, if the Sax. Chron. be correct in placing Wulfhere's war with Wessex, the conquest and donation of Wight in 661; but the entry is not wholly reliable, see note, *a. l.* and on iii. 7. It was evidently Wulfhere's policy to curtail the power of Wessex, and to add to that of Sussex, which was too small to become dangerous; cf. D.-C. B. ii. 228. Eddius, *u. s.* seems to speak as if Ethelwalh and his queen had still been heathen at the time of Wilfrid's arrival.

loco filii] *v. s.* on iii. 7, 22.

Meanuarorum] The name of this tribe of 'Mean-dwellers' survives in the hundreds of East and West Meon, and of Meonstoke in Hampshire; cf. Birch, i. 548. The Meanware.

Eappa] On the misunderstanding of this passage by the compilers of the Sax. Chron., see notes to p. 32 of my edition. Eappa.

Huicciorum] For the Hwiccas, see on ii. 2, and *inf.* c. 23, p. 255. The Hwiccas.

Eanfridi . . . fuere] It looks as if the two brothers were joint rulers of the Hwiccas. Bede does not give them the title of king, though he does to Osric, c. 23, p. 255.

p. 231. erat . . . monachus . . . Dicul] With the exception of Maeldub's settlement at Malmesbury, this seems to be a solitary instance of Irish missionary effort in the South of England; and Dicuil, founder of

it does not appear to have had much success. (In the East of England we have the case of St. Fursa and his companions, iii. 19.) The name Dicul or Dicuil, though not one of the commoner Irish names, occurs occasionally; cf. iii. 19, p. 168; F. M. 871, 889; Vita Tripart. p. 248; *gen.* Dicollo, *ib.*; cf. F. M. 680, 793. It was an Irish monk of this name who in the ninth century wrote the well-known mediaeval geography, De Mensura orbis terrae; *v.* Dict. Nat. Biog.; cf. Poetae Lat. Aeui Carol. ii. 666-668; Neues Archiv d. Gesellsch. für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde, iv. 256-258.

Bosham.

Bosanhamm] Bosham near Chichester. For its connexion with the story of the Norman Conquest, *v.* F. N. C. iii. 222.

tribus annis] *i.e.* c. 678.

impia] 'pitiless.' This incident is not in Eddius. Bede probably got it from Acca.

denique ferunt, &c.] R. W. tells a similar tale of the plague in 665, i. 159.

'Exsufflare.'

exsufflata idolatria] 'alluding to the old custom of spitting as if in abhorence of the Evil one at the time of renouncing him and his works'; Bright, p. 306, and reff. ad loc., *inf.* v. 6; Ducange, *s. v.* 'exsufflatio;' cf. Eddius, c. 41, 'paganorum . . . quidam uoluntarie, alii uero coacti regis imperio, idolatriam deserentes . . . in una die multa millia baptizati sunt'; see on i. 26, *ad fin.*

Union of spiritual and temporal benefits.

p. 232. quo beneficio . . . sumserunt] Cf. Opp. ix. 272: 'Dominus [primis ecclesiae magistris] . . . etiam faciendorum signorum dona contulit, ut, . . . sanatis morbis corporalibus, ad salutem animae facilius, quos erudiebant, attraherent'; cf. ib. 301; and Opp. v. 189: 'Nam et terrena subsidia necesse est ut subditis rector ne desint diligenter praeuideat; . . . et si quos aut spiritualibus aut etiam communibus eorum commodis aduersantes deprehenderit, horum uiolentiae quantum ualet obsistat.' According to Eddius, c. 26, Wilfrid's earlier work in Frisia had been much helped by the fact that the time of his preaching there was one of great abundance.

Selsey.

terram LXXXVII familiarum] 'uillam suam propriam, in qua manebat, ad episcopalem sedem, cum territoriis postea additis LXXXVII mansionum in Seolesiae . . . nouo euangelistae . . . concedit'; Eddius, c. 41. A spurious grant of Selsey to Wilfrid by *Cædwalla* is in K. C. D. No. 992; Birch, No. 64. The forger betrays his hand by calling Wilfrid *arch*bishop. See on ii. 20.

monasterium] With Eappa as abbot. See next chapter.

annos V] For the date, see on v. 19.

libertate donando] We should expect 'libertatem.' On the part taken by the mediaeval church in abolishing slavery and serfdom, see M. Yanoski's monograph, De l'abolition de l'Esclavage au Moyen Age (1860). The Church and slavery.

CHAPTER 14.

On the significance of the absence of this chapter from a certain class of MSS. see Introduction, § 27. The information on which this chapter is based was no doubt derived by Bede from Acca.

p. 233. mortalitas saeua] See on iii. 27.

sacerdos] In c. 13, and lower in this chapter he is called 'presbyter,' *v.* on i. 28.

triduanum ieiunium] Cf. on ii. 2, p. 84.

p. 234. uerbis piissimis] 'most pitying, *or* kindly words.'

hac etenim die] Aug. 5; iii. 9, p. 145.

codicibus . . . depositio] Calendars in which the obits of saints and others were noted. Lower in this chapter such a book is called an 'annale'; (a sense of the word 'annale' not noted by Ducange). Also called a 'Kalendarium defunctorum.' Pertz, xxv. 629. The object of such records was to show on what days commemorative masses had to be said. The present story would seem to show that they were not always very carefully consulted. Such records often formed valuable materials for history. Thus in composing the Historia Cremifanensis, the author, 'sicut potuit, ex priuilegiis et ex cronicis ac ex defunctorum kalendariis colligere annotauit'; Pertz, *u. s.* Such books must be distinguished from the Liber Vitae which was simply a list of names without any dates; see *e. g.* the Liber Vitae ecclesiae Dunelm., published by the Surtees Society 1841, and by Mr. Sweet in his Earliest English Texts; cf. Introduction, pp. xxvii, xxviii. The term 'album' is applied to both classes; Introd. *u. s.*; W. M. i. 261. The term, 'Computarium defunctorum,' Pertz, x. 581, seems to apply to the former kind of document. The use of the word 'depositio' in this connexion implies the custom of burying on the day of death. See on i. 23, iv. 19, 30. 'Annale.' 'Liber Vitae.'

p. 235. ipsorum genti] Note the beginnings of a sense of unity.

aduenis] This seems to be used in an ecclesiastical sense, 'converts.'

praeclari, &c.] On the representation of SS. Peter and Paul in art, cf. D. C. A. ii. 1621–1623.

Reservation of sacrament.

simul et . . . mandauit] Cf. c. 24, *ad fin.*, p. 261, for the administration of the reserved sacrament to a dying member of the monastery (Cædmon).

p. 236. in plerisque locis] On the extent of the cult of St. Oswald, *v.* iii. 13, notes.

natalicius dies] Cf. Introd. pp. lxvii, lxviii.

CHAPTER 15.

Cædwalla.

Interea . . . Caedualla, &c.] It would appear that in the strife for power, which, as we have seen, was going on at this time in Wessex, Cædwalla had for a time been worsted and driven into exile; 'per factionem principum a West Saxonia expulsus,' G. P. p. 233; 'factione conspiratorum in exilium actus,' W. M. i. 33. He took refuge in 'desertis Ciltine et Ondred,' Eddius, c. 42; *i.e.* the forests of Chiltern and Andred (cf. K. C. D. No. 1289). Here he gathered round him, like David, a band of hardy men, 'namque, seu miseratione fortunarum eius infracta, seu uirtute delectata, tota pubes exulem secuta'; W. M. *u. s.* Thus he began 'winnan æfter rice, 'to strive for the kingdom'; Sax. Chron. He first fell upon Ethelwalh, 'improuise' adds Fl. Wig. i. 39, whom he doubtless regarded as occupying districts belonging to Wessex, and slew him. He was however driven out by the king's 'aldermen' (AS. vers.; not 'earls,' as Bright, p. 349, a title which does not come into use in this sense till centuries later), Berthun and Andhun (Æthelhun, Fl. Wig.), whom he in turn defeated, having in the meantime gained possession of the throne of Wessex. W. M. *u. s.* speaks of Edric as the successor of Ethelwalh; but this is probably due to a misunderstanding of c. 26, *ad fin.*; from which passage he hastily inferred that Edric was a South Saxon, whereas he really was a Kentish prince.

Ini] *v.* v. 7, *ad fin.*

Political and ecclesiastical independence.

toto . . . nequiret] We see by this how political and ecclesiastical independence went together. The first Bishop of Selsey after Wilfrid's retirement was Eadbert, c. 709, A. D., *v.* v. 18, *ad fin.*

CHAPTER 16.

Conquest of Wight by Cædwalla

regno potitus] In 686, *v.* on c. 12. The conquest of Wight took place the same year, Sax. Chron. W. M. i. 33 says that Wight held out against Cædwalla, relying upon Mercia, 'fiducia Merciorum,' which is very likely. It would seem that Ethelwalh at the time of his death had not made any attempt to christianise

his new possession of Wight. The Sax. Chron. *s. a.* 686 joins Mul with his brother Cædwalla in the conquest of Wight.

p. 237. **stragica caede**] This seems certainly to be the reading required by the testimony of the MSS.; confirmed by Elmham, p. 253, and Rudborne in Ang. Sac. i. 253, who both quote this passage with the reading 'stragica;' though I can find no other instance of the adjective 'stragicus.' Ducange however cites 'stragiciosus' from Muratori, SS. xii. 563. The AS. translator must have read or misread 'troica,' which is so far in favour of 'tragica.' In iii. 1, 'tragica caede' is the best attested reading; though a few MSS. have 'stragica.' 'Stragicus.'

necdum regeneratus] In a spurious charter of Ini, other grants are alleged to have been made by Cædwalla 'licet paganus;' K. C. D. No. 73; Birch, No. 142.

quartam partem] W. M. *u. s.* turns this into a tithe of all spoils taken by Cædwalla 'ut omnes manubias . . . Deo decimaret,' for which there is no authority, ib. II. xxv.

forte . . . superueniens] According to Eddius, c. 42, his coming was by no means fortuitous. 'Nam sanctus antistes . . . saepe anxiatum exulem adiuuauit, . . . usquedum . . . regnum adeptus est. . . . Caedwalla, Occidentalium Saxonum . . . monarchiam tenens, statim . . . Wilfridum . . . ad se . . . accersiuit. . . . [Quo] ueniente, rex . . . in omni regno suo excelsum consiliarium mox illum composuit.' Wilfrid cannot however have stayed very long in Wessex, as in this very year 686, or early in the next, he was recalled to Northumbria. If however Bede's words 'de gente sua' are to be taken strictly, he must have regarded Wilfrid's visit to Wessex as posterior to his restoration. According to G. P. p. 233, Wilfrid gave to Cædwalla in his exile not only good counsel but 'tum equitaturas, tum pecunias.' For his motive see on v. 19. We may wonder (with Bright, p. 349) what Wilfrid felt when Cædwalla turned upon and slew the bishop's own patron and benefactor Ethelwalh. It is perhaps to gloss over this difficulty that G. P. *u. s.* represents the collision as taking place 'aliquo infortunio.' On the chronology, see notes to v. 19. Wilfrid aids Cædwalla.

Arualdi regis insulae] This isolated notice of a kingdom of Wight shows us that there may have been many petty kingdoms in various parts of the country of which we hear nothing. R. W. says: 'de duobus filiis Arwaldi Vectae insulae subreguli,' i. 182. A king of Wight.

Iutorum prouinciam] 'Eota lond,' AS. vers.; cf. on i. 15.

Ad Lapidem] Stoneham on the Itchen, above Southampton. Stoneham.

Hreutford] Redbridge, Hants; a bridge in later times having taken the place of the older ford. Redbridge.

p. 238. **Danihelem**] *v. inf.* v. 18.

Soluente] The Solent.

Homelea] The Hamble; the words 'ultra . . . pertinent' are omitted by the AS. vers.

CHAPTER 17.

The Council of Hatfield.

His temporibus] A somewhat vague expression, for we now revert from the year 686 to 680. On the Council of Hatfield and the theological points with which it dealt, cf. Bright, pp. 316–322.

The Monophysites and Monothelites.

per heresim Eutychetis] The heresy of Eutyches was Monophysite—the denial of the co-existence of the two natures, the Divine and human, in the person of our Lord after the Incarnation. It was a reaction against Nestorianism which tended to deny the unity of Person in the Incarnate Word, and was itself a reaction against Apollinarianism. See D. C. B. under these words, and under 'Person of Christ.' Eutyches was condemned by a Synod of Constantinople in 448, acquitted by the Robber Synod of Ephesus in 449, and finally condemned by the General Council of Chalcedon in 451. The heresy however which troubled the Church at this time was not Monophysitism in its original Eutychian form, but a further development of it, viz. Monothelitism, *i. e.* the denial of the existence and operation of two wills, the human and the Divine, in the person of Christ. This controversy (for the importance of which cf. Bright, p. 220 and reff.; Gore, Bampton Lectures, pp. 92 ff.), filled nearly the whole of the seventh century; it prepared the way for the iconoclastic controversy of the eighth century, and for the separation of East and West; the East being largely Monothelite. Monothelitism was finally condemned in the Sixth General Council, that of Constantinople, which sat from Nov. 680 to Sept. 681. In preparation for this council Pope Agatho held a synod of the Western Church at Rome, March 680, at which Theodore himself was expected. In his absence Wilfrid, who was at Rome on his own affairs, answered for the orthodoxy of the North of Britain and Ireland, and of the Islands; Eddius, c. 53; H. & S. iii. 140, 141; *inf.* v. 19, p. 327; and Theodore and other Metropolitans held synods of their provinces with reference to the same subject. For passages in Bede's own works on the subject of Eutychianism, *v.* Introd. p. lxii, note.

sacerdotum] 'biscopa,' 'bishops,' AS. vers., *v.* on i. 28.

p. 239. **Hymbronensium**] Norðanhymbra, AS. vers. 'Umbrensis' is used in the same sense in the heading of Theodore's Penitential; H. & S. iii. 173. See on i. 15.

indictione VIIIª] 'The year of the eighth indiction was either from Sept. 24, 679 to Sept. 24, 680 (Caesarean), or from Dec. 25, 679 to Dec. 25, 680 (pontifical), and in both cases includes Sept. 17, 680. Baronius beginning the indiction Sept. 1, actually dates the council in 679;' H. & S. iii. 144 (against Kemble, C. D. I. lxxx). Bede, in v. 24, p. 355, distinctly dates this council 680. This agrees best with the regnal years of the kings mentioned. On Egfrid's regnal year, *v. s.* c. 5, note. Ethelred of Mercia succeeded in 675; v. 24, p. 354; cf. iii. 24, notes. His sixth year cannot therefore be earlier than 680. As to Aldwulf of East Anglia, see on ii. 15. Hlothhere of Kent is the only difficulty; for his seventh year runs from July 679 to July 680. However most of the data favour Sept. 17, 680 as the date of the Council of Hatfield. The absence of any mention of Wessex should be noted. It 'was at this time (A.D. 676–685) divided among its under kings (c. 12), or at the best in a very disturbed state;' H. & S. *u. s.* Chronology.

ciuitatis Doruuernis] We have 'in Doruuerni metropoli, ciuitate,' i. 26, v. 23, pp. 47, 350. The nominative does not occur. Later writers use the form Dorobernia or Dorubernia.

praepositis . . . euangeliis] *v.* D. C. A. i. 478 a; cited by M. & L.

symbolum] 'herebeacen *id est Credo*,' 'the war-standard, *i.e.* the Creed,' AS. vers. This seems to show that the use of the word 'symbolum' in the sense of 'standard' was common in the translator's time. Ducange however only gives one instance from Richer, iii. 69: 'exercitus . . . ibat . . . per cuneos simbolo distinctos.' It has this meaning occasionally in Greek; see Liddell and Scott. Not this however, but another military use of the word is the origin of its application to the Christian Creed, which is thus regarded as the watchword or sign by which the soldiers of the Christian army recognise one another. It is first used in the sense of 'creed' by St. Cyprian (third century); D. C. A. *s. v.* 'creed.' Later writers wrongly explained this meaning of the word as resting on the supposed fact that each of the Apostles had contributed (*συμβάλλεσθαι*) an article to the Apostles' Creed. To this was due the translation of the Greek term by the Latin 'collatio,' which is as early as St. Augustine: 'Quod Graece *symbolum* dicitur, Latine *collatio* nominatur, . . . quia in unum collata catholicae legis fides. . . . Petrus dixit; Credo in Deum Patrem, &c.' Serm. 115 de Tempore (cited by Ducange). But apart from the mythical character of the supposed fact, *σύμβολον* never means 'contribution.' It may be noted that 'symbolum' is here nominative to 'tradidit' and not accusative after it as the AS. translator takes it. 'Symbolum' = Creed.

Hypostasis, Substance, and Subsistence.

in tribus subsistentiis, uel personis] The word *ὑπόστασις* has two different applications in Greek theology. In its earlier meaning it signifies the real nature, the underlying essence of a thing, and is equivalent to *οὐσία*. Cf. Socrat. H. E. iii. 7: *οἱ νεώτεροι τῶν φιλοσόφων ἀντὶ τῆς οὐσίας τῇ λέξει τῆς ὑποστάσεως ἐχρήσαντο* (cited by Liddell and Scott). In this sense it is used in the Nicene Creed. But in later theology it means the special or characteristic nature of a person or thing, and is directly opposed to *οὐσία*. In this sense it is nearly equivalent to the earlier use of the word *πρόσωπον*. Hence as applied to the doctrine of the Trinity *ὑπόστασις* has two diametrically opposite meanings. In the earlier sense there is but one *ὑπόστασις* in the blessed Trinity, in the later, there are three *ὑποστάσεις*. To deny the former statement is to 'divide the substance,' to deny the latter is to 'confound the Persons.' In the earlier sense the Latin equivalent is 'substantia' (so in the Athanasian Creed); in the later the Latin equivalent is generally 'persona,' but sometimes 'subsistentia,' as here, and also in the acts of the Constantinopolitan Council of 680, where we have in the Greek: *τριῶν ὑποστάσεων μίαν οὐσίαν*, and in the Latin: 'trium Subsistentiarum unam Substantiam;' Mansi, xi. 290.

The General Councils.

p. 240. **in Nicaea**] The First General Council, A.D. 325. Cf. on these councils the parallel passage in Bede's Chron. Opp. Min. pp. 197–199.

in Constantinopoli] The Second General Council, A.D. 381, 382. Eudoxius, eighth Bishop of Constantinople, A.D. 360–370, was an extreme Arian. Macedonius, his predecessor, was a Semi-Arian, who also elaborated a heresy of his own on the nature of the Holy Spirit.

in Efeso] The Third General Council, A.D. 431. On Nestorianism, *v. s.*

in Calcedone] The Fourth General Council, A.D. 451, *v. s.*

in Constantinopoli] The Fifth General Council, A.D. 553. To Theodore, Bishop of Mopsuestia, 392-428, though he himself died 'in the peace of the Church,' the real origin of Nestorianism is to be traced. Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus, c. 423–457, and Ibas, Bishop of Edessa, 435–457, were two of his most distinguished disciples, and both of them strong opponents of Cyril of Alexandria, who in his zeal against Nestorianism came very near to, if he did not actually fall into Apollinarianism. The condemnation of the council embraced (i) the works of Theodore, (ii) the letter of Ibas to Maris, Bishop of Hardascir, in praise of Theodore, (iii) the refutation (*ἀνατροπή*) of the Anathematisms of Cyril with the prefatory letter addressed

to John, Bishop of Antioch, at whose request it was written, by Theodoret. The meaning of the sentence would be clearer if we might read 'contra Theodorum, et Theodoreti et Iba epistulas contra Cyrillum, et eorum dogmata.' But there is no manuscript authority for the change.

synodum . . . Roma] The First Lateran Council, 649 A.D. It was anti-monothelite : 'contra eos maxime qui unam in Christo operationem et uoluntatem praedicabant,' c. 18, p. 242 ; cf. Cpp. vi. 325. The canons of this council are given in H. & S. iii. 145–151.

Constantino] 'corrige, *Constante*,' Hussey. But Constans II, in whose reign this Lateran Council was held, is also known as Constantinus IV (D. C. B.), so that there is no need for any correction. Constans II.

ex Patre et Filio inenarrabiliter] On this express confession of the doctrine of the double procession of the Holy Spirit, *v.* Bright, pp. 319, 320, who attributes its insertion to the influence of Abbot Hadrian. Some spurious documents purporting to be connected with the Council of Hatfield are in H. & S. iii. 153–160. The double procession.

CHAPTER 18.

archicantator] So H. & S. iii. 134. In Hist. Abb. § 6, 'archicantor,' p. 369, and so Fl. Wig. i. 34 ; 'archicantor, Primicerius scholae cantorum,' Ducange. On 'Primicerius,' *v.* ii. 19, note. Archchanter.

p. 241. **per iussionem papae**] According to a document printed in H. & S. iii. 131–136, he was sent by a council held at Rome in 679. The character of this document is somewhat doubtful ; see on v. 19. The sending of John by the council may nevertheless be a fact. It is true that Eddius does not mention it, but then it did not specially concern his hero Wilfrid. In Hist. Abb. § 6, Bede, writing from a different point of view, speaks as if the sending of John had been merely due to the request of Benedict Biscop for some one to teach ecclesiastical music at Wearmouth. Mission of John the Archchanter.

Biscopo . . . Benedicto] On him cf. Hab. §§ 1–7, 9–14 ; Haa. §§ 5–18 ; Introd. §§ 2, 3, and notes *ad ll.* On this visit of his to Rome, see Hab. § 6, and notes. He returned with John in 679, or early in 680. Benedict Biscop.

cuius supra meminimus] Benedict Biscop has not been previously mentioned. Either therefore this is a mere slip, or Bede is referring to the Hist. Abb. I only know however four MSS. which contain both works, D. P. H_2. Bu_2. and in all these the Hist. Abb.

follows, and does not precede the H. E. In many MSS. these words are wanting; and the presence or absence of them is an important test of the character of any MS. See Introd. § 27.

Foundation of Wearmouth.

monasterium Brittaniae] 'A monastery in Britain.' Bede often uses the names of countries, as if they were names of towns, without prepositions. 'Brittaniae' is a locative.

iuxta ostium . . . Uiuri] 'in þære stowe þe mon hateð Æt Wiramuþan,' 'in the place which they call at Wearmouth.' AS. vers.

Ceolfrid.

Ceolfrido] On him, see Hab. §§ 7, 13, 15–19, 21–23; Haa. §§ 1–11, 14, 16–37; Introd. §§ 2, 3, and notes *ad ll.*

Roman chanting.

cursum canendi] On the Roman mode of chanting, *v.* ii. 20, note.

quae hactenus . . . seruata] 'seo . . . oð þis is gehealden,' 'which is maintained to the present time.' AS. vers.

transscripta] See next note but three.

excepto . . . munere] *i.e.* besides *or* in addition to the duty, &c.

The Monothelites.

p. 242. **synodum . . . Martini**] See notes on last chapter. 'Non multo ante,' therefore means a period of about thirty years.

qui unam . . . praedicabant] cf. the very similar phrase, v. 19, p. 326.

MSS. lent for transcription.

transscribendam commodauit] This transcript Bede had no doubt often seen and used. It was at this very time, 679 or 680, that he entered Benedict's monastery at the age of seven. On the system of lending MSS. for transcription, &c., *v.* Introduction, p. xix; cf. *sup.* p. 241. The phrases 'synodum adferre, transcribere' show that 'synodus' is here used loosely for 'synodica *or* synodalis epistola'; *i.e.* the formal document containing the record of the resolutions of the council; so 'lectio synodi,' 'cum . . . synodus . . . legeretur,' v. 19, p. 327; cf. 'synodi gesta,' ib. p. 326.

The Monothelites.

uicti sunt] *i.e.* in the Council of Constantinople, 680, 681.

unde uolens, &c.] So the Council of Toledo held a little later, 684, on the same subject: 'placuit . . . satisfacientes Romano Pontifici . . . nostrae fidei sensum . . . depromere . . . de . . . gemina uoluntate et operatione Iesu Christi,' &c.; cited by M. & L.

castus] *v. s.* on iii. 28.

sancti Martini . . . Turonis] This was the monastery over which Alcuin afterwards presided.

CHAPTER 19.

St. Ethelthryth, or Audrey.

P. 243. **Accepit, &c.**] Fl. Wig. i. 24 places the marriage of Egfrid and Ethelthryth in 660; if this is correct, her retirement to Coldingham must be placed in 672, as Bede says that she

lived with Egfrid for twelve years; cf. also Opp. vi. 327; Opp. Min. p. 199. She must have left him therefore soon after his accession. And as Egfrid died in 685 aged forty, c. 26, he can only have been fifteen at the time of his marriage; and Ethelthryth, who had then been five years a widow (see next note but one), must have been much older than he. When Bede in the next chapter says of her, 'bis sex *regnauerat* annis' he is speaking very inexactly, as Egfrid did not come to the throne till 670 or, more probably, 671; see on c. 5. Even if he was before that sub-king of Deira (see on iii. 1), this would still be inexact, as he cannot have held that position till 664. For later lives of her, cf. Hardy, Cat. i. 278–284; ii. 104–106, 553. Ælfric's homily (in verse) is wholly taken from Bede, as he himself confesses. Lives of Saints, pp. 432 ff. Of the later lives the most important is that in the Historia Eliensis of Thomas of Ely, printed in an abridged form in Ang. Sac. i. 593 ff.; and *in extenso* by the Anglia Christiana Society, ed. D. J. Stewart (cited as Liber Eliensis). According to this she was born at Exning in Suffolk, p. 16. Her name has come down to us in the corrupted form of Audrey, from which (by adhesion of the final *t* of 'Saint') comes our word 'tawdry.' This first occurs in the phrase 'a tawdry lace,' *i. e.* necklace; which is commonly explained as meaning a necklace bought at St. Audrey's fair held on Oct. 17th, the day of her translation. Nares however very ingeniously connects the phrase with the narrative of Bede, and supposes it to be a reminiscence of the 'superuacua moniliorum pondera' which the Saint had worn in the days of her frivolous youth, *inf.* p. 246; *v.* Skeat, Etymol. Engl. Dict. *s. v.*

Anna] On him and his saintly progeny, *v.* iii. 7, notes.

princeps . . . Gyruiorum] 'Suðgyrwa aldormon,' 'alderman of the South-Gyrwas,' AS. vers.; cf. on iii. 20. The Liber Eliensis says that she was married to him two years before the death of her father; *i. e.* in 652, that he died within three years, *i. e.* in 655, and that from him she received the Isle of Ely as a dowry, pp. 5, 18, 19. For the Suðgyrwas, cf. Birch, i. 414, which gives them a territory of 600 Hides. Her marriage with Tondbert.

cuius consortio . . . gloriosa] Alcuin, De Sanctis Ebor, v. 759, says: 'Virginis alma fides, regis patientia mira.' Cf. S. D. i. 223: 'Ecgfridus . . . Etheldridam . . . nomine tenus coniugem duxerat.' On Bede's views as to marriage, which in this point alone seem unscriptural, *v. s.* on i. 27. and Egfrid.

mihi . . . Uilfrid . . . referebat] It would be interesting to know on what occasions Bede and Wilfrid met. For Bede's view of Wilfrid, see on v. 19. This matter may have had much to do with Wilfrid and Bede.

alienating Egfrid from Wilfrid. If the Lib. Eli. p. 33 may be trusted Wilfrid was guilty of gross dissimulation.

nec diffidendum] Cf. Lib. Eli. pp. 19–21.

Incorruption.

signum diuini miraculi] *v.* on iii. 8, *ad fin.* So Eddius, c. 19, of Ethelthryth: 'cuius corpus uiuens ante impollutum post mortem incorruptum manens.'

Separation and remarriage.

ubi ... inpetrauit] Separation without the consent of both parties was unlawful, cf. *sup.* c. 11; *e.g.* Theodore's Penitential, II. xii. 7, 8, 12 (H. & S. iii. 199, 200). Cf. Bede on Mark x. 9–12: 'Una ergo solummodo causa est [*sc.* uxoris dimittendae] carnalis, fornicatio; una spiritualis, timor Dei, ut uxor dimittatur, sicut multi religionis causa fecisse leguntur. Nulla autem causa est Dei lege perscripta [? prae-] ut, uiuente ea quae relicta est, alia ducatur;' Opp. x. 153. As to remarriage in the case of divorce for 'causa carnalis,' *v.s.* on c. 5. As regards the 'causa spiritualis,' Egfrid certainly married again before Ethelthryth's death. This occurred 679 or 680 (see below); and Egfrid was certainly married to his second wife Eormenburg at the time of Wilfrid's expulsion in 678, which is ascribed largely to her influence; Eddius, c. 24. Eadmer indeed writes as if Egfrid had married again immediately on Ethelthryth's withdrawal to Coldingham; H. Y. i. 186. Stevenson on Bede's Vita Cudb. c. 27, makes the serious mistake of supposing that Ethelthryth was still Egfrid's wife at the time of his death in 685, five or six years after her death, and thirteen years after she had taken the veil. Mr. Arnold makes the same mistake; S. D. i. 32. Smith might have kept them right.

Ebba.

Aebbæ ... Ecgfridi] 'Soror *uterina* regis Osuiu;' Bede, Vit. Cudb. c. 10. If Oswy was the son of Ethelfrid and Acha (see on iii. 14, *ad init.*), and Ebba was only his uterine sister, it follows that she cannot have been the daughter of Ethelfrid, and that Acha must have married again after Ethelfrid's death, or have been married previously. Besides the monastery at Coldingham she also founded one at a place called from her Ebchester on the Derwent; cf. Hardy, Cat. i. 288–290. She was a great friend of St. Cuthbert's, Bede, Vita Cudb. c. 10; Vita Anon. § 13, who visited her at Coldingham. She had much to do with the release of Wilfrid in 681; Eddius, c. 39. She is commemorated as St. Ebbe at Aug. 25. Her relics were translated from Coldingham to Durham in the eleventh century; Raine's Hexham, I. liii. St. Abb's Head is called from her; cf. c. 25, *inf.*

Coldingham.

Coludi urbem] 'Coludesbyrig,' AS. vers. and Vita Anon. Cudb. § 13; Eddius, c. 39. Coldingham near Berwick, and so it is called by S. D. i. 59; see on c. 25. The legend of her wanderings from

Coldingham to Ely is given in Lib. Eli. pp. 36–44, on the authority of Coldingham tradition. It seems quite mythical.

p. 244. post annum] *i. e.* in 673, according to what was said above; and this is the date which the Sax. Chron. gives for the foundation of Ely. Ely.

lineis . . . laneis] This is a recognised feature of the ascetic life. M. & L. cite Pope Zacharias, 741–752: 'Monachi . . . lanea indumenta . . . sine intermissione utantur; . . . apostolis quippe diuinum datum est mandatum duas tunicas non habendi; tunicas dixit Christus, utique laneas, non lineas;' Migne, Pat. Lat. lxxxix. 932. The practice gave rise to the curious English phrase, 'to go woolward,' of which M. & L. have also collected many interesting illustrations. 'To go woolward.'

raro . . . in . . . balneis] 'Quae enim lota erat corde, non necesse erat ut lauaretur corpore;' Lib. Eli. p. 50. Cf. St. Jerome ad Heliodorum: 'qui in Christo semel lotus est, non illi necesse est iterum lauare;' Opp. IV. ii. 11 (ed. Bened.); and other reff. collected by M. & L. This too is a regular feature of the ascetic life. Of Sexburgh, Ethelthryth's sister and successor, Thomas of Ely says: 'balnearum usus tanquam seminaria uenenata refugit;' Ang. Sac. i. 596. Of St. James the Just, Bede following Hegesippus in Euseb. H. E. ii. 23, says: 'neque unctus est unguento, neque usus est balneo;' Opp. xi. 13. Cf. Aldhelm, Opp. p. 124 (of the same): 'Thermarum penitus neglexit pectore pompam;' cf. Morison's St. Bernard, p. 144 (of the Templars); D. C. A. ii. 1318. Abstinence from the bath.

epifaniae] 'þy twelftan dege ofer Geochol,' 'the twelfth day after Yule,' AS. vers. Cf. Sax. Chron. 1065, C. D. 'sacratissima Dominicae Apparitionis dies;' Bede, Vit. Cudb. c. 10. 'It is curious to find the Epiphany taking the place of Christmas;' Bright, p. 253; cf. Ep. ad Egb. § 15, p. 419. There may however be special reasons for this here. The primary idea of the festival in the Eastern Church was the manifestation of the Trinity at the Baptism of Christ, and though in the Western Church this idea was subordinate to that of the manifestation of Christ to the Magi, it was not lost sight of. Thus in the Roman Missal the Gospel for the Octave of the Epiphany is John i. 29–34, and there is a homily of Bede on this gospel; Opp. v. 271–278. And in our own Church St. Luke's account of the Baptism has always been the Second Lesson at Matins on the Epiphany itself. A third manifestation, that at Cana, is commemorated in the Gospel for the Second Sunday after the Epiphany, while in the Gallican Liturgy all three references are combined in the services for the festival. Owing to this association of Epiphany with the Baptism Epiphany.

of Christ, it was in early times, with Easter and Pentecost, one of the great seasons for administering baptism. This was afterwards discouraged, and the administration of baptism restricted as a rule to Easter and Pentecost; D. C. A. *s. v.* 'Epiphany.' But the idea of the season as appropriate for a solemn washing may have continued. For that a religious significance was attached to the use of the bath seems clear. Just as the wearing of their crown by the English kings at the three great festivals (Sax. Chron. 1086; my edition, p. 210), was a memorial of their coronation, so the bath was a memorial of baptism.

lotis prius . . . famulis Christi] Cf. what is said of Matilda, daughter of Otho II: 'Nullius unquam septimanae sabbatum, quo tantum balneo uti liceret, praeteriit, quin aliquem de turba inopum . . . **ablueret**;' Pertz, xi. 400.

'Obsequium.'

obsequio] That the word 'mandatum' is used in a technical sense (based on John xiii. 14, 15, 34), to signify the solemn washing of the feet of others in imitation of Christ's example, and in literal obedience to His command, is well known. *v.* Ducange, *s. v.* And this use has given us our word 'Maundy.' But that the correlative word 'obsequium' is used in an equally technical sense to signify that literal obedience, has not been recognised. Yet that is almost certainly the meaning here; it is so still more clearly in G. P. p. 103: 'Birnstanus . . . dominici exempli ardentissimus exsecutor, pedes egenis omni die . . . lauabat. . . . *Obsequio* consummato,' &c. Bede uses it of the anointing of our Lord's feet: 'qui diligentius inuestigant, inueniunt eandem mulierem . . . bis eodem functam fuisse *obsequio*;' Opp. xi. 53. In this sense the word passed into Irish in the form *osaic* (with prosthetic f, *fósaic*); and by a curious prolepsis it is constantly applied to Christ's own washing of the disciples feet. So entirely was the feeling for the origin of the word lost, that it comes to be applied to feet washings in which there is no ceremonial or charitable purpose; *e. g.* Battle of Magh Rath, p. 10; Aislinge Meic Conglinne, p. 47. Another Irish word used in the same technical sense is *umaloit*, which is the Latin 'humilitas'; cf. Lismore Lives of Saints, pp. 43, 48; Aislinge, &c., p. 13 (though the editors have failed to see this). I cannot at present point to any passage in which 'humilitas' is used in this special sense. On the foot-washing as a religious and charitable act, cf. Opp. v. 463; Opp. Min. pp. 85, 86, 106, 265, 276; D. C. A. ii. 104; Introd. p. xxvi.

semper . . . persteterit] v. Introd. p. xxvi.

Synaxis.

matutinae synaxeos] *i. e.* Matins. 'Synaxis' is used: (i) of

any Christian assembly; the term being perhaps chosen by way of distinction from the Jewish *συναγωγή*; (ii) specially of the celebration of the Eucharist, *v.* Suicer, Thesaurus, *s. v.*; (iii) of the whole course of offices for the canonical hours; (iv) as here, of the celebration of any one of the offices.

pestilentiam] See on iii. 27.

rapta est . . . susceperat] June 23; cf. Opp. iv. 84. If she became abbess of Ely in 673, *v. s.* this would bring her death to 680. The Sax. Chron. places it in 679 (so R. W. i. 170), perhaps calculating the seven years from her taking of the veil. So Lib. Eli. p. 58, and see below. Date of Ethelthryth's death.

ligneo . . . locello] We more often hear of stone coffins; cf. p. 245, *infra*, c. 11. pp. 226, 227. The choice of a wooden coffin seems to be a mark of Ethelthryth's humility. As to the form of the word we find both 'loculus' and 'locellus' in this very chapter. The former is the classical form, the latter survives in the Welsh 'llogell,' which means 'a pocket.' We find a sarcophagus given to Cuthbert as a present; Vita, c. 37; Opp. Min. p. 118; cf. *inf.* v. 5 and Lib. Eli. p. 26. 'Loculus' and 'Locellus.'

Sexburg] See above iii. 8, p. 142. For later lives of her, cf. Hardy, Cat. i. 265, 360–362. The Lib. Eli. cites a book of her 'Gesta,' and says: 'in Anglico . . . legimus' that she received the veil at the hands of Archbishop Theodore in Sheppey Church, pp. 76, 77; cf. ib. 52, 53; AA.SS. Iul. ii. 346. Sexburg.

sedecim annis] *i. e.* in 695 or 696. The day of her translation is Oct. 17; Lib. Eli. p. 70. The fact that Oct. 17 fell on a Sunday in 695 is in favour of that year, which is given also by Mon. Angl. i. 457; and this would fix her death to 679. See above. Translation of Ethelthryth.

quosdam e fratribus] *i. e.* Ely was a double monastery; cf. Lib. Eli. p. 46, and note on iii. 8.

ad ciuitatulam . . . desolatam] This illustrates the way in which Roman sites served as quarries for later generations. Thus in the ninth century the monks of Auxerre sent some of their body to Marseilles to seek for marbles for building their church: 'eruderatis itaque aedificiorum ueterum circumquaque ruinis, ingentem marmorum pretiosorum copiam . . . congregarunt;' Pertz, xiii. 403. To prevent this in the case of the Colosseum, Benedict XIV, in the last century, hit upon the plan of consecrating it. Roman remains.

p. 245. **Grantacaestir**] Grantchester, outside Cambridge.

inuenerunt . . . tectum] For another case of a Roman sarcophagus used for a later burial, cf. H. & S. II. xxii; and the famous instance of the Graeco-Roman sarcophagus, sculptured 'con bellissima maniera' (cf. Bede's 'pulcherrime factum'), in which was

deposited the body of the mother of the great countess Matilda; and which, coming under the notice of Niccolà Pisano, occasioned, according to Vasari's life of him, the renaissance of sculpture in Italy.

Bodily incorruption.

incorruptum] W. M. i. 260, enumerates five English saints in whom this miracle was shown; Ethelthryth, Wiburg, Edmund of East Anglia, Alphege, Cuthbert; cf. *inf.* c. 30.

Burial on day of death.

defuncta, siue . . . condita] *i.e.* they buried on the day of death as a rule; and hence the festival of a saint is often called his 'depositio.' Cf. Bede's Martyrology, Opp. iv. 72, 92, 100, 131, &c.; cf. on c. 14.

leuius habere] Cf. John iv. 52: 'hora . . . in qua melius habuerit.'

tertia . . . die] 'Plerumque dies tertia grauior esse uulneratis, et prolixiorem molestiam generare afflictis;' Lib. Eli. p. 57.

Use of tents.

extento . . . papilione] So at the funeral of Wilfrid: 'extento foris tentorio, sanctum corpus balneauerunt;' Eddius, c. 65. So when Herebald fell from his horse: 'tetenderunt papilionem in quo iacerem,' v. 6, p. 290. So when Aidan fell sick, 'tetenderunt . . . ei . . . tentorium,' iii. 17, p. 160. Tents were also used by Cuthbert on his preaching tours, Opp. Min. pp. 109, 277; 'tabernaculo solemus in itinere uel in bello uti,' Opp. xii. 249; cf. viii. 390.

Necklaces.

p. 246. superuacua moniliorum pondera] Cf. Bede on 1 Pet. iii. 3: 'auro et margaritis et monilibus adornatae, ornamenta cordis ac pectoris perdiderunt;' Opp. xii. 224; cf. on c. 23. The form 'moniliorum' is attested by four out of the five most ancient MSS.; M. B. C^1. H_1.

usque hodie] 'oð þisne ondweardan dæg,' 'to this present day,' AS. vers.

ita aptum] Cf. Lib. Eli. pp. 69–71.

est . . . Elge] On the topography of the Isle of Ely, ib. 1–8, 81; on the liberties of Ely, ib. 48, 49, 55.

unde . . . accepit] *i.e.* Bede derives the name Élíg from *æl*, an eel, and *ig*, an island. A Hebrew (!) etymology is suggested, Lib. Eli. pp. 347. On the subsequent history of Ely, cf. G. P. pp. 322 ff.

CHAPTER 20.

P. 247. **hymnum . . . inserere**] Alcuin alludes to this hymn; De Sanctis Ebor. vv. 780, 781. It is found separately in a St. Omer MS. No. 115. Also in a MS. Cologne Cathedral, No. 106, originally sent by Alcuin to Arno, Archbishop of Salzburg, Mon. Alc. pp. 748, 749.

elegiaco metro] Cf. Bede, De Arte Metrica, c. 10: 'hoc . . . metrum . . . elegiacum . . . uocatur. Eleos namque miseros appellant philosophi, et huius modulatio carminis miserorum querimoniae congruit . . . Quo genere metri ferunt canticum Deuteronomii apud Hebraeos et Psalmos cxviii (cxix) et cxliv (cxlv) esse descriptos'; Opp. vi. 59. Elegiac verses of this kind, in which the last quarter of the distich repeats the first, are called *echoici* or *serpentini*; L. & M. p. 353. They are also called *reciproci*. Cf. a poem by Sedulius Scottus, in this metre, in Poetae Latini Aeui Carolini. i. 216, 'Incipiunt uersus *reciproci*.' There is a long poem in this metre in Paul. Diac. Hist. Lang. i. 26. Sporadic instances of this form of verse occur in classic poets, *e. g.* Ovid, Fasti, iv. 365, 366; Martial, VIII. xxi. 1, 2, and especially IX. xcviii., where the whole epigram is based on the 'echo' of a single phrase, 'rumpitur inuidia.' These instances suggested the systematic adoption of the form by mediaeval writers, just as the occasional occurrence of rhyme in classical poetry suggested the rhyming Latin verses of the Middle Ages; cf. Trench, Sacred Latin Poetry, c. 2. But Bede's hymn, besides being 'reciprocal' or 'echoing,' is also alphabetic. For this, too, Bede might find a parallel in Scripture in the Book of Lamentations, and some of the Psalms, *e. g.* xxv, xxxiv, xxxvii, cxi, cxii, cxix, cxlv. Alphabetic and acrostic verses were a favourite exercise of ingenuity in the Middle Ages, especially in the Carolingian time; cf. Poetae Latini, *u. s.* i. 17, 24–26, 81, 82, 85, 86, 90, 91, 142–144, 147, 148, 153–159, 225–227, 416–423, 482, 620–622; ii. 4, 135, 136, 138, 139, 152, 153, 165–167, 255–257, 316–319, 421, 422, 479, 651, 652. A fine alphabetic hymn on the Day of Judgement is given by Trench, *u. s.* pp. 296–298; and is cited by Bede himself, De Arte Metrica, as 'ad formam metri trochaici . . . hymnum de die iudicii *per alphabetum*'; Opp. vi. 77.

'Echoing,' 'serpentine,' or 'reciprocal' elegiacs.

imitari . . . scripturae] Cf. the conclusion of the De Arte Metrica: 'haec . . . tibi collecta obtuli, ut, quemadmodum in diuinis literis . . . imbuere studui, ita etiam metrica arte, quae diuinis non est incognita libris, te solerter instruerem'; Opp. vi. 78, 79.

Poetry of Scripture.

femina . . . gladios] The virgins enumerated here are all, with the exception of Euphemia, commemorated by Aldhelm in his prose and metrical works de Virginitate: the Virgin Mary, Aldh. Opp. pp. 54, 181; Agatha, ib. 55, 183; Eulalia, ib. 61, 190; Tecla, ib. 61, 189; Agnes, ib. 60, 188; Caecilia, ib. 54, 182. It would improve the metre if for Euphemia we might read Eugenia, who is mentioned by Aldh. pp. 58, 187. Both occur in some lines of Fortunatus on the same subject (De Virgin. viii. 4):—

Virgins commemorated.

'Illic Euphemia, pariter quoque plaudit Agatha,
Et Iustina simul, consociante Thecla,
Et Paulina, Agnes, Basilissa, Eugenia regnant,
Et quascunque sacer uexit ad astra pudor.'

Here, too, the metre would be improved if Eugenia and Euphemia changed places.

p. 248. bis octo Nouembres] A curious way of saying that she was buried sixteen years. The reason, probably, is that her translation took place on the 16th of the Calends of November, Oct. 17.

CHAPTER 21.

Date of the battle of the Trent.

P. 249. Anno . . . nono] There can be no doubt that this battle took place in 679; for it was fought a year after the expulsion of Wilfrid, who, according to the story, had foretold that in a year's time '"qui nunc ridetis, . . . amare flebitis." Et sic . . . euenit. Nam eo die anniuersario, Ælfwini regis occisi cadauer in Eboracam delatum est, omnes populi amare lacrymantes uestimenta et capitis comam lacerabant, et frater superstes usque ad mortem sine uictoria regnabat'; Eddius, c. 24; cf. also c. 23, *ad init.*, where 680 is spoken of as 'anno sequente.' Now if Egfrid succeeded Feb. 15, 670, the battle, to fall in his ninth year, must have been fought before Feb. 15, 679, and this, though possible, is unlikely. So that this on the whole confirms what was said on c. 5 as to the date of Egfrid's accession. This battle is mentioned in the Irish Annals, *e. g.* Ann. Ult. 679: 'Bellum Saxonum ubi cecidit Ailmine filius Ossu.' Elford, north of Tamworth (? Ælfwine's ford), has been suggested as the site of the battle.

sororem] It was owing to this connexion that Wilfrid, on his release in 681, was unable to remain in Mercia; see on v. 19.

Osthryth.

Osthryd] Cf. on iii. 11. W. M. makes this marriage part of the pacification after the battle of the Trent, G. P. p. 232. But Bede clearly implies that it had taken place previously.

Wergeld.

multa] *i. e.* the Wergeld, on which see S. C. H. i. 161, 162. Cf. Sax. Chron. 694 for another instance of peace made between two kingdoms by payment of a wergeld.

CHAPTER 22.

Ælfwine

rex Aelfuini] He is called 'rex' by Eddius, in a passage quoted on the last chapter, and also in an earlier passage, c. 16, where

he is joined with his brother: 'inuitatis regibus Christianissimis Ecgfritho et Ælwino.' He must, therefore, have reigned jointly with Egfrid, probably as sub-king of Deira, like Alchfrid under Oswy. The following story is embodied in a homily by Ælfric, ed. Thorpe, ii. 356–358.

de militia eius iuuenis] 'Sum geong cyninges þegn,' 'a young king's thane,' AS. vers. So 'miles' and 'minister regis' below are both translated 'cyninges þegn,' which shows that the two terms are identical. Royal Thane.

p. 250. comitem] 'gesiið,' AS. vers.

uincula soluta] Cf. Life of St. Cadoc, § 39: 'tres peregrini circulis ferreis ligati . . . ad praefati Sancti monasterium in die solempnitatis eiusdem uenerunt. Dumque missa celebraretur illa ita ligamina ferrea . . . ruperunt'; Camb. Brit. Saints, p. 78; cf. H. Y. i. 54, 308; Pertz, vii. 300, 301. Other instances are collected by M. & L. Bonds miraculously loosed.

Tunnacaestir] Unidentified. Towcester has been suggested, but the suggestion has little to recommend it. Other suggestions are Doncaster, and Littleborough on the Trent, D. C. B. iv. 1056; but if Mr. Moberly's note on ii. 16 is correct, Littleborough must be appropriated to 'Tiowulfingacaestir.' Tunnacaestir.

litteras solutorias] This passage of Bede is the only instance of this phrase given by Ducange. It indicates charms or incantations written down and worn as amulets; cf. on c. 27. Ælfric translates it: 'ðurh drycræft oððe ðurh rúnstafum,' 'by witchcraft or by runes'; *u. s.* p. 358. 'Litterae Solutoriae.'

p. 251. dignus . . . es morte] From this it would appear that any member of an army, if captured, might be held liable by the relations of any man on the other side who had fallen in the battle. Joint responsibility of the host.

cognati] Possibly 'brothers-in-law'; *v.* on i. 27, p. 50.

uendidit eum] On the slave-trade in England, cf. on iii. 5.

sororis Aedilthrydae] *i. e.* Sexburgh; cf. iii. 8; iv. 19, pp. 142, 244.

eiusdem reginae minister] 'þære cwene þegn,' 'the queen's thane,' AS. vers.

p. 252. uel . . . uel] 'ge . . . ge,' 'both . . . and,' AS. vers.

quia sacrificium . . . sempiternam] 'sunt qui de leuioribus peccatis, quibus obligati defuncti sunt, post mortem possunt absolui; uel poenis . . . castigati, uel suorum precibus, eleemosynis, missarum celebrationibus absoluti,' Opp. ix. 96; Introd. p. lxvi. Purgatory.

CHAPTER 23.

Strenaeshalc] *v.* on iii. 24.

XV. Kal. Dec.] Nov. 17; and this is her day in the calendar.

'Nepos' = nephew.

nepotis] Nephew, not grandson; cf. on iii. 6. As Hild was sixty-six in 680, she would be thirteen in 627. Edwin was forty-two at that time. So that if 'nepos' meant grandson, Hild would only be twenty-nine years younger than her great-grandfather. Fl. Wig. has however fallen into this mistake, i. 254, 268, making Hereric son of Edwin's son Eadfrid, ii. 14, 20. On the true view we must confess that we do not know the name of Hereric's father; cf. Green, M. E. pp. 247, 248; Wülker, Glossaries, i. 173: '*Nepos*, suna sune, *uel* broðer sune, *uel* suster sune, þæt is nefa,' '*nepos*, son's son, *or* brother's son, *or* sister's son, that is, nephew.'

Hild.

p. 253. relicto habitu saeculari] In 647.

Her sister Hereswith.

propinqua regis illius] Because her sister Hereswith had married Ethelhere, brother and successor of Anna, who (Anna) at this time, 647, was king of the East Angles. Therefore Hereswith must have left her husband for the monastic life before his accession to the throne; and he seems to have married again; *v.* on ii. 15, iii. 18. The Lib. Eli. wrongly makes her wife of Anna, pp. 15, 25, 26, which has misled Smith on c. 19.

Cale] *v.* on iii. 8.

peregrinam . . . uitam] *v.* on iii. 19.

Sojourn in East Anglia.

praefata prouincia] This refers to East Anglia, not to Gaul; for the phrase 'proposito peregrinandi' implies that the design was not carried out. It has, however, been understood the other way; *v.* Hardy, Cat. i. 285; by Lib. Eli. pp. 23, 24; and by Menard and Harpsfeld, cited by Mabillon, Ann. Bened. i. 444, who rightly understands it as meaning that she did not actually go to Gaul. So Smith and Stevenson.

unius familiae] Contrary to its usual practice, the AS. vers. does not translate familia by 'hid,' 'hide;' but by another derivative of the same root, viz: 'hiwscipe.'

Heruteu] See on iii. 24.

Heiu] Cf. Hardy, Cat. i. 284, 285.

propositum] Cf. c. 24, p. 260, 'monachicum suscipere propositum'; M.

Tadcaster.

Kælcacaestir] Tadcaster. 'The village of Healaugh, about three miles north of Tadcaster, is believed to mark the site of St. Heiu's foundation, and possibly preserves her name'; Murray's Yorkshire, p. 486, cited by M. 'In the cemetery of that place

Mr. D. H. Haigh detected an ancient gravestone bearing Heiu's name'; D. C. B. iv. 879, and references there given.

p. 254. aliquot annos] Eight; from 649 to 657, when Whitby was founded, two years after the battle of the Winwæd; *v.* iii. 24, notes.

omnibus . . . communia] Bede is fond of quoting this communism of the Early Jerusalem Church; *inf.* c. 27, *ad fin.*; Opp. vii. 371; viii. 34, 377, 427; ix. 54, 249, 280. As to the rigour with which this rule was carried out in monasteries, see some curious references collected by M. & L., and Ep. ad Egb. §§ 16, 17, notes. Communism.

tantae autem . . . inuenirent] For women as teachers in the church, cf. Bede on Ezra, ii. 65: 'bene autem cantoribus etiam cantatrices iunguntur propter sexum uidelicet foemineum, in quo plurimae reperiuntur personae, quae non solum uiuendo, uerum etiam praedicando, corda proximorum ad laudem sui Creatoris accendant, et quasi suauitate sanctae uocis aedificantium templum Domini adiuuent laborem;' Opp. viii. 378. Certainly 'the labour of those who built the temple of the Lord' in Britain was greatly helped by the work of women. Many of them, like Hild, were of royal or noble race, though none of them seem to have equalled her in influence outside their own monasteries. Such were Ebba, cc. 19, 25; Elfled, iii. 24, iv. 26; Ethelthryth, c. 19; Eanfled, iii. 24; and notes *ad ll.* Lappenberg sees in this position allowed to women a survival of the old Germanic feeling: 'inesse [feminis] sanctum aliquid et prouidum putant'; Tac. Germ. c. 8; Lapp. i. 188. Women as teachers in the Church.

de primo supra diximus] *v.* on c. 12, p. 229.

de secundo . . . Dorciccaestræ] This appointment of Ætla to Dorchester is brought by Fl. Wig. i. 239, 240, into connexion with his theory of a general division of the Mercian diocese in 679, which, as we have seen, on c. 6, is beset with such great difficulties. The special difficulties here are: (i) that 'besides this [passage of Bede] there is no evidence of a see at Dorchester from the time when the West Saxon see was extinguished, to the time when that of Leicester was transferred;' (ii) That there is no direct evidence that Dorchester was Mercian before the battle of Bensington, 777 A. D., permanently transferred that district to Mercia; H. & S. iii. 130. The solution favoured by H. & S. *l. c.*, that Ætla is to be identified with Hædde, the Bishop of Wessex, who, according to popular views, transferred the West Saxon see from Dorchester, has little to recommend it: (i) Bede nowhere gives any hint of the identity. (ii) We have seen (on iii. 7), that the alleged transference of the West Saxon see from Dorchester to Winchester by Hædde is a myth. Dorchester ceased to exist as a bishop's see on the retire- See of Dorchester.

ment of Agilbert. Thus Hædde could not be spoken of as 'consecrated to the bishopric of Dorchester.' I am inclined to think (i) that Dorchester really was Mercian about 679. Ethelred, who attacked Kent and Northumbria so vigorously, iv. 12, 21, may well have continued Wulfhere's policy of curtailing Wessex (see on c. 13), and gained possession of Dorchester (cf. R. W. i. 140: 'processu temporis subacta ciuitate illa a regibus Merciorum'). (ii) That he did set up Ætla as Mercian bishop of Dorchester, 675 × 685. (iii) That Cædwalla, after his accession in 686, recovered this and other districts belonging to Wessex (see on cc. 15, 16). (iv) That, consequently, the Mercian bishopric of Dorchester disappeared after a very few years of existence. This would account (i) for the non-appearance of Ætla's name in any of the lists of bishops, which H. & S., *u. s*, regard as 'a circumstance extremely difficult to dispose of;' (ii) the want of evidence for any see at Dorchester between the dates named above. If this view is correct, the case (as H. & S. remark) is not unlike that of Lindsey; cf. on iii. 11; iv. 12; Green, M.E. p. 343.

primus Hagustaldensis] See v. 2–6.

secundus] This is Wilfrid II; cf. v. 6, *ad fin.*

Double monasteries.

in utroque ... monasterio] Therefore Hartlepool as well as Whitby must have been a double monastery, for men and women; see on iii. 8.

p. 255. Romam ... aestimabatur] See on v. 7.

The bishopric of the Hwiccas.

prouinciam Huicciorum] On the Hwiccas, cf. ii. 2, *ad init.* The foundation of their bishopric (with the bishop's seat at Worcester) is also brought by Fl. Wig. into connexion with the alleged division of Mercia into five dioceses in 679; i. 239, 240. That the diocese of the Hwiccas was founded about this time is certain, but it seems impossible to fix the dates exactly. Oftfor was consecrated after Wilfrid's second expulsion, and during the vacancy in the see of Canterbury after Theodore's death, *i. e.* between 691 or 692 (see on v. 19), and Aug. 693; Fl. Wig. fixes it to 691; i. 42; and says that he died in 692; ib. 43. This is, however, very doubtful; D. C. B. iv. 71. He certainly signs a genuine charter which cannot be earlier than 693; K. C. D. No. 36; Birch, i. 121; H. & S. iii. 232. He was succeeded by St. Egwin: 'de quo quid miraculi sit quod Beda tacuerit, nondum per me potui aduertere uel per alios addiscere;' G. P. p. 296; Bright, p. 381.

Florence also seems to place Bosel's consecration in 680. This is difficult to reconcile with Bede's statement that Tatfrid's election (and therefore *a fortiori* Bosel's consecration) took place 'shortly before' (paulo ante) the election of Oftfor. A charter of Osric's, K. C. D. No. 12; Birch, i. 69, would, if genuine, throw

the date still further back, as it speaks of the see as already constituted in Nov. 676. But the charter, though not marked as spurious by Kemble, is suspicious, H. & S. iii. 129, and this line of argument throws yet further doubt on it. I am inclined to think that the charter was made up from this passage in Bede by someone who understood it to imply that Osric was sub-king of the Hwiccas when the see was constituted. Bede says nothing of the kind, but merely that Osric was reigning when Oftfor came to the Hwiccas, and as he remained there 'multo tempore,' there is nothing in Bede inconsistent with Florence's account, i. 239, that Oshere was the sub-king under whom the see was founded. Florence, in his Chronicle, i. 37, places a grant by Oshere under the year 680, but this entry seems taken from the spurious charter, K. C. D. No. 17, Birch, i. 84; the forger may however have known the date of Oshere. There is a genuine charter of Oshere's (cited above) not earlier than 693; and a son of Oshere is mentioned in a charter, K. C. D. No. 83; Birch, No. 157, of the date, 723 × 737.

Osric. I cannot believe in the identification of Osric of the Hwiccas with Osric of Northumbria, v. 23. Dr. Stubbs seems inclined to accept it, D. C. B. i. 72; iv. 161–2, though it is inconsistent with his own more probable suggestion, ib. ii. 16, that Osric of the Hwiccas was a son of the Eanfrid of the Hwiccas, mentioned in iv. 13; see on v. 23.

Uilfridum] *v.* on v. 19.

Cerdic. **Cerdice**] Perhaps the Ceretic whose death is mentioned in the Ann. Camb. at 616. As Hild was born in 614, the date would suit very well; cf. on ii. 14.

'Monile.' **p. 256. monile**] Cf. Bede on Cant. i. 9: 'in collo ecclesiae, doctorum persona designatur . . . Monilia autem sunt ornamenta, quae uirginum solent collo pendere. Quamuis et monilium uocabulo plerumque omnium matronarum ornamenta designentur;' Opp. ix. 222, 223; A similar legend is told of the mother of St. Brendan; Lism. Lives, pp. 349, 350.

Hild's sickness, **pio**] 'pitiful.'

uirtus . . . perficeretur] Cf. *supra*, on c. 10.

numquam . . . praetermittebat] Cf. Benedict Biscop, Hist. Abb. § 11, p. 374; and Bede himself, Introd. § 19.

communionis] 'þære . . . gemænsumnesse Cristes lichoman 7 his blode,' 'the communion of Christ's body and of his blood,' AS. vers. 'That . . . the laity received under both kinds from the foundation of the Church . . . to the twelfth century is admitted on all hands;' D. C. A. i. 416.

and death. **mortem uidit**] That her remains were translated to Glastonbury by King Edmund, G. P. p. 198; cf. W. M. i. 36, is only

part of the great Glastonbury myth; cf. Stubbs' Dunstan, p. cxvi. Rudborne has another story, that Edmund brought them to Gloucester; Ang. Sac. i. 214.

Hackness. p. 257. **Hacanos**] Hackness, thirteen miles from Whitby, as Bede himself says below; cf. Murray's Yorkshire, p. 179.

Begu. **Begu**] She is not to be confounded, as is often done, with Heiu (*supra*), or with the very mythical Irish saint Bega, whose name is preserved in St. Bees; see additional critical notes.

pausans] See on c. 9.

Bells. **notum campanae sonum**] Cf. Introd. p. xxvii. For the use of bells in monasteries, see the references collected by M. & L.

aspexit . . . lucem] See on iii. 8.

Prioress. **quae tunc . . . praefuit**] 'wæs Hilde gingre,' 'was Hild's junior, *or* deputy,' AS. vers.; *i. e.* prioress. Thus in Alfred's Laws, 38, § 2, 'cyninges ealdormannes gingra,' 'the king's alderman's deputy.'

psalmis] See on iii. 5.

p. 258. **priusquam . . . cognouisset**] This, as Bright, p. 323, remarks, seems hardly consistent with the account of Hild's last communion; 'arcessitis . . . monasterio;' *supra*. Bede only introduces the story with 'ferunt.' The whole paragraph is omitted by the AS. vers.

ubi nuper, &c.] *i. e.* the cell of the novices; Introd. p. xxvi.

'Conuersatio.' **conuersationem**] 'Conuersatio' must here be used in the technical sense of the monastic life; cf. 'monachica conuersatio' a little above, p. 257. Ducange gives no instance of this meaning. 'Conuersio' is often used of entry into a monastery; cf. c. 5, p. 216: 'monachi . . . tempore suae conuersionis.' We have even such phrases as 'conuersionem intrare;' Ducange, *s. v.* We might be inclined to suggest 'conuersionem' here; and so several later MSS.

CHAPTER 24.

I confine the notes on this chapter to the illustration of Bede's text. Some account of the critical questions which centre round the name of Cædmon will be given in a separate note.

pietati] 'Pietas,' is here of course 'piety,' not 'pity' as so often in Bede.

Harpers, and poets. p. 259. **cantare**], 'be hearpan singan,' 'to sing to the harp.' AS. vers. This was the national instrument of our forefathers. Harpers however seem sometimes to have been imported from the Continent. Cuthbert, Abbot of Wearmouth and Jarrow, writes to Lullus, Archbishop of Mainz: 'delectat me quoque citharistam habere, qui possit citharizare in cithara, quam nos appellamus

rottae [*v.* Ducange, *s. v.* rocta] quia citharam habeo, et artificem non habeo;' Mon. Mog. p. 302. Alcuin would not have approved of this introduction of the harper into the cloister. He writes in 797 to Higbald, Bishop of Lindisfarne: 'uerba Dei legantur in sacerdotali conuiuio. Ibi decet lectorem audiri, non citharistam; sermones patrum, non carmina gentilium. Quid Hinieldus [*v.* Haupt, Zeitschr. für deutsches Alterthum, xv. 314] cum Christo? ... Non uult rex coelestis cum paganis et perditis nomine tenus regibus communionem habere;' Mon. Alc. p. 357. It was to gratify the national love for poetry and song that poets like Cædmon and his successors wrote poems on Christian subjects; while by other hands materials, originally mythical and heathen, were worked up, as in the Beowulf, into a form not inconsistent with Christianity. Of the former mode of procedure an interesting instance is that of the monk Otfried of Weissenburg, who, in the ninth century, translated the Gospels into German verse; cf. his letter to Liutbert, Archbishop of Mainz: 'Dum rerum ... sonus inutilium pulsaret aures quorundam ... uirorum, eorumque sanctitatem laicorum cantus inquietaret obscenus, a quibusdam ... fratribus rogatus [sum], maximeque cuiusdam uenerandae matronae uerbis nimium flagitantis, nomine Iudith, [ut] partem euangeliorum eis Theotisce conscriberem [cf. 'Franzisce compositam,' later in the letter; 'in frenkisga zungun' in the poem itself]; ut aliquantulum huius cantus lectionis ludum secularium uocum deleret, et in euangeliorum propria lingua occupati dulcedine, sonum inutilium rerum nouerint declinare'; Mon. Mog. p. 328 (the whole letter is most interesting). The 'matrona Judith,' has been identified by some with the daughter of Charles the Bald, who in 856 married Ethelwulf of England and afterwards his son Ethelbald. For the same princess Professor Cook supposes that the Anglo-Saxon poem of Judith was composed (see his edition, pp. xviii. ff.). Both theories must be regarded as very uncertain; but both are very suggestive, and of great interest to English readers.

Cædmon. Otfried. Judith.

nomine Caedmon] The name has been explained to mean 'boatman' from 'cæd,' 'a boat'; and in a seaside place like Whitby this may well have been a common appellation. This is at any rate a more probable etymology than the Chaldaean one which Palgrave proposes, Archæologia, xxiv. 342; cf. Wülker, Grundriss, p. 117.

The name Cædmon.

nunc laudare ... creauit] On the Saxon verses corresponding to this Latin, which are found in some MSS., see the separate note A.

Translations of poems.

p. 260. non autem ordo] Each language has of course its own peculiarities in the arrangement of words in a sentence; here,

however, there are special causes of divergence due to the transpositions of words necessitated by the laws of alliterative poetry.

neque enim possunt . . . transferri] Dante, in his own positive way, has said the same: 'nulla cosa per legame musaico armonizzata si può della sua loquela in altra trasmutare, senza rompere tutta sua dolcezza e armonia,' 'nothing that is harmonised by poetical connexion can be changed from its own language to another, without destroying all its harmony and sweetness;' Convito, i. 7.

ad uilicum . . . praeerat] 'to þæm túngerefan þe his ealdormon wæs,' 'to the townreeve who was his superior,' AS. vers.

propositum] *v.* c. 23, p. 253.

'Ruminare.'

quasi . . . ruminando] This metaphor, based on Lev. xi. 3, Deut. xiv. 6, is a very favourite one with Bede: *e.g.* 'haec [mysteria] quasi munda animalia nunc oris locutione ruminanda, nunc cordis penetralibus retractanda seruemus;' Opp. v. 31; cf. ib. 13; vii. 35, 354; viii. 32, 340; ix. 109, 348, 358; x. 340; xii. 47.

p. 261. genesis] 'þæt is seo æreste Moyses booc,' 'that is the first book of Moses,' inserts AS. vers.

sacrae scripturae] 'þæs halgan gewrites canones boca,' 'of the books of the canon of holy writ,' AS. vers.

Character of Cædmon.

erat enim . . . accensus] Cf. the character of Lazarus in Browning's Karshish:

> 'Thus is the man as harmless as a lamb;
> Only impatient, let him do his best,
> At ignorance and carelessness and sin—
> An indignation which is promptly curbed.'

casa, in qua . . . solebant] *v.* Introd. p. xxvii; 'untrumra monna hus,' 'a house for the sick,' AS. vers.

Reservation of the Sacrament.

si eucharistiam . . . haberent] 'husl,' 'housel,' AS. vers. The practice of the early Church seems to have been somewhat lax in regard to the reservation of the Sacrament; and in times of persecution greater liberty was necessary, in order that in sudden emergencies the faithful might be able to communicate. The abuses which grew out of this liberty led to its restriction. Exception was always made in favour of the sick, and this exception was retained in our own Church in the first prayer-book of Edward VI (1549), though it was abolished by the second (1552). Here it would seem that the reserved Sacrament was kept in the infirmary of the monastery, so as to be ready in case of any of the inmates becoming suddenly worse; cf. *sup.* c. 14, p. 235; Bright, pp. 278, 279, 344.

p. 262. placidam ego . . . gero] The AS. vers. is very simple

and beautiful here: 'mine broðor mine þa leofan, ic eom swiðe bliðemod to eow 7 to eallum Godes monnum,' 'my brothers, my dear ones, I am in very friendly mood towards you and towards all God's men.' Anglo-Saxon version.

laudes nocturnas] *v.* Introd. p. xxvi. 'uhtsong,' AS. vers.

signans se, &c.] On the virtue of the use of the sign of the cross, cf. Ep. ad Ecgb. § 15, p. 419. St. Bernard's mother died in the very act of signing herself: 'Cum . . . chorus . . . iam peruenisset ad illam litaniae supplicationem, "Per passionem et crucem tuam libera eam Domine," necdum cessans a supplicatione . . . eleuata manu, signans se signaculo sanctae crucis, in pace reddidit spiritum. . . . Manus, sicut erat erecta ad indicandum signum crucis, sic remansit;' S. Bern. Opp. ii. 1283; Morison's St. Bernard, p. 7. On the antiquity of this use of the sign of the cross, see D. C. A. i. 815. Sign of the cross.

reclinauit . . . finiuit] Cf. the beautiful and most touching account of Bishop Thorlak's death; Orig. Island. i. 498. Cf. also the account of Wilfrid's death; Eddius, c. 64. Death of Cædmon.

uitam finiuit] The death of Cædmon is often placed in 680 (*e. g.* by Thorpe, Cædmon, p. xxix; Bouterwek, p. ccxxvi; Wülker, Grundriss, p. 116), but for this there is absolutely no evidence, except the fact that the narrative of his death in Bede follows on that of Hild, which does belong to that year; but this, in the case of a writer like Bede, is a most unsafe ground to argue upon. The all-devouring Glastonbury has annexed the bones of Cædmon also; G. P. p. 254. Date.

CHAPTER 24. Note A.

At the end of the Moore MS., in a hand different from, but nearly contemporary with, the hand which wrote the bulk of the MS., occurs the following: Cædmon's hymn. Northumbrian version.

'Nu scylun hergan hebaen ricaes uard
metudæs maecti end his modgidanc
uerc uuldur fadur sue he uundra gihuaes
eci drictin[1] or astelidæ
he aerist scop aelda barnum
heben til hrofe haleg scepen.
tha middun[2] geard moncynnæs uard
eci dryctin æfter tiadæ
firum fold'u' frea allmectig.'

[1] The scribe at first wrote *n* for *c*, dryctin M².
[2] The scribe at first wrote *min-*.

West Saxon version.

This version is Northumbrian. The hymn occurs on the margin of iv. 24, in other MSS., in a West-Saxon form. The oldest of these MSS. that I have examined is W., where it runs:

'Nu we[1] sculon[2] herian[3] heofonrices we[ard][4]
metoddes[5] mihte[6] 7 hi[s] modgeþanc
weorc[7] wu[l]dor[8] fæder swa he wu[n]dra gehwilc[9]
ece[10] drih[ten] word[11] astealde
he[12] [æ]rest[13] gescop[14] ylda[15] [bear]num
heofon to rofe[16] [halig] scippend[17]
middan ear[de][18] mann cynnes[19] weard
ece[10] drihten æfter tid[a][20]
fyrum[21] on[22] foldum[23] frea ealmihti[24].'

It also occurs in a closely-allied form in the Anglo-Saxon version of Bede. The variations are given below in the critical notes, with the signature Ælf. (for Ælfred). The close connexion of Ælf. and O_3 should be noted. Evidently the scribe or corrector of O_3 simply copied from a MS. of the AS. vers.

Relation between them.

There can be no doubt: (i) that the Northumbrian and West-Saxon versions are too much alike to be independent of one another. (ii) That the Northumbrian version is very much older than any of the West-Saxon versions. (iii) That being Northumbrian it is more likely to represent what Cædmon actually sang than any of the others. (The transference of poems from one dialect to another is a common feature of AS. literature; cf. Wülker, Grundriss, p. 115.) (iv) That being extant in a MS. not much later than the date of Bede's death, the Northumbrian version must represent what was believed in his time to be a genuine work of Cædmon. The greater number of critics have accepted it as genuine, though some few have regarded it as a mere retranslation of Bede's Latin; cf. Wülker, pp. 117–120. The resemblance between this hymn and the opening lines of the biblical poems which commonly go by the name of Cædmon, is too vague and general to form an argument either for the genuineness of the hymn, or for the authorship of the poems. See the following note.

[1] we *om.* Ælf. [2] sceolon O_3, sculun O_{14}. [3] heri- repeated and underlined MS.; herigean Ælf. [4] MS. defective here and elsewhere. [5] metudes O_1, O_3, O_{14}, O_{17}. [6] myhte O_1, michte O_{14}, meahte Ælf. [7] wurc O_1, O_{17}. [8] wulder O_3. [9] gehwæs O_3, Ælf.; gehwylc O_{14}. [10] eche O_{14}. [11] ord O_1, O_{14}, O_{17}; ór Ælf.; word astealde *om.* O_3; astalde O_{17}. [12] þa he O_3. [13] ærust O_{14}. [14] gesceop O_1; sceop O_3, Ælf. [15] eorðe O_3. eorðan Ælf. [16] hrofe O_1, O_3, O_{14}, Ælf. [17] scyppend O_1, O_3, O_{14}, O_{17}, Ælf.; O_3 puts these two words at the end after 'frea ælmihtig.' [18] -gearde O_{17}; þa middangeard O_3, Ælf. [19] man- O_1, O_{17}; mon- O_3; -kynnes O_{14}. [20] teode O_3, Ælf. [21] firum O_1, O_{14}, O_{17}. [22] on *om.* Ælf. [23] folden O_3; foldan Ælf. [24] ælmihtig O_1, O_3, O_{14}, O_{17}, Ælf.

CHAPTER 24. Note B.

The poems of the Junius MS.

In the Bodleian Library at Oxford there exists a unique MS. (Junius xi) which contains four poems, or parts of poems, on biblical subjects. Of these the first three are based on Old Testament themes, Genesis, Exodus, Daniel; while the fourth is founded on the apocryphal gospel of Nicodemus. This last is however in a different hand from the rest, and is generally admitted to stand on a different footing; it may therefore be left out of the discussion. Junius, who received this MS. as a present from Archbishop Ussher, first published these poems in 1655. Other editions are: Thorpe, 1832; Bouterwek, 1851–1854; and Grein, in his Bibliothek, 1857 (now in course of republication by Wülker).

Attributed to Cædmon.

Junius attributed these poems to Cædmon, mainly on the ground of the similarity of their subjects to those on which Cædmon is said by Bede to have written. And this attribution, though not uncontested, was on the whole accepted until comparatively recent times. That the dialect of the poems is not Northumbrian is not in itself sufficient to disprove the authorship of Cædmon; for we have seen that the transference of poems from one dialect to another was not uncommon.

The attribution doubtful.

But it must be confessed that there is no evidence, beyond the similarity of subject, to connect these poems with Cædmon; nor is there any evidence, beyond their occurrence in the same volume, to connect them with one another as the work of the same poet. It is possible, if not probable, that all the three poems are by different authors. Nor can we exclude the possibility of modifications and additions by later hands as the poems passed from mouth to mouth, and from dialect to dialect. The individual poet counted for little in those days. He was, as Ten Brink has finely said, only a ripple on the stream of the popular poetry (in Wülker, p. 114). Hence the number of anonymous early poems. The attempt however to separate these later additions, though one to which German critics are extremely partial, is as a rule a hopeless one, and rests on grounds too subjective and arbitrary to carry assurance to any except the particular critic himself, who has often assurance enough and to spare.

Relation to the Heliand.

One such addition however has been proved to exist by arguments which rest on strong objective grounds. Sievers has shown conclusively in his monograph, Der Heliand und die angelsächsische Genesis (1875), that the account of the fall of the angels and of the fall of man (Genesis, vv. 246–851) is based on an Old-Saxon original, now lost, nearly related to, or (as Sievers maintains) by the actual author of the

Old-Saxon poem known as the Heliand. If the second part of Sievers' theory were as certain as the first, this would give us a *terminus a quo* for dating the Anglo-Saxon Genesis, for Windisch has shown incontestably that the Heliand is under large obligations to Rhabanus Maurus' commentary on St. Matthew, which was written in the year 820 or 821. But the weak point about this second part of Sievers' theory is that we have no remains of Old-Saxon poetry except the Heliand, and therefore we cannot certainly tell how far the points in which the Genesis resembles the Heliand were peculiar to the author of the latter, or were common characteristics of Old-Saxon poetry; cf. Wülker, pp. 127, 128. And whatever the obligations of the Anglo-Saxon poem to the poetry of the old country, the possibility is not excluded that both may be products of the impulse given by the cowherd bard of Whitby in earlier days; especially if we remember the ecclesiastical intercourse between the two countries from the days of St. Boniface onwards, and the sense of their common origin which survived in the insular and continental Saxons; see on v. 9. On the other hand similar needs and circumstances call forth similar effects; and the Old-Saxon bard may have been led quite independently to use his gift of song to bring nearer to the hearts of his own people the knowledge of that Saviour, Whom it was his mission to preach (cf. the case of Otfried, cited above). Whether, in the one point at which the two cycles of poetry touch, the contact was due to an Anglo-Saxon bard translating from the Old-Saxon, as Sievers thinks, or to an Old-Saxon who settled in Britain, as Ten Brink opines, can never be known. On the whole then we must conclude that, with the exception of the hymn given above, there is nothing that we can, with any degree of certainty, suppose to be the actual work of Cædmon himself. On the other hand, the poems which we do possess, may well enough be due to the impulse which he first gave, and be the work of disciples like those who, as Bede testifies, imitated, without attaining, the master's skill.

CHAPTER 24. Note C.

Parallel traditions. Hesiod.

The story of poets receiving poetical inspiration supernaturally in a dream or vision is a very ancient one. It is told *e.g.* of Hesiod; Tzetzes' account is as follows: *συνέβαινε τὸν Ἡσίοδον τοῦτον ἄρνας ἐν τῷ Ἑλικῶνι ποιμαίνειν. φασὶ δὲ ὡς ἐννέα τινὲς ἐλεούσαι γυναῖκες, καὶ δρεψάμεναι κλῶνας δάφνης ἑλικωνίτιδος αὐτῷ ἐπεσίτισαν, καὶ οὕτω σοφίας*

ποιητικῆς ἐπεμφόρητο [? ἐνεπεφόρητο]. Tzetzes then goes on to explain the occurrence as a dream, and to give it an allegorical interpretation. Bouterwek, p. ccxxvii cites the Icelandic parallel of Hallbjörn the shepherd-bard of Þingvöllr. See Flateyjarbok, i. 214, 215; or Fornmanna Sögur, iii. 102–104. But the closest parallel, if only it were an independent one, would be the following 'Praefatio in librum antiquum lingua Saxonica conscriptum.' Hallbjörn.

'Cum plurimas reipublicae utilitates Ludouicus piissimus Augustus summo atque praeclaro ingenio prudenter statuere atque ordinare contendat; maxime tamen quod ad sacrosanctam religionem aeternamque animarum salubritatem attinet, studiosus ac deuotus esse comprobatur. Hoc quotidie solicite tractans, ut populum sibi a Deo subiectum sapienter instruendo ad potiora atque excellentiora semper accendat[1], et nociua quaeque atque superstitiosa comprimendo compescat. In talibus ergo studiis suus iugiter beneuolus uersatur animus, talibus delectamentis pascitur, ut meliora semper augendo multiplicet, et deteriora uetando extinguat. Verum, sicut in aliis innumerabilibus infirmioribusque rebus, eius comprobari potest affectus, ita quoque in hoc magno opusculo sua non mediocriter commendatur beneuolentia. Nam cum diuinorum librorum solummodo literati atque eruditi prius notitiam haberent, eius studio [atque imperii tempore, sed Dei omnipotentia atque inchoantia mirabiliter] actum est nuper, ut cunctus populus suae ditioni subditus, [Theudisca loquens lingua,] eiusdem diuinae lectionis nihilominus notionem acceperit. Praecepit namque cuidam uiro de gente Saxonum, qui apud suos non ignobilis Vates habebatur, ut uetus ac nouum Testamentum in Germanicam linguam poetice transferre[2] studeret, [quatenus non solum literatis, uerum etiam illiteratis sacra diuinorum praeceptorum lectio panderetur.] Qui iussis imperialibus libenter obtemperans [nimirum eo facilius, quo desuper admonitus est prius], ad tam difficile tamque arduum se statim contulit opus: [potius tamen confidens de adiutorio obtemperantiae, quam de suae ingenio paruitatis.] The author of the Heliand.

'Igitur a mundi creatione[3] initium capiens, iuxta historiae ueritatem quaeque excellentiora summatim decerpens, et interdum quaedam, ubi commodum duxit, mystico sensu depingens, ad finem totius ueteris ac noui Testamenti interpretando more poetico satis faceta eloquentia perduxit. [Quod opus tam lucide tamque eleganter iuxta idioma illius linguae composuit, ut audientibus ac

[1] Cf. Bede: 'ad . . . appetitum sunt uitae caelestis accensi,' p. 259.
[2] Cf. Bede: 'in modulationem carminis transferre,' p. 260.
[3] Cf. Bede: 'canebat . . . de creatione mundi,' ib.

intelligentibus non minimam sui decoris[1] dulcedinem praestet.] Iuxta morem uero illius poematis omne opus per uitteas distinxit, quas nos lectiones uel sententias possumus appellare.

'Ferunt eundem Vatem dum adhuc artis huius penitus esset ignarus[2], in somnis esse admonitum[3], ut sacrae legis praecepta ad cantilenam propriae linguae congrua modulatione coaptaret[4]. Quam admonitionem nemo ueram esse ambigit, qui huius carminis notitiam, studiumque eius compositoris atque desiderii anhelationem habuerit. Tanta namque copia uerborum, tantaque excellentia sensuum resplendet, ut cuncta Theudisca poemata suo uincat decore[5]. Clare quidem pronunciatione sed clarius intellectu lucet. Sic nimirum omnis diuina agit scriptura. Vt quanto quis eam ardentius appetat, tanto magis cor inquirentis quadam dulcedinis suauitate demulceat[6]. Vt uero studiosi lectoris intentio facilius quaeque, ut gesta sunt, possit inuenire, singulis sententiis iuxta quod ratio huius operis postularat, capitula annotata sunt.'

This 'praefatio' is followed by certain 'Versus de poeta,' of which the following are the most important;

'iuuencos . . .

Laetus et attonitus larga pascebat in herba,
Cumque fatigatus patulo sub tegmine, fessa
Conuictus somno tradidisset membra quieto[7]:
Mox diuina polo resonans uox labitur alto,
O quid agis, Vates, cur cantus tempora perdis?
Incipe diuinas recitare ex ordine leges,
Transferre in propriam clarissima dogmata linguam.
Nec mora post tanti fuerat miracula dicti
Qui prius agricola, mox et fuit ille poeta.

No MS. authority for these pieces has ever been discovered. They were printed first by Flacius Illyricus in 1562 in the second edition of his Catalogus testium ueritatis, pp. 93, 94; p. 1035 of the ed. of 1608; and have been reprinted frequently since, *e. g.* in Bouquet, vi. 256, and in Sievers' Heliand, pp. 3–6. That they are not sixteenth-century forgeries (as J. W. Schulte maintained, Zeitschr. f. deutsche Phil. iv. 49 ff.), is shown in the case of the prose.

[1] Cf. Bede: 'carmina . . . decoris ac dignitatis,' p. 260.
[2] Cf. Bede: 'nil carminum aliquando didicerat,' p. 259.
[3] Cf. Bede: 'adstitit ei quidam per somnium,' ib.
[4] Cf. Bede: 'in sua, id est, Anglorum lingua proferret'; ib. and *v. s.* p. 255, note [2].
[5] Cf. Bede: 'nullus eum aequiparare potuit'; ib. and *v. s.* note [1].
[6] Cf. Bede: 'uerbis poeticis maxima suauitate,' p. 258.
[7] Cf. Bede: 'membra dedisset sopori,' p. 259.

as Sievers points out, Heliand, p. xxv, by the use of the word *uittea* = AS. *fit*, *fitt*, ME. *fitte*, a song *or* poem; which no renaissance scholar could have hit upon; while had any such written the verses, they would have been more classical.

These pieces have always been understood as referring to the Old-Saxon poem of the Heliand, to which allusion has already been made. How far they give a true account of its origin need not be discussed here. I would however say that I cannot see that strong contradiction which Sievers and others find between the first and second parts of the 'praefatio.' The subject suggested by the incident, whatever it was, which first revealed to the Heliand bard his poetic powers, may have been afterwards executed under imperial orders; just as Cædmon is represented as using the materials supplied him by his teachers for the execution of the task which was laid upon him in his dream; and the foot-notes will show that points of contact with Bede's narrative occur in the earlier part of the Preface, as well as in the later. This view of Sievers' necessitates the further assumption of interpolations in the earlier part of the Preface. I have indicated by brackets the portions which Sievers and others believe to be interpolated. It is possible that this may be so in some cases; but I have no great faith in these arbitrary excisions, based on no external authority or evidence. It is true that some of the sentences are clumsy; that others exhibit traces of repetition; but these are phenomena which occur even in the writings of German critics. One sentence ('nimirum ... prius') implies the view taken above that there is no necessary inconsistency between the first and second part of the preface, and therefore must of course be excised. It should be noted that the statement that the Heliand bard was originally a herdsman occurs only in the verses and not in the prose preface. Clearly the verses have been much more influenced by the Cædmon story than the prose; though the possibility that the latter has also been influenced by it to some extent cannot be excluded. And this possibility diminishes somewhat the interest of the parallel, which if it were wholly independent would be extremely great. The statement that the poet began his work 'a mundi creatione,' lends some slight support to Sievers' view that he was the actual author of the Old-Saxon poem on which is based the interpolated passage in the Anglo-Saxon Genesis.

The story of Cædmon and others like it rest on two truths; the first, that poetry, like 'every good and perfect gift,' is 'from above'; the second, that in moments of heightened feeling, when

'We feel that we are greater than we know,'

men acquire, or at any rate first become conscious of, the possession of powers previously dormant or non-existent. That some such moment occurred in the life of Cædmon we need not hesitate to believe; though the record of it may have taken on some legendary features. At any rate we shall not seek with Palgrave to get rid of his personality altogether by means of a Chaldaean etymology.

CHAPTER 25.

Coldingham a double monastery.

P. 262. monasterium uirginum] It is, however, evident from what follows that it was a double monastery of monks and nuns; and so it is expressly described by S. D. i. 59: 'erant siquidem in eodem loco, diuersis tamen separatae mansionibus, monachorum sanctimonialiumque congregationes, qui paulatim a regularis disciplinae statu defluentes inhonesta inuicem familiaritate decipiendi occasionem inimico praebuerant.' To these disorders S. D. traces the exclusion of women from Cuthbertine churches. Other and still more mythical explanations are given in the so-called Irish Life of St. Cuthbert; Misc. Biogr. pp. 83 ff., on which life, *v. s.* The fact is that the rule is Columbite, and not specially Cuthbertine.

Coludi Urbem] Coldingham. See on c. 19.

Destroyed by fire.

per culpam incuriae] Cf. Sax. Chron. E. 679: 'Her . . . Coludes burh forbarn mid godcundum fyre.' 'Here Coldingham was burnt with heaven-sent fire.' This is improving a little on Bede; though the whole course of his narrative implies that the fire, if caused proximately by human carelessness, was a divine punishment for guilt. On the frequency of fires, cf. on ii. 14. This very phrase occurs ii. 7, p. 94; Vit. Cudb. c. 14. The date given in the Sax. Chron. must be wrong, as Bede clearly implies that the disaster did not take place till after Ebba's death, and we have seen that she was alive in 681. See on c. 19.

Adamnan of Coldingham.

p. 263. Adamnanus] The four Masters, *sub. ann.* 703, confuse this Adamnan with the abbot of Iona, who was the biographer of St. Columba.

Sunday and Thursday festal days.

die dominica et quinta] Sunday was of course a festal day because of the Resurrection, Thursday because of the Ascension. Cf. AA. SS. Hib. ex Cod. Salm. col. 408: 'angelus Domini ad sanctum Fintanum salutandum duobus in ebdomade diebus semper ueniebat, scilicet die dominica et quinta.'

triduanum] *v. s.* on ii. 2.

p. 264. Aebbæ] *v. s.* on c. 19.

Parallel story.

uidi adstantem mihi, &c.] A somewhat similar story is told of Alcuin's monastery at Tours: 'In dormitorio beati Martini duo

Angeli ingressi sunt, unus extendebat indicem ; alter monachum, quem ille ostendebat, percutiebat. Unus solus uigilans euasit. . . . Monachi illi . . . nimis deliciosi uiuebant, et sericis induebantur uestibus ; calciamenta erant uitrei coloris ;' Bouquet, v. 380.

Structure of monasteries.

p. 265. domunculae] The monastery would seem to have been built in the Irish fashion ; an enclosure with the church and other public buildings standing up ('sublimiter erecta,' *sup.* p. 264) in the centre, and round about them the lodgings of the community, detached huts, probably of wattle or wood. And these Irish monasteries seem to have been built very much on the model of the Eastern Lauras—clusters or avenues of cells round the conventual buildings ; cf. Rs. Ad. p. 360 ; D. C. A. i. 329 ; ii. 1239, 1240.

Disorders in monasteries.

comessationum, &c.] 'Quicunque abrenunciato uinculo coniugali uirginitatem suam Domino consecrauerint, mores simul oportet uirginitati condignos ostendere. Abstineant ab otiosis eloquiis, ira, rixa, detractione, habitu impudico, comessationibus, potationibus, contentione, et aemulatione ; et e contrario uigiliis sanctis, orationibus, lectionibus diuinis, et psalmis, doctrinae et eleemosynis, caeterisque Spiritus fructibus operam impendant, ut qui futurae statum uitae in professione tenent, in qua non nubent, neque nubentur, sed sunt sicut angeli Dei in coelo ;' Opp. viii. 282. The language of the Council of Clovesho, 747 A. D., is strikingly like Bede's : 'non sint sanctimonialium domicilia turpium confabulationum, commessationum, ebrietatum, luxuriantiumque cubilia ; . . . magisque . . . canendis psalmis, quam texendis et plectendis uario colore inanis gloriae uestibus studeant operam dare,' c. 20 ; H. & S. iii. 369 ; cf. ib. 374. Cf. also D. C. A. ii. 1413, and Alcuin's exhortations to the monks of Jarrow and Wearmouth, of Lindisfarne, and of Hexham ; Mon. Alc. pp. 190–193, 197 ff, 374, 375.

Luxury in dress.

subtilioribus indumentis] Cf. Bede on Luke vii. 25 : 'nemo . . . existimet in luxu atque studio uestium peccatum deesse, qui si hoc culpa non esset, nullo modo Ioannem Dominus de uestimenti sui asperitate laudasset ;' Opp. xi. 47. (This comes ultimately from St. Gregory, and is quoted also by Aldhelm, Opp. p. 74). So Bede on 1 Pet. iii. 3 : 'quia, sicut Cyprianus ait, sericum et purpuram indutae Christum induere non possunt ;' Opp. xii. 224 ; cf. xi. 166. The complaints as to excess of apparel in monasteries are extraordinarily frequent. Compare, besides the passages already quoted, Mon. Alc. pp. 180–184, 331–336, 366–369, 616–618 = H. & S. iii. 494, 502, 520, 532. Aldhelm, Opp. p. 77, gives a most curious account of the extravagances of dress in his time.

p. 266. conpresbyter] So 'conleuita,' 'fellow-deacon' ; Opp. vi. 78.

ob desolationem] *i.e.* after the fire.

CHAPTER 26.

Egfrid's invasion of Ireland.

Ecgfrid rex ... Hiberniam ... uastauit] The motive of this invasion is not clear. It may have been mere ambition, the desire of Egfrid to extend his overlordship over the Scots of Ireland, as well as over their kinsmen in Britain. Skene thinks that he wished to prevent the former from helping the latter to throw off the Northumbrian yoke, C. S. i. 265; so, practically, Green, M. E. p. 378; while Rhŷs suggests that he suspected the Irish of helping the Picts, C. B. pp. 171, 172. Moberly, following Stevenson, thinks that it was connected with the harbouring of Aldfrid among the Irish. But though Aldfrid may have been in Ireland during part of his exile, he was certainly at this time in Iona; see below. Whatever the motive, Bede clearly regards it as an unjust aggression. The Irish Annals naturally mention this invasion; *e.g.* Ann. Ult. 684: 'Saxones campum Breg uastant, et ecclesias plurimas in mense Iuni.' 'Campus Breg,' in Irish Magh Bregh, was 'in the east portion of ancient Meath. In after times the name was applied to the extensive tract of country reaching from Dublin northwards to near Dundalk, and north-westwards to the Fews Mountains;' Rs. Ad. p. 74.

pietatis] 'pity,' so that 'impietatis' below probably means 'cruelty,' though the sense of 'impiety' would also suit well.

Imprecations of Irish saints.

inprecationibus] Drs. Reeves (Ad. p. lxxvii) and Bright (p. 330) have both called attention to the fondness of the Irish saints for this weapon. It would be easy to add largely to the references which they have given. The frequency with which Irish saints distribute curses both temporal and eternal, is indeed remarkable in persons with a reputation for holiness. There is a regular technical name in Irish, *fácbala* (lit. 'leavings'), for the blessings or curses left by Irish saints to particular families or territories; Three Fragments, p. 186. For alleged fulfilments of these particular curses see H. H. p. 109; R. W. i. 196; and Notes to Sax. Chron. 699 E.

Egfrid and the Picts.

Pictorum prouinciam] On the probable course taken by Egfrid's invasion see S. C. S. i. 266. At the beginning of Egfrid's reign, before his separation from Ethelthryth, the Picts, 'populi bestiales Pictorum,' had tried to throw off the 'Saxon' yoke, but unsuccessfully: 'et in seruitutem redacti populi usque ad diem occisionis regis captiuitatis iugo subiecti iacebant;' Eddius, c. 19; cf. Eadmer's Life of Wilfrid, cc. 20, 21. But after his quarrel with Wilfrid all went wrong with Egfrid, Eddius, c. 24; cf. on c. 12.

Cudbercto] On him *v.* cc. 27–32. A year before he was said to

have prophesied the death of Egfrid to his sister Elfled ; Baed. Vit. Cudb. c. 24 ; Vit. Anon. § 28. At the time of Egfrid's death he was with the queen Eormenburg at Carlisle, and received a revelation of the issue of the fray ; Baed. Vit. Cudb. c. 27 ; Vit. Anon. § 37. Eormenburg, after the death of Egfrid, took the veil, 'de lupa post occisionem regis, agna Dei, et perfecta abbatissa, materque familias optima commutata ;' Eddius, c. 24. There is an extraordinary story in Eadmer's life of Wilfrid, c. 43, how that Wilfrid, while celebrating mass in Sussex, not merely saw the death of Egfrid, but saw his soul carried off to hell by two evil spirits. In c. 57 he adds this : 'illud quod dixi de damnatione regis Ecfridi fateor nusquam legi ; sed tot talesque uiri id ita se habuisse confirmant, ut eis nolle credere magnae impudentiae esse crediderim.' Legends about Egfrid's death.

The Irish annals mention this battle also ; *e.g.* Ann. Ult. 685, 'Bellum Duin Nechtain xx^mo die mensi Maii, sabbati die factum est, in quo Etfrith [Ecfrith] mac Ossu rex Saxonum, xv^mo anno regni sui consummato, magna cum caterua militum suorum interfectus est ;' Tigh. adds, 'la [per] Bruidi mac Bili regis Fortrenn.' May 20 was a Saturday in 685. S. D. i. 32 says : 'Rex Egfridus . . . extinctus est apud Nechtanesmere, quod est stagnum Nechtani, die xiii. Kal. Iuniarum, anno regni sui xv, cuius corpus in Hii, insula Columbae, sepultum est.' 'Dún Nechtain,' 'Nechtan's fort' is Dunnichen near Forfar, called Dunnechtyn in a charter of William the Lion. 'Nechtan's Mere' is Dunnichen Moss ; Rs. Ad. pp. 186, 187. The Sax. Chron. E. 685 says that Egfrid fell 'be norðan sæ,' 'to the North of the Sea,' *i.e.* of the Forth. Nennius, § 57, calls the battle : 'Gueith Linn Garan,' *i.e.* 'Fight of the pool of Garan.' He also says : 'Echfrid . . . fecit bellum contra fratruelem suum, qui erat rex Pictorum, nomine Birdei [= Brude mac Bili], et ibi corruit cum omni robore exercitus sui.' The relationship indicated by 'fratruelis' (itself a vague word, *v.* Ducange) is here very vague. Brude mac Bili seems to have succeeded according to the Pictish law of succession in right of his mother, a daughter of Talorg, son of Eanfrid, Oswy's eldest brother ; see on iii. 1 ; P. & S. p. cxxi. Thus he was Egfrid's first cousin twice removed. He died in 692 ; Ann. Ult. Battle of Nechtansmere.

p. 267. regni . . . XV.] See on c. 5.

Scottiam] Ireland, as always in Bede.

nam et Picti, &c.] Nennius *u. s.* says : 'et nunquam addiderunt Saxones ambronum [? Humbronum = Hymbronensium ; c. 17, *supra* ; cf. Nenn. § 63, where this also yields a good sense, and where one MS. gives the absurd gloss : id est, Ald Saxonum] ut a Pictis uectigal exigerent.' Capgrave, in his life of Wilfrid, H. Y. i. 503, Inroads of the Picts.

says : 'expulsi . . . sunt Angli de prouincia illa, et pars regni Berniciorum a mari Scotorum (the Forth) usque Twedam, usque tunc regibus Northanhumbrorum subiecta, omnino ablata est, nec usque ad nostram aetatem in statum pristinum et subiectionem, occulto Dei aduersante iudicio, redigi potuit.' But this is a transference to 685 of a later state of things. The frontier probably remained at the Forth, but much exposed to inroads of the Picts, so that Bishop Trumwine had to fly, and a small body of nuns, 'timore barbarici exercitus,' took refuge in Cuthbert's diocese; Vit. Cudb. c. 30. Sig. Gembl. sums up the situation thus: 'Picti, Scotti, et Brittones Anglos nimis premunt, et libertate . . . recepta, multam Angliae partem inuadunt;' Pertz, vi. 327.

per annos . . . XLVI] *i. e.* Bede wrote about 731.

Aebbercurnig] See on i. 12. H. H. calls Trumwine 'abbas Ebercurni,' p. 106.

Boundaries of the Picts and Angles.

Anglorum terras Pictorumque] This refers to the limits of the territories (terras) of the two powers, and does not exclude the possibility that elements of both populations may have coexisted on either side of the Forth; cf. P. & S. p. cvii; S. C. S. i. 133; Rhŷs, C. B. p. 112.

Dispersion of religious houses.

eosque . . . commendans] So in later times, owing to the incursions of the Scots, the archbishop of York had frequently to beg shelter for the Augustinian canons of Hexham in other religious houses; Raine's Hexham, I. lxxxvi, xcii f.

conditus est] His remains also were absorbed by Glastonbury; G. P. p. 254.

Hereditary succession in monasteries.

Aelbfled, una cum matre Eanflede] In many Irish monasteries a system of clanship prevailed, and the abbacy and other chief offices were as a rule in the hands of members of the founder's clan. In some cases this clan system developed into strict hereditary succession; the result of which was the practical alienation of the endowments from ecclesiastical uses; Rs. Ad. pp. lxxiii. 84, 113, 335, 336, 342; cf. Maine, Early Institutions, p. 238. Nothing answering to the Irish clan system ever prevailed in English monasteries; but there are indications of a tendency to something like hereditary succession. Benedict Biscop cautions the monks of Wearmouth against electing an abbot 'secundum genus;' Hist. Abb. § 11; 'iuxta successionem generis;' Hist. Anon. Abb. § 16. Here we have Eanfled and her daughter Elfled ruling Whitby (cf. App. I. § 18, and a similar case in Mon. Mog. pp. 66 ff.); in v. 3 we are told of Cwenburg, daughter of Hereburg, Abbess of Vetadun (Watton), that the latter 'abbatissam eam pro se facere disposuerat.' Moreover the letter to Egbert, § 12, complains that men

'emunt sibi sub praetextu construendorum monasteriorum territoria, . . . et haec . . . in ius sibi haereditarium regalibus edictis faciunt asscribi.' An instance of one of these hereditary monasteries occurs in a charter given in H. & S. iii. 337, 338; K. C. D. No. 82; Birch,i. 225, 226. Other cases are quoted S. C. H. i. 223–225; cf. also H. & S. iii. 408. We have brothers succeeding one another, S. D. i. 281, 282.

quarum . . . mentionem] iii. 24, p. 179, *q. v.*

p. 268. Aldfrid] In Vit. Cudb. c. 24, Bede speaks much as here 'qui ferebatur filius fuisse [Osuiu];' but lower in the same chapter, and in Vita Metr. c. 21, he calls him Egfrid's 'frater nothus;' cf. Ælfric, Hom. ed. Thorpe, ii. 148: 'cyfesboren.' A year before, Cuthbert had foretold his succession: 'et tunc in insulis Scottorum ob studium literarum exsulabat.' Vita Cudb. *u. s.* The Vita Anon. § 28, says more definitely: 'tunc erat in insula quam Hy nominant.' He had been for some time an exile: 'non paucis antea temporibus in regionibus Scottorum lectioni operam dabat, ipse ob amorem sapientiae spontaneum passus exsilium;' Vita Cudb. c. 24; Vita Metr. c. 21. The 'regiones Scottorum,' may well include Ireland, and so W. M.: 'in Hiberniam . . . secesserat,' i. 57. Egfrid had wished to make him a bishop, perhaps with the idea of excluding him from the succession to the crown, but he declined on the ground of his unworthiness; Vita Anon., and Vita Cudb. *u. s.* Hence we may doubt if his exile was wholly voluntary; and so W. M. *u. s.*: 'seu ui seu indignatione secesserat.' He was known as Fland Fina among the Irish; Fina, according to the Irish authorities, being the name of his mother; Rs. Ad. p. 185. Irish poems attributed to him are still extant. Cf. LL. 31–38; ib. Introd. p. 20; L. Br. 12 b-29; Rs. Ad. pp. xliv. f. 185, 186, 376; Three Fragments, p. 111; Hardiman's Irish Minstrelsy, ii. 372. If he was half Irish by birth, his Irish predilections are accounted for. All authorities agree as to his great learning. Bede calls him here 'uir . . . doctissimus,' below, v. 12, p. 309: 'uir undecumque doctissimus;' Eddius, cc. 44, 49, calls him 'rex sapientissimus.' Alcuin says of him: Aldfrid.

'Qui sacris fuerat studiis imbutus ab annis
Aetatis primae, ualido sermone sophista,
Acer et ingenio, idem rex simul atque magister.'

De Sanctis Ebor. vv. 843 ff.; cf. W. M. *u. s.*: 'omni philosophia composuerat animum.' He was, in fact, the philosopher-king; cf. Hardy, Cat. i. 384. The Irish call him, 'in t-ecnaid amra, dalta Adamnain,' 'the wondrous sage, Adamnan's pupil;' Three Fragments, p. 111; 'ardsui Erenn eolusa,' 'Erin's chief sage of

learning;' Rs. Ad. p. 186. We find him giving eight hides of land for a MS. of the cosmographers 'mirandi operis;' Hab. § 15. For his relations with the learned Aldhelm, see on v. 18. An ancient ritual in the library of the Dean and Chapter of Durham is said to have belonged to him, but is not really older than the ninth century; *v.* Rituale Eccles. Dunelm. p. x, Surtees Society, 1840. He is said to have married Cuthburga, a sister of Ini of Wessex, who left him to become a nun at Barking under Hildilid (see on iv. 10), and ultimately became foundress and abbess of Wimborne; W. M. i. 35; Hardy, Cat. *u. s.*; Mab. AA. SS. III. i. 299 ff.; D. C. B. i. 730.

nobiliter recuperauit] The Vit. Anon. Cudb. § 28, speaks of him as: 'Alfridus qui nunc regnat pacifice.' In the Vit. Metr. c. 21, Bede says:

'Utque nouus Iosia, fideque animoque magis quam
Annis maturus, nostrum regit inclitus orbem.'

This seems distinctly against the assertion of W. M. *u. s.* accepted by Smith, that he was older than Egfrid, as in that case he would be more than forty at the time of his accession. W. M. adds: 'summa pace et gaudio prouinciae praefuit; nihil unquam, praeter in persecutione magni Wilfridi, quod liuor edax digne carpere possit admittens.'

Death of Hlothhere of Kent.

VIII. Id. Febr.] *i. e.* Feb. 6, 685. In c. 5. *ad fin.* Bede says that he reigned eleven years and seven months, which is more correct, seeing that he succeeded in July, 673, ib.

Edric.

Edric ... regnauit] 'sine amore et reuerentia Centensium,' adds H. H. p. 106. In the Ann. Lindisfarn. et Cantuar., Pertz, iv. 2, his 'depositio' is noted at Aug. 31, 687. Bede's statement that he reigned a year and a half, would place his death in Aug. 686. Prior to his exile he seems to have reigned in conjunction with his uncle Hlothhere. There is a short Kentish Code which bears their joint names. Thorpe, Ancient Laws, i. 26 ff. Schmid, Gesetze, pp. 10 ff.

Irregular succession in Kent.

aliquod ... spatium] If Edric died Aug. 686, and Witred succeeded, Oct. 690 (see on v. 8, 23), the 'aliquod spatium' would be rather over four years. Elmham makes it six years, p. 253; but then he includes the reign of Edric 'infra perturbatae regiae successionis ... limites,' p. 287; cf. next note.

reges ... externi] Sig. Gembl. seems to understand this as a regular foreign invasion of 'England,' 687; 'Edrich *Anglorum* rege mortuo, externi reges regnum *Angliae* disperdunt et discindunt annis IV.' 691: 'Wichtred ... gentem *Anglorum* ab oppressione exterorum liberat;' Pertz, vi. 327, 328. The sense given to the

phrase by H. H. p. 106: 'extraneus a regali prosapia,' is doubtless the right one, though he wrongly makes Edric himself one of these 'reges extranei.' This disturbance of the Kentish succession was due to the encroachments of Wessex under Cædwalla and his brother Mul; *v.* Sax. Chron. 685–687, 694; Mul being apparently set up for a short time as king. Elmham, pp. 237, 252, 253: 'iste uero Mulo in catalogo regum Cantiae annotari non debet.'

Uictred] See on v. 8, *ad fin.*

CHAPTER 27.

Cudberctum] 'No saint has left so deep an impression on the memory of the Anglo-Saxon nation as Cuthbert;' Werner, p. 66. For later lives of him, see Hardy, Cat. i. 296–317, ii. 256; and add to the list there given, the Metrical life in Northern English, recently edited for the Surtees Society by the Rev. J. T. Fowler, of Durham, from a MS. at Castle Howard; cf. also Opp. Min. pp. 200, 201. For the alleged Irish origin of St. Cuthbert, see the Libellus de Ortu printed in Biogr. Misc. pp. 63–87, of which an analysis may be found in Hardy, i. 310–313. The whole composition is of the most worthless character, in the most abject style of hagiology. It is extraordinary that Dr. Reeves (Adamn. pp. ix–xi, 296, 297). should have attached any value to its statements. Mr. Skene (C. S. ii. 205), goes so far as to suggest that Bede *suppressed* the Irish origin of St. Cuthbert in deference to criticisms. 'The Irish life' (*i. e.* the Libellus), he says, was 'recognised by the monks of Durham as *early* (!) as the fourteenth century,' *i. e.* seven hundred years after the saint's death. When we remember that an Irish pedigree has been made out for St. Gregory (*v. s.* on ii. 1), we shall know how to estimate these statements. The editors of the AA. SS. Mart. iii. 95, 96, have spent more labour on the criticism of this composition than it is worth. There is an excellent article on the same question by the Rev. George Phillips in the Ushaw Magazine for June, 1892, for a copy of which I am indebted to the author's kindness. There is a good sketch of Cuthbert by Canon Raine in D. C. B.; cf. his Hexham, i. 26. St. Cuthbert.

Farne] For his life on Farne, cf. the next chapter, and cc 17–22, of Bede's Prose life, with the corresponding §§ 20, 23–27, of the Vita Anon.

pueritiae] For a story of his childhood, *v.* Bede, Vita Cudb. c. 1; Vita Anon. §§ 4, 5.

p. 269. Mailros] Melrose. His entry into the monastic life was

He enters Melrose.

occasioned by a vision which he had on the banks of the Leader of the soul of Aidan being taken up to heaven; Vita Pros. c. 4; Vita Anon. § 8. It must therefore have been in 651; and so Ann. Lindisf., Pertz, xix. 504.

propositus] 'profost *7* regolweard,' 'provost and guardian of the rule,' AS. vers. For the latter word, cf. K. C. D. No. 226; Birch, No. 330.

Boisil.

Boisil] For his reception of St. Cuthbert, see Vita Pros. c. 6; which rests on the evidence of the eye-witness who was still alive when Bede wrote. There is nothing corresponding to this in the Vita Anon. His name is perpetuated in the little town of St. Boswells on the Tweed, east of Melrose, famous for its sheep fair, and in the dedication of the church at Tweedmouth; Bright, p. 186; Bates, On the Names . . . in the early lives of St. Cuthbert, p. 8; cf. the name of Bosel, Bishop of the Hwiccas, c. 23, p. 255, and the family name Boswell.

His death.

postquam migrauit ad Dominum] See the beautiful account of his death, so like Bede's own, in Vit. Pros. c. 8. On the date, cf. on iii. 27. Durham claimed to possess his relics, obtained by the great relic hunter Alfred the sacrist; S. D. i. 88, 221.

Amulets.

fylacteria] 'amulets.' The word in the Vita Cudb. is 'ligaturas'; *v.* Ducange under both words. St. Boniface in 742 complains to Pope Zacharias that these things were said to be not unknown in Rome itself: 'dicunt . . . se uidisse ibi mulieres pagano ritu filacteria et ligaturas et in brachiis et cruris *sic*) ligatas habere, et publice ad uendendum uenales ad comparandum aliis offerre;' Mon. Mog. p. 115. Zacharias, in 743, declares that he has suppressed these practices, ib. 120–121. Alcuin complains of the same thing to Ethelhard, Archbishop of Canterbury (793–805): 'Multas uidebam consuetudines que fieri non debebant . . . Nam ligaturas portant quasi sanctum quid estimantes;' Mon. Alc. p. 719; cf. ib. 886; D. C. A. i. 78, 79, ii. 990–992. The word is used, without any bad significance, of a cross containing relics; Raine's Hexham, i. 55; cf. Ltft., App. Ff. II. ii. 534. On magic, &c., cf. Cockayne, Anglo-Saxon Leechdoms, I. xxix. ff., cited by M. & L. p. 351.

Early zeal.

erat quippe moris, &c.] Cf. sup. iii. 26, *ad fin.*; Ep. ad Egb. § 4, *ad fin.* See also Bede on Mark iii. 20: 'utinam, Domine Iesu, et in nostri temporibus aeui tantum gratiae tuis fidelibus largiaris, qui doctores suos assiduitate discendi . . . ab ipsa quoque panis quotidiani perceptione praepediant;' and on vi. 31: 'ubi magna temporis illius felicitas de labore docentium simul et discentium studio demonstratur, quae utinam nostro in aeuo rediret, ut

tanta ministris uerbi frequentia fidelium insistat auditorum, quae nec liberum eis curandi corporis spatium concedat;' Opp. x. 49, 93; cf. Introduction, p. xxxv.

p. 270. in Mailronensi monasterio] 'in Mægilros ðæm mynstre,' AS. vers.

Eata] Cf. on iii. 26. He had originally admitted Cuthbert as monk; Vita Pros. c. 8. For the date of Cuthbert's transference to Lindisfarne, see on iii. 27 and next note. Eata.

auctoritate propositi] Cf. Ann. Lindisf. 664: 'Committitur ... ecclesia Lindisfarnensis Eatano abbati, ubi Sanctus Cuthbertus constituitur prior;' Pertz, xix. 504; cf. Fl. Wig. ad ann. 664. Part of the 'regularis disciplina' which Cuthbert would have to teach at Lindisfarne would be the observance of the Roman Easter, &c. in accordance with the decision of the Synod of Whitby. He had much opposition to endure from those, 'qui priscae suae consuetudini, quam regulari mallent obtemperare custodiae; quos tamen ille modesta patientiae suae uirtute superabat,' &c.; Vita Cudb. c. 16. The whole passage is very beautiful. Cuthbert prior of Lindisfarne.

familiariter] *i. e.* 'in the manner of a familia, as his household,' 'heowesclice,' AS. vers.

Aidan qui primus, &c.] See note on iii. 4.

p. 271. omnia communia] See on c. 23, p. 254. After this in Vita Pros. c. 16, comes a most beautiful sketch of Cuthbert's character; cf. ib. c. 22. For traditional accounts of his personal appearance, cf. S. D. i. 204, 231, 232.

CHAPTER 28.

peruenit] In 676. Ann. Lindisf. 'Cuthbertus intrat Farne, ubi ix annos terit;' Pertz, xix. 504. So Fl. Wig. i. 34; cf. Ang. Sac. i. 155; S. D. i. 30. Cuthbert on Farne.

de uita illius ... conscripsimus] On Bede's two lives of Cuthbert and the dates at which they were written, *v.* Introduction, pp. xlvi, cxlvi, cxlviii; *infra*, p. 297.

spirituum ... accommodus] Cf. Rs. Ad. p. 206; Camb. Brit. Saints, p. 8: 'Sanctus Bernacus ... locum illum a spiritibus immundis liberauit, quem ipsi omni nocte oberrantes ... usque ad illum diem inhabitabilem reddiderunt.'

circumuallante aggere] 'mid dice 7 mid eorðwealle utan ymbsealde,' 'surrounded it outside with a ditch and earth-wall,' AS. vers.

p. 272. multis ... annis] Over eight, *v. s.* note 1; for the Synod of Twyford was in 684, 'inminente hieme,' p. 273; and Cuthbert

was consecrated at the following Easter of 685 ; *infra*, and cf. c. 27, *ad init.* ; H. & S. iii. 166 ; Fl.Wig. i. 38. Twyford has been identified with Alnmouth ; Bright, p. 331. A spurious grant by Egfrid to Cuthbert is represented as made in this synod ; K. C. D. No. 25 ; Birch, No. 66.

omnium consensu] 'ealra þara weotena,' 'of all the wise men, *or* counsellors,' AS. vers.

eligeretur] 'ab Egfrido rege et episcopis Saxonum ;' Vita Anon. § 30.

Trumwine. **Trumuine**] It may have been on this occasion that Cuthbert told him the story of his childhood, Vit. Pros. c. 1, which Bede introduces with the words : 'sicut . . . Trumuine episcopus ab ipso Cudbercto sibi dictum perhibebat ;' cf. Vita Anon. § 4, where, and in § 30, Trumwine is called Tuma.

multum renitens] Cf. ii. 1, p. 74 note.

Boisil. **Boisil**] 'þæs mæran *biscopes* Bóisiles,' 'the glorious bishop Boisil ;' Ælfric, Hom. ed. Thorpe, ii. 148. This is an inference (probably a wrong one) from the term 'sacerdos,' applied to Boisil in c. 27 ; see on i. 28.

p. 273. in ipsa . . . paschali] Easter Day in 685 was on March 26.

primatum] 'ealdordom,' AS. vers.

Deposition of Tunbert. **depositus**] 'post triennium pro culpa cuiusdam inobedientiae ;' Vita Eatae in Biogr. Misc. p. 123. As Tunbert was consecrated in 681 this date is correct. The cause assigned for his deposition is identical with that which Bede gives in the case of Wynfrid ; c. 6.

cui . . . ordinatus] This is not quite accurate ; see notes on iii. 26 ; iv. 12.

The gift of tears. **profusis . . . lacrimis**] Cf. Bede on Exod. xxx. 18 : 'labrum hoc ablutionem nobis compunctionis et lachrymarum commendat, qua semper opus habemus, maxime autem cum mysteriis coelestibus ministraturi appropiemus ;' Opp. vii. 364. So of Dunstan it is recorded : 'quoties aliquod . . . opus . . . exerceret . . . in quibuslibet rerum diuinarum institutionibus, hoc semper nimio rore lacrymarum peregit, quas inuisibilis habitator, Sanctus quoque Spiritus . . . ex oculorum riuulis potenter elicuit ;' Stubbs' Dunstan, p. 50 ; cf. ib. 379. Dr. Stubbs, in his Preface, speaks of 'that gift of tears which is so curiously unintelligible at the present day ;' ib. lix. Of Alcuin, on the other hand, it is said : 'orationem . . . multis cum gemitibus, nam lacrimas perraro habere poterat, fundebat ;' Mon. Alc. p. 20.

CHAPTER 29.

P. 274. Duobus . . . peractis] Therefore in 687.

repetiit insulam] Smith suggests that Cuthbert may have retired in order to avoid a conflict with Wilfrid on his restoration; p. 754.

uel uitae magis] *v.* Introd. p. lxvii.

in insula stagni illius, &c.] St. Herbert's Isle in Derwentwater. Herbert of Derwentwater. Smith has printed in his Bede, App. xxiii, an instrument of Thomas Appleby, Bishop of Carlisle 1374, addressed to the Vicar of Crosthwaite, saying that he had been recently reading Bede's account of Herbert and St. Cuthbert, 'et quia hoc sanctum factum plurimis ac fere omnibus credimus esse incognitum, . . . tibi mandamus . . . quatenus . . . XIII° die Apriuium ad . . . insulam Herberti accedens, . . . missam de Sancto Cuthberto etiam cum nota facias celebrari, . . . adiiciens ad hoc quod omnibus . . . dicto die ad locum praedictum causa deuotionis et in honorem Sancti Cuthberti et ad memoriam dicti Herberti accedentibus XL dies Indulgentiae concedimus per praesentes;' where 'Kal.' has been omitted before 'Apr.' See below. The Vita Anon. § 38, speaks of Herbert as coming to Cuthbert 'ab insulis occidentalis maris'; where 'mare' corresponds with the English 'mere'; and the 'occidentale mare' is the 'west mere,' which we get corrupted in the name Westmoreland. So of the marshes round Ely: 'pisces capiuntur in aquis quae maria uocantur;' Lib. Eli. p. 4. One of these, the 'Mare de Straham,' is mentioned by name, ib.

Deruuentionis fluuii] 'Deorwentan streames,' AS. vers. The Derwent.

hic cum . . . deuenisse] As he used to visit St. Cuthbert annually, this last visit must have been in 686, the year before Cuthbert's death; and the Vita Pros. c. 28 places it 'non multo post' the death of Egfrid in 685.

qui dum, &c.] The AS. vers. inserts: 'hie . . . sprǽcon be haligra fædera life,' 'they spoke about the life of holy fathers;' cf. c. 3, *supra*, p. 211: 'cum . . . de uita priorum patrum sermonem facerent;' where the AS. vers. has the same words.

p. 275. incubuit precibus antistes] 'þa aþenede se biscop hine *in cruce* 7 hine gebæd,' 'then the bishop extended himself in a cross and prayed,' AS. vers. So when Cuthbert saw the vision of Aidan's soul taken to heaven (*v. s.*), the later life, printed in S. D. i. 196 ff., says: 'cum dormientibus sociis suis super pecora uigilaret, et in modum crucis positus oraret, uidit animam,' &c. Alcuin, on the outbreak of a fire in his monastery going to the tomb of St. Martin 'Cross-vigil.'

'extendit se super terram in cruce,' and the fire was stayed ; Mon. Alc. p. 26 ; cf. ib. 20 : 'orationem cum manuum diutina crucis extensione . . . fundebat.' So in Poetae Lat. Aeui Carol. ii. 269 : 'in ipsa . . . inmensitate timoris anxius proruit in terram . . . distenso omni corpore in crucis modum ;' cf. ib. 313 ; Pertz, xxvi. 216. The Irish called it 'crosfigil' ; see O'Clery's Glossary, *s. v.* It was a recognised form of penance, especially in monasteries, *v.* Ducange, *s. v.* crux under the heading 'Ad Crucem extensis Brachiis stare.' Ducange gives only instances of the penitential use, which was often combined with the recitation of penitential and other psalms ; cf. D. C. A. ii. 1320. It occurs frequently in the Irish Penitential previously cited from MS. Rawl B 512 ff. 42–44.

XIII° Kal. Apr.] March 20, a Wednesday in 687.

diutina] Smith followed by M. H. B., Stevenson, Hussey, and Moberly has the absurd reading 'diuina,' against all MSS., and against the Vita Pros. and the AS. vers.

Cuthbert's death,

obiit autem, &c.] See the account of his last sufferings and death, derived from an eye-witness, in Vita Pros. cc. 37–40 : 'cuius obitum . . . relatione didici . . . Herefridi, . . . deuotae religionis presbyteri, qui etiam tunc Lindisfarnensi monasterio abbatis iure praefuit ;' ib. c. 37. His death was signalled to Lindisfarne where the monks were celebrating 'nocturnae psalmodiae sollemnia' (Matins). As the messenger entered the church they were singing Ps. lix (lx) 'Deus repulisti nos,' which forms part of the office for Matins on Wednesday both in the Roman and Benedictine Breviaries. This coincidence was regarded as prophetic of the troubles which fell upon the monks between the death of Cuthbert and the election of Eadbert, the nature of which is not explained.

multum deprecatus] The reason which he gave was the trouble which would be brought upon the monastery by criminals and other fugitives taking refuge at his tomb ; Vita Cudb. c. 37 ; Opp. Min. p. 121.

and burial.

deponeretur] He was buried in a sarcophagus which had been given him by Abbot Cudda as a present, Vita Pros. c. 37 ; 'capite sudario circumdato, oblatis super sanctum pectus positis, uestimenta sacerdotalia indutus, in obuiam Christi calceamentis suis praeparatis, in sindone cerata curatus ;' Vit. Anon. § 42. For the 'oblata' ('hostia nondum consecrata') and the custom of placing such oblatae on the breast of the dead, *v.* Ducange, *s. v.*, who only gives one other instance of the custom besides the present passage. The 'calceamenta,' though a Christian significance is given to them, 'in obuiam Christi,' are probably derived from the 'hell-shoon' with which it was the custom in heathen times to bind the

feet of a corpse ; cf. Gísla Saga, Orig. Isl. ii. 208 : 'Þat er tízka . . . at binda mönnum hel-skúa, þá er þeir skulu ganga á til Valhallar,' 'that is customary, to bind hellshoon on men on which they may walk to Valhalla,' cf. Dasent, Gísli the Outlaw, pp. xxiv, 44, 45.

Eadberct] He has been mentioned at the beginning of iii. 25. Eadbert. Alcuin, De Clade Lindisf. Monast. vv. 169, 170, attributes a miracle to him which is not related by Bede :

'Conposuit precibus Eadbert minitantia mortem
Flabra, pius praesul uester et ipse pater.'

elimosynarum] *v.* Introd. § 17, *ad fin.*

CHAPTER 30.

P. 276. annis XI] *i. e.* 698.

quod . . . placuisse] 'þæt him ðæt licede 7 leof wære gif hit his willa wære,' 'that they were minded and desirous if it were his will,' AS. vers.

antistiti suo] 'medio ferme quadragesimae tempore,' Vit. Pros.

die depositionis eius] 'quae est XIII[a] Kal. Apr.,' ib. ; which shows that he was buried on the day of his death ; cf. *supra*, cc. 14, 19. 'ðy dæge þe his gemynddæg wære, 7 his forðfór,' 'on the day which was his anniversary and his obit,' AS. vers. Translation of St. Cuthbert.

inuenerunt corpus, &c.] The same was found to be the case in 1104 when the body was transferred to the new cathedral at Durham ; S. D. i. 247–261. Simeon himself took part in the translation : illi gratias referamus, quibus incorruptum corpus eius CCCC° et XVIII° dormitionis eius anno, quamuis indignis diuina gratia uidere et manibus quoque contrectare donauit,' ib. 34, 35 ; cf. Reginaldi Dunelm. Libellus de Beati Cuthb. Virtutibus, c. 40 (Surtees Soc.). See for the history of St. Cuthbert's relics, Raine, St. Cuthbert, 1828. Dunstan enforced the truth of the incorruption of the remains of St. Edmund by asserting to Abbo of Fleury : 'quia sanctus . . . Cuthbertus . . . non solum adhuc exspectat diem primae resurrectionis incorrupto corpore sed etiam perfusus quodam blando tepore ;' Stubbs' Dunstan, p. 379.

in hoc . . . agere] So of St. Kentigern : 'omni quadrigesimali tempore ad deserta loca secedebat ;' N. & K. p. 188.

p. 277. pridie Non. Maias] May 6.

migrauit ad Dominum] 'impetrato ab Eo munere, quod diligentissime petierat, uidelicet, ut non repentina morte, sed longa excoctus aegritudine, transiret e corpore ;' Vita Pros. Death of Eadbert.

cuius corpus, &c.] Cf. Hist. Abb. § 20. His relics shared the

wanderings of those of Cuthbert, and ultimately rested with them at Durham; D. C. B. ii. 3.

quae nos nuper audisse contigit] When Bede wrote the preface to the Prose Life of Cuthbert he was already in possession of additional materials which he did not care to use; Opp. Min. p. 47. In MS. Fairfax 6 the two following chapters are added to Bede's Prose Life of St. Cuthbert, in order to make it more complete.

CHAPTER 31.

P. 278. hospitum . . . deseruiens] Cf. Introd. p. xxviii.

hospitale] 'cumena bur,' 'guest's bower,' AS. vers. Cf. 'cumena hús,' Ælfric, Hom. ed. Thorpe, ii. 136.

paralysis langore] 'mid þa adle . . . þe Grecas nemnaþ *paralysis* 7 we cweðaþ lyft adl,' 'with that disease which the Greeks name paralysis and we call "lyft-adl,"' AS. vers. So Bede, Vita Cudb. c. 45: 'ea quam Graeci paralysin uocant infirmitas;' Opp. Min. p. 133.

p. 279. Domino . . . referens] '7 þæm halgan were his fultomes gyfe,' 'and to the saint for the gift of his help,' adds AS. vers.

CHAPTER 32.

ante triennium] *i. e.* in 728.

Dacore] A small stream which gives its name to the parish and Castle of Dacre near Penrith; cf. W. M. i. 147.

pigmentorum] 'pigmentum, potio ex melle et uino et diuersis speciebus confecta;' Ducange.

p. 280. qui nunc . . . est] 'se æfter wæs,' 'who afterwards was,' AS. vers.

BOOK V. CHAPTER 1.

Ethelwald, anchorite of Farne.

p. 281. Oidiluald] In the metrical life of Cuthbert, c. 45, Bede narrates an anecdote of him which he has not reproduced in any of his prose works. Fl. Wig. says of him: 'cuius meritum et uita qualis fuerat, innumera declarant ab eo patrata miracula;' i. 40. His relics shared the wanderings of St. Cuthbert's body till both reposed at Durham; cf. AA. SS. Mart. iii. 463 465.

Guthfrid.

Gudfrid] At the time when Bede visited Lindisfarne in order to read to that community his prose life of Cuthbert, Guthfrid was 'mansionarius' of the monastery, an officer defined by Ducange as 'custos et conservator aedis sacrae, aedituus;' cf. D. C. A. *s. v.* From the same passage, Opp. Min. p. 47, it appears that one of the

duties of this officer was to enter the names of persons to be prayed for in the 'album congregationis'; *v.* Introd. p. xxvii, and see on iv. 14. From Bede's language here, 'praefuit,' it would seem that in 731 Guthfrid was dead.

p. 282. **XII annis . . . defunctus**] He succeeded Cuthbert on his death, March 687. He would seem, therefore, to have died in 699. His day is variously given in the Martyrologies; the Bollandists, *u.s.* decide in favour of March 23. He was in turn succeeded by an anchorite named Felgeld, who at the time when Bede wrote the Prose Life of Cuthbert was still alive, though more than seventy years old; Vita Pros. c. 46. The life of a twelfth-century successor of St. Cuthbert as anchorite of Farne, named Bartholomew, is given in S. D. i. 295 ff. On pp. 312, 313, there is an interesting description of Farne. Various grants to the monks of Farne are in Raine's North Durham, App. dcxcvi. ff. On the history of Farne; ib. 339-362. Death of Ethelwald.

Aldfridi regis] He reigned not quite twenty years, from 685 to 705; *v.* c. 18 *ad init.* Therefore the years of Ethelwald's sojourn on Farne, 687-699, fall well within his reign. Aldfrid.

CHAPTER 2.

Cuius regni principio] The Sax. Chron. E. places the consecration of Bishop John to Hexham under 685; but the passage is a confused one, and may not be intended to be strictly chronological; at the best it is probably only an inference from this passage, and the same may be said of the passage in Raine's Hexham, i. 27, 28; cf. ib. xxvi, which places both the death of Eata and the succession of John in 685, and of R. W.'s date, 686; i. 178. They are inconsistent with the very precise statement of Sax. Chron. D. E. that Bishop John died in 721 after an episcopate of thirty-three years, eight months, and thirteen days (so H. Y. i. 525). He died, according to Fl. Wig. i. 50, on May 7 (so H. Y. i. 526, and this was the day observed at Beverley as the festival of his deposition; ib. 314; it is his day also in the York Missal). Hence his consecration would fall in August, 687. Bede at the end of c. 6 says that he died in 721 after an episcopate of thirty-three years; but he may either be speaking roughly, or he may be allowing something for the fact that before his death he gave up active episcopal work, and retired to Beverley. But he seems to imply that his retirement did not long precede his death, and Florence, *u.s.*, places both in the same year, 721. Consecration of John of Hexham.

Death of Eata.

defuncto Eata] If, as Bede seems to imply, Bishop John succeeded him at once, his death would have to be placed in 687. But according to H. & S. iii. 171, quoted below on c. 19, Eata died in 686, and Wilfrid (on his restoration) administered the see for a year, *infra*, p. 326. I do not know what the authority for this statement is. According to his life in Misc. Biogr. (pp. 124, 125) he died of a dysentery. He was buried at first to the south of the sacristy, whence he was translated to a shrine inside the church (cf. Raine's Hexham, i. 49). In 1113 Archbishop Thomas II of York attempted to remove his relics to York, but was prevented by an angry vision of the saint himself. A further translation of his relics took place in 1154; Raine, *u.s.* lxxii. f. 200. On translation of relics, cf. D. C. A. ii. 1773. Early Christian feeling was strongly opposed to it.

Iohannes] This is the bishop who ordained Bede both deacon and priest; *v.* c. 24, p. 357. After the death of Bosa he was translated to York in 705 (he is wrongly called *arch*bishop in H. Y. i. 254; cf. *sup.* on ii. 20), Wilfrid, on his return from his second exile, being appointed to Hexham; cc. 3, 19. For later lives of him cf. Hardy, Cat. i. 423–430. Most of these have been printed in H. Y. i. 239 347, 511–541. He had been a pupil of Archbp. Theodore, and an inmate of Whitby under Abbess Elfled; ib. 244. His connexion with Theodore is alluded to in the next chapter; his connexion with Whitby in iv. 23, p. 254; cf. Bright, pp. 355, 356; D. C. B. iii. 377, 378.

Berthun.

p. 283. **Berchthun**] In H. Y. i. 325, he and Bishop John are spoken of as joint founders of Beverley.

Inderauuda] Afterwards Beverley.

St. John's See.

est mansio] This is called Herneshaw by Folcard, H. Y. i. 246; and by Richard of Hexham; Raine's Hexham, I. viii. xxv. f. 15–18. It has been identified with St. John's Lee, near Hexham, the name of the saint having superseded the older name; see notes on the passages cited.

clymeterium] 'gebæd hus 7 ciricean,' 'oratory and Church,' AS. vers.

p. 284. **gae . . . etiam**] 'yea;' cf. *sup.* iii. 25, p. 188. On English *y* from AS. *ge- v.* Skeat, English Etymology, i. 363, 375.

Anglo-Saxon version.

diu claudi] 'þe lange halt wæs, 7 swa geboren of his modorhrife, þæt hiene his eldran beran scolden, 7 he gan no meahte,' 'who was long halt, and so born from his mother's womb, that his parents had to carry him, and he could not walk,' AS. vers.

acciperet] 'gif him þæt leofre wære,' 'if he preferred it,' inserts AS. vers.

CHAPTER 3.

P. 285. Uilfrid] *v.* on c. 19, p. 329.

defuncto Bosa] Fl. Wig. places the death of Bosa and the translation of John to York under 686; but this is simply due to the fact that he supposed the return of Wilfrid, which Bede alludes to here, to be that of 686 instead of the second return in 705. (Wharton, Ang. Sac. i. 695, says 687.) John was certainly bishop of Hexham when he ordained Bede priest in 702 × 703; c. 24, p. 357; Bosa was certainly believed to be still alive in 704 when John VI wrote to Ethelred of Mercia and Aldfrid communicating the decision of the Roman Council of 704 in the matter of Wilfrid. Bosa must therefore have died 704 × 705. Raine says 705, *v.* Hexham, i. 28, 29. So Stubbs, Ep. Succ. Death of Bosa.

Uetadun] This place was identified by Smith with Watton in the East Riding of Yorkshire, which is nearly half-way between Driffield and Beverley. In Folcard's Life of Bishop John it appears as Betendune, with a *v. l.* Yatadini; H. Y. i. 247. Watton.

in studio] 'Under treatment.' I cannot recollect any other instance of this meaning of 'studium'; but in Wright's AS. Glossaries, ed Wülker, col. 216, I find: '*cura*, i. studium uel medicina, curatio uel *lacnung*' (healing). The AS. vers. translates: 'in þære blodlæswe,' 'during the blood-letting.' 'Studium' = medical treatment.

memini enim, &c.] For Bishop John's connexion with Archbishop Theodore, see notes on c. 2. There is among Bede's scientific works a little tract of doubtful authenticity: 'De minutione sanguinis siue de plebotomia;' Opp. vi. 349–352. The precepts there given do not agree with this of Theodore. As to the proper parts of the body for blood-letting, it says: 'de brachio tres, . . . capitanea linea, matricia, capsale;' ib. 350. In the De Temp. Rat. c. 28, there are some curious precepts taken from SS. Ambrose and Basil as to the proper days of the moon for doing certain things: 'nam et defectui eius compatiuntur elementa, et processu eius . . . cumulantur;' Opp. vi. 199–201. As to the special sympathy of the moon and the tide, 'quod Graeci rheuma uocant,' ib. c. 29 (cf. Vita Pros. Cudb. c. 17). Theodore's medical skill.

nam et abbatissam, &c.] On the hereditary tendency in monasteries *v.* note on iv. 26.

CHAPTER 4.

P. 286. comitis] gesiðmannes, AS. vers. *i. e.* a thane.

Aliud quoque] Very similar stories are told of Cuthbert; Vita Pros. cc. 25, 29; Vita Anon. §§ 36, 32.

South Burton.

uilla] 'uilla quae Australis Burtun dicitur;' Folcard's Life, H. Y. i. 249: 'South Burton, now called Bishop Burton, is distant between two and three miles from Beverley. North Burton is now called Cherry Burton'; note *a.l.*

Commutation of fasting.

p. 287. **daturum**] '7 his fæsten aliesan,' 'and redeem his fast.' AS. vers. On the commutation of fasting for other penances and for alms, cf. H. & S. iii. 333, 334, 429, 431.

Holy water.

de aqua . . . quam . . . consecrauerat] For the use of holy water in the dedication of a church, cf. Egbert's Pontifical, pp. 34 39; York Pontifical, pp. 53, 55, 62-67, 70, 75. (Surtees Soc. 1853, 1873.) On the use of holy water, and miracles alleged to have been wrought thereby, see D. C. A. i. 777–779.

Peter's mother-in-law.

socrum beati Petri] cf. Bede on Mark i. 31, Lk. iv. 39: 'naturale est febricitantibus incipiente sanitate lassescere, et aegrotationis sentire molestiam. Verum sanitas quae Domini confertur imperio, simul tota redit. Nec solum ipsa redit, sed et tanto robore comitante, ut eis continuo, qui se adiuuerant, ministrare sufficiat'; Opp. x. 18, 388, 389.

CHAPTER 5.

P. 288. puerum comitis] 'gesiðmannes cniht,' AS. vers.

Addi of North Burton.

Addi] 'Earl (*i.e.* thane) of North Burton gave that manor with the advowson of the church to Beverley;' Mon. Angl. ii. 127.

bene . . . cito] 'truma þec hræðe 7 wel,' 'strengthen thyself quickly and well,' AS. vers.

CHAPTER 6.

Herebald.

P. 289. Heribald . . . Tini . . . praeest] Cf. Folcard, H. Y. i. 251, 253. His death is mentioned by S. D. ii. 39, under the year 745.

p. 290. casu . . . uel potius] The AS. vers. omits these three words.

hora . . . septima] 'ðæt is an tid ofer midne dæg,' 'that is one hour past mid-day,' explains AS. vers.

Validity of baptism.

p. 291. **non es perfecte baptizatus**] The view which ultimately prevailed in the Western Church was that baptism, even by heretics, if in the three-fold name, was valid. Bede himself is emphatic on this point. On John iii. 4, he says: 'siue enim haereticus, siue schismaticus, siue facinorosus quisque in confessione sanctae Trinitatis baptizet, non ualet ille qui ita baptizatus est, a bonis catholicis rebaptizari, ne confessio uel inuocatio tanti nominis

uideatur annullari,' Opp. v. 110. He decides in the opposite way where the baptizer has not been himself baptized; on Acts xix. 5: 'quaestio crebro uentilatur, utrum illi qui per ignorantiam forte a non baptizatis sed tamen rectae fidei aliquibus baptizati sunt, iterum baptizari debeant; quam hoc capitulo expositam reor,' Opp. xii. 74, 75. So Theodore Penitential, II. ii. 13: 'Si quis presbyter . . . deprehendit se non esse baptizatum . . . omnes, quos prius baptizauit, baptizentur;' cf. I. ix. 12. In other points Theodore differs from the Western view; *e.g.* ib. 12: 'Presbyter fornicans si, postquam compertum fuerit, baptizauerit, iterum baptizentur illi quos baptizauit;' I. v. 6: 'Si quis baptizatur ab heretico, qui recte Trinitatem non crediderit, iterum baptizetur.' This may perhaps be due to Theodore's Eastern training, for the Eastern Church was much less decided in its views on re-baptism than the Western; *v.* D. C. A. i. 172, 173. Theodore, however, says: 'qui bis ignorantes baptizati sunt, . . . non possunt ordinari;' I. x. 1. (H. & S. iii. 181, 185, 192; cf. ib. 405, 406.) An almost exact parallel to the case in the text is contained in a letter of Pope Zacharias to St. Boniface in 746, rebuking him for re-baptizing certain persons because an ignorant priest had baptized them with the formula: '"Baptizo te in nomine patria et filia et Spiritus Sancti." . . . Sed . . . non possumus consentire, ut denuo baptizentur. Quia . . . quicunque baptizatus fuerit ab hereticis in nomine Patris, &c. . . . nullo modo rebaptizari debeat, sed per solam manus inpositionem purgari;' Mon. Mog. pp. 167, 168. Apart from this question one might think that Bishop John would have done better to refuse this man priest's orders, than to confer them and then inhibit him from the exercise of priestly functions.

exsufflante illo] Cf. Opp. viii. 106: 'Recti ordinis est, ut doctores ueritatis prius ab auditorum praecordiis omnem spiritum immundum exsufflando et catechizando abigant, et sic eos . . . societati . . . sanctorum mysteriis salutaribus imbuendo aggregent.' This 'is a reference to the . . . custom of breathing on the catechumen's face at the first exorcism;' Bright, p. 306. There is a reference to this in Wulfstan's Homilies, ed. Napier, p. 29. We have had a reference to a different kind of 'exsufflation' above, iv. 13, p. 231. Exsufflation.

uocauit . . . medicum] In the story as told by Bede there is nothing distinctly miraculous. It is much heightened by Folcard, and the physician is suppressed: 'imponit praesul . . . manus confracto capiti, . . . cruce signat, et *subitam medelam* Deus praestat;' H. Y. i. 253. A very instructive instance of the gradual heightening of a story may be found in an incident of Wilfrid's Heightening of the miraculous.

life as told first by Eddius, then by Fridegoda, and lastly by Eadmer; H. Y. i. 33, 129, 185. On Bede's own tendency to do this. *v.* Introduction, pp. xlvi, lxiv.

mansit autem, &c.] See on c. 2, *ad init.*

Wilfrid II. p. 292. **Uilfrido**] This is Wilfrid II, 'Wilferð se iunga' of the Sax. Chron. 744. In 732 he resigned and was succeeded by Egbert, the prelate to whom Bede addressed his famous letter. See on Ep. ad Egb. § 1, *ad init.* Wilfrid died in 745, Cont. Baed. *inf.* p. 362; S. D. ii. 38, 39; or 744, Sax. Chron.; Ann. Lindisf.; having been thirty years bishop, says Sax. Chron., which would throw back his consecration to 714, which is obviously too early. Stubbs, Ep. Succ. pp. 5, 180, says that he *died* in 732. But Alcuin, De Sanctis Ebor. vv. 1235 ff. distinctly refers to his retirement:

> 'At sua facta bonus postquam compleuerat ille
> Pastor in ecclesiis, specialia septa petiuit,
> Quo seruire Deo tota iam mente uacaret;' &c.

He gives him a very high character, ib. 1215, ff. He had been 'uicedomnus et abbas' of York; ib. 1217; G. P. p. 245. (For 'uicedomnus' *v.* Ducange, *s. v.*) Fl. Wig. makes the converse mistake of delaying Egbert's accession till after Wilfrid's death in 744; i. 55.

CHAPTER 7.

Anno . . . praeesset] *v.* iv. 12, notes.

Cædwalla's resignation, **relicto imperio propter Dominum**] Note that (like Aldhelm below) Bede says 'imperio,' not 'regno.' He therefore regards Cædwalla as bearing sway beyond the limits of his own kingdom, though he does not include him among the so-called Bretwaldas. Dr. Bright lectures Cædwalla in a very edifying manner for deserting his duty, and Bede for not condemning him sufficiently (p. 360; cf. p. 431, and Fuller, cited by M. & L. p. 310). But to give up earthly power and position for what is believed (even if mistakenly) to be the cause of Christ, is not such a common error that we need to be seriously cautioned against it.

and journey to Rome. **uenit Romam**] Aldhelm, in a poem written under his successor Ini, tells of Cædwalla's pilgrimage and death (Opp. Aldh. ed. Giles, pp. 115, 116):

> 'Post hunc [Centwine] successit bello famosus et armis
> Rex Cadwalla potens regni possessor et haeres.
> Sed mox imperium mundi sceptrumque reliquit.
> . . . . . .
> Cuius in aduentu gaudet clementia Romae,
> . . . . . .

Dum mergi meruit baptismi gurgite felix.
Post albas igitur morbo correptus egrescit,
Donec mortalis clausit spiracula uitae.

On his way to Rome he is said to have given thirty solidi to St. Vulmar for the construction of his church, 'in uilla Siluiaco,' now Samer in the Pas-de-Calais, a corruption of St. Vulmar. Bouquet iii. 626: 'Ex uita S. Vulmari abb. Siluiacensis,' printed in Mab. AA. SS. iii. 234–238; AA. SS. Iul. v. 84–89. This life is ancient, but its date cannot be fixed; ib. 83. He was well received by Cunibert, King of the Lombards: 'Cedoal rex Anglorum Saxonum, qui multa in sua patria bella gesserat, ad Christum conuersus Romam properauit. Qui per Cuninepertum regem ueniens ab eo mirifice susceptus est;' Paul. Diac. Hist. Langob. vi. 15 (who borrows the rest of his account from Bede). Cunibert (whose name is identical with the Anglo-Saxon Cyniberht) had married an English wife: 'Cuninepert rex Hermelindam ex Saxonum Anglorum genere duxit uxorem;' ib. v. 37. His father Perctarit (the Berhthere of Eddius, c. 28) was nearly flying for refuge 'ad Brittaniam insulam Saxonumque regem,' when he heard that his enemy Grimwald, Duke of Beneventum, was dead; (671) ib. v. 32, 33; cf. Art de Vérif. i. 418, 419. The resemblance of Cædwalla's name to those of certain Welsh kings has not only caused a legendary prolongation of the reign of Cadwallon, son of Cadvan, beyond all possible bounds (*v.* on iii. 1); but also given rise to a legend that Cadwalader, son of Cadwallon, died at Rome; cf. additional critical note to p. 292, and Brut y Tywyssogion, A.D. 680: 'ac yn y vlwydyn honno y bu uarw Kadwaladyr uendigeit, uab Kadwallawn, uab Catuan, brenhin y Brytanyeit, yn Rufein y deudecuet dyd o Vei. Megys y proffwydassei Vyrdin kyn no hynny wrth Wrtheyrn gwrtheneu. Ac o hynny allan y colles y Brytanyeit goron y teyrnas. Ac yd ennillawd y Saeson hi,' 'In this year died Cadwalader the blessed, son of Cadwallon, son of Cadvan, King of the Britons, in Rome, the twelfth day of May, as Myrddin (Merlin) had prophesied to Gwrtheyrn Gwrtheneu (Vortigern). And from that time forth the Britons lost the crown of empire and the Saxons gained it.' The epithet 'blessed' is probably due to the confusion with the West-Saxon pilgrim; the date, May 12, is certainly taken from Bede's 'xii° Kal. Mai. die.' According to the oldest MS. of Ann. Camb., Cadwalader died of the plague in 682, though later MSS. make him fly to Armorica (Brittany) to avoid the plague (possibly a confusion with 'Armonica,' 'Arvon'; see on iii. 9). Nenn. § 64, places his death under Oswy; which arises from the assumption that the plague in which he died was the great plague of 664 (see

Confusion with Cadwalader.

on iii. 27); cf. H. & S. i. 202. For an instance of hopeless confusion of Cædwalla and Cadwalader, cf. Elmham, pp. 254 ff. 268 ff.; R. W. i. 181; Introduction, p. cxvi.

pontificatum agente Sergio] Sergius I, 687–701 A.D.

die . . . sabbati paschalis] This was the proper day for baptisms; *v. s.* ii. 9, 14. In 689 it fell on April 15.

'In albis.'

in albis adhuc positus] 'under Cristes claðum,' 'under Christ's clothes;' Sax. Chron. E. 688. It was a very ancient custom for the newly-baptized to be clad in white garments (ἐσθὴς φωτιστική, alba) to symbolise their purification. In these garments and with lighted tapers they appeared daily for a week with their sponsors in the church, finally laying them aside on the octave of the baptism-day; cf. Alcuin to Charles the Great, Febr. 798: 'Clausum paschae quo die alba tolluntur uestimenta a nuper baptizatis;' Mon. Alc. p. 399. The term 'exalbari' is also found: 'pueris nondum exalbatis'; Pertz, xx. 738, answering to 'in albis adhuc positus' here; cf. S. D. i. 278. Hence also the Sunday after Easter is called 'Dominica in albis depositis.' In the Ordo Romanus for the Saturday after Easter there is a form for 'Benedictio aquae ad albas deponendas.' With the deposition of the 'alb' was associated the 'chrisom-loosing,' the undoing of the 'chrismale' or linen fillet ('pannus crismatis,' Theod. Penit. II. iv. 7; H. & S. iii. 193), which was bound round the head of the newly baptized to keep the chrism or unction on the head during the week in albis; cf. Wulfstan's Homilies, pp. 31, 36; H. & S. iii. 192, 428; Earle's Chronicle, pp. 307, 308. The 'crism-lising' of Guthrum at Wedmore is mentioned in Sax. Chron. A.D. 878. Hence the AS. vers. translates 'in albis adhuc positus' by 'under crisman,' 'under chrism'; so above, ii. 14, 'albati' is translated in the same way; cf. Bosworth-Toller, *s. v.* In Icelandic the 'alb' is called 'hvít-váðir,' 'white-weeds,' and 'hvít-váðungr,' 'white-weedling,' is a regular name for a neophyte, or newly baptized person (cf. Mrs. Quickly's 'Christom-child,' Hen. V, ii. 3. 12); see Vigfússon, Icel. Dict. *s. v. hvítr*, who gives several instances from the Sagas of persons who died, like Cædwalla, 'í hvíta-váðum.' 'White weeds' seem also to have been worn at confirmation; cf. Viga-Glúms Saga, *ad fin.* Orig. Island, ii. 466: 'en þa er Cristni kom út hingat, tók Glúmr skírn, ok lifði þrjá vetr síðan, ok var biskupaðr í bana-sótt af Kol biskupi, ok andaðiz í hvíta-váðum,' 'and when Christianity came out hither [to Iceland], Glum received baptism, and lived three years afterwards, and was bishopped [*i. e.* confirmed] in his last illness by Bishop Kol, and died in his white weeds.' Newly consecrated churches were also hung with white; cf. Laxdæla Saga, ed. 1826,

p. 230; ed. 1867, p. 152: 'vár Kjartan at Borg grafinn; þá var kirkja nývígð ok í hvíta-váðum,' 'Kjartan was buried at Borg, where the church was newly consecrated, and in white weeds.' I cannot quote any non-Icelandic parallels to these two last passages (see also Ducange *s. vv.* Alba, Chrismale; D. C. A. *s. vv.* Baptism, Chrism, Chrismale, Octauae Infantium, Paschae Clausum). Strictly speaking, Cædwalla's death on April 20, the Tuesday after Low Sunday, fell outside the octave 'in albis.' But he may well have been too ill to go through the ceremony on the Saturday. Aldhelm, *u. s.* says 'post albas;' cf. Bright, p. 360.

Cædwalla's death.

cui etiam . . . inposuerat] The Sax. Chron. says that the Pope baptized him. In the epitaph the Pope is called 'pater Fonte renascentis,' *i. e.* godfather. So Birinus both baptized and stood sponsor for Cuthred; Sax. Chron. 639; cited above on iii. 7.

and epitaph.

p. 293. epitaphium . . . scriptum] The epitaph was composed by Benedictus Crispus, Archbishop of Milan († 725), Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom (3te Auflage), ii. 180, 391. The AS. vers. omits the epitaph both verse and prose. It may be found in Dei Rossi, Inscr. Christ. Urbis Romae, ii. 70, 79, 111.

indictione II] This is right for 689.

Ini.

p. 294. XXXVII annis] This would place Ini's abdication in 725 or possibly 726. The Sax. Chron. MSS. A. B. place it in 728, MSS. C. D. E. in 726; R. W. in 727, i. 205. He is said to have founded the school of the Anglo-Saxons in Rome, and to have established the 'Romescot,' or 'Peter's Pence,' for its maintenance. But there is no authority for the former statement older than R. W. i. 215, 216; though the latter is confirmed by the tract, 'De Saxonum Aduentu,' in S. D. ii. 371. For the curious legend as to the means by which his wife ('dux foemina facti') induced him to abdicate, see W. M. i. 35, 36, 39. He was a great friend of Aldhelm, G. P. p. 354, who mentions him; Opp. p. 116. The date of his death is unknown. W. M. says: 'ut solius Dei oculis placeret, amictu plebeio tectus, clam consenuit cum uxore;' i. 39. Chron. F. by a misunderstanding gives 726 as the date of his death instead of his resignation. Cf. Stubbs in D. C. B. and Freeman in Proceedings Somerset Archaeol. Soc. vol. xx.

Gregory II.

Gregorio] Gregory II, 715–731. See on Preface. Gibbon detected an allusion to the pilgrimage of Ini in a letter of this pope to Leo the Iconoclast, ed. Smith, vi. 148.

Pilgrimages to Rome.

quod . . . plures . . . facere consuerunt] Gregorovius, *u. s.* ii. 178 ff., has an eloquent passage on these numberless pilgrims to Rome: 'the magnets which drew them were dead men's bones, their goal a grave, their reward a prayer before it.' He cites the

wonderful passage of Seneca. Ad Heluiam Matrem de Consolatione, c. 6, on the rush of men to Rome. The moral results were often disastrous enough. St. Boniface writing to Cuthbert, Archbishop of Canterbury, in 748, says: 'bonum esset . . . si prohiberet synodus et principes uestri mulieribus et uelatis feminis illud iter et frequentiam, quam ad Romanam ciuitatem ueniendo et redeundo faciunt. Quia magna ex parte pereunt, paucis remanentibus integris. Perpaucae enim sunt ciuitates in Longobardia, uel in Francia, aut in Gallia, in qua non sit . . . meretrix generis Anglorum;' H. & S. iii. 381; Mon. Mog. p. 208. To an English abbess who consulted him as to visiting 'dominam quondam orbis Romam, . . . sicut alii multi fecerunt et adhuc fac unt,' ib. 69, 70; he replies: 'nec interdicere . . . nec . . . suadere praesumo.' If she cannot find peace at home she may seek it in pilgrimage: 'quemadmodum soror nostra Wiethburga faciebat. Quae mihi . . . intimauit quod talem uitae quietem inuenisset iuxta limina S. Petri, qualem longum tempus desiderando quaesiuit.' Only she had better wait, 'donec . . . minae Sarracenorum, quae apud Romanos nuper emerserunt conquieuerint;' ib. 236. Both letters are most interesting. Cf. the epigram of Theodulf, Bishop of Orleans 788–821:

'Non tantum isse iuuat Romam bene uiuere quantum
Vel Romae, uel ubi uita agitur hominis.
Non uia, credo, pedum, sed morum ducit ad astra,
Quis quid ubique gerit, spectat ab arce Deus.'

Poetae Latini Aeui Carolini, i. 557. Cf. *sup.* iv. 23, p. 255; *inf.*, c. 19, *ad init.*; and the case of Ceolfrid, Introduction, § 3, and reff.: to which Bede expressly refers in the parallel passage in his Chron.; Opp. Min. p. 203; D. C. A. i. 774–777, ii. 1635–1642; M. & L. p. 309.

CHAPTER 8.

Death of Theodore.

annis XXII] If this is reckoned from his consecration, March 26, 668, it is an understatement; if from his arrival at Canterbury, May 27, 669, it is an overstatement. See on iv. 2.

ecclesia . . . Petri] See on i. 33, ii. 3, pp. 70, 86.

His epitaph.

p. 295. **uersibus heroicis**] Here and in i. 10 Bede seems to include elegiacs under the term 'heroic verses'; in his Ars Metrica, c. 10, he confines the latter term, as is usual, to pure hexameters. Elmham quotes these two quatrains, and in the MS. a large space is left between them, apparently in the hope that the missing verses might be recovered, p. 283.

Pelasga] *i. e.* Greek. Cf. Verg. Aen. ix. 154: 'cum pube Pelasga.'

diem nonamdecimam] So, Ann. Lindisf. et Cantuar. 690, 'Theodorus episcopus deponitur XIII. kal. Octob. feria ii;' Pertz, iv. 2. Sept. 19 was a Monday in 690.

Berctuald] W. M. i. 29 identifies him with Bertwald, Abbot of Glastonbury, whom he represents as translated against his will to Reculver, and thence to Canterbury. The refutation of this (probably deliberate) attempt to claim for Glastonbury the honour of the archbishop's monastic training is easy, as there is extant a letter from Bertwald of Canterbury to Forthere, Bishop of Sherborne, asking him to intercede with 'Beor[t]wald' of Glastonbury for the release of a slave girl belonging to Kent. The letter gives a favourable impression of the archbishop, and an unfavourable one of his namesake; Mon. Mog. pp. 48, 49; cf. Stubbs, Dunstan, p. lxxxii. There is a letter also of Waldhere, Bishop of London, to him about the political state of Britain in 705; H. & S. iii. 274, 275. The letters of Pope Sergius I on his behalf, given in G. P. pp. 52–55, belong to the suspicious series connected with the primacy of Canterbury; and though not such glaring forgeries as some others of the series, are very unlikely to be genuine. Bertwald died Jan. 731, the very year in which Bede finished his history; cc. 23, 24, pp. 349, 356. According to G. P. p. 376, he was a friend and fellow-student of Aldhelm. Bertwald.

Genladae] Now the Yenlade or Inlade. It occurs frequently in charters as a boundary, K. C. D. Nos. 135, 157, 194, 224; Birch, Nos. 228, 257, 326, 396; cf. Hasted's Kent, iv. 288 ff.

Racuulfe] Reculver, on the north coast of Kent. Birchington says: 'qui erat abbas de Genlade tunc, et nunc Recolure dicitur;' Ang. Sac. i. 3. There is a charter of Hlothhere, King of Kent, dated Reculver, May, 679, granting land in Thanet to Abbot Bercuald and his monastery; K. C. D. No. 16; Birch, i. 70. This charter is the oldest extant native charter of which we possess the absolute original; Earle, Handbook of Charters, p. 8. The grant of Reculver by Egbert to 'Bass the mass priest to build a minster (monastery) on' is noted in the Sax. Chron. under 669. For Christian antiquities at Reculver, cf. C. Roach Smith, Antiquities of Richborough, Reculver, and Lymne (1850); cited by H. & S. i. 38. Reculver.

electus est, &c.] No reason is given for the long delay, nearly two years, in filling up the see, nor for the long delay of a year in consecrating the elected prelate, nor for his consecration in Gaul instead of by the English bishops. The dissensions between Kent and Wessex, which were not settled till 694, may have had something to do with the matter. Delay in his election and consecration.

Witred and Swæbhard.

Uictredo et Suæbhardo] 'Wihtred 7 Swefheard,' AS. vers. Witred has been mentioned above, iv. 26, *ad fin.* The Sax. Chron. E. F., following Bede, speaks of Wihtred (Nihtred E) and Webheard (*sic*) as joint kings in 692. But in 694 all the MSS. speak of Witred's accession as if it were a new fact: 'her . . . Wihtred feng to Cantwara rice,' perhaps meaning his accession as sole king. In c. 23, Bede says that he died on April 23. 725, after a reign of thirty-four years and a half; which would place his accession in October, 690. Fl. Wig. places his accession under 691, and says: 'cum quo rex Sueabheardus partem regni tenuit;' but he is probably only drawing his own inferences from Bede's language here and in iv. 26. In the latter passage Bede speaks specially of Witred's 'religio'; where he is probably thinking of the ecclesiastical laws passed in the witenagemót of Berghamstyde (Bersted near Maidstone) in 696, Thorpe, Early Laws, &c., i. 36 ff.; Schmid, Gesetze, pp. 14 ff.; H. & S. iii. 233–238; and of the ecclesiastical privileges granted in the witenagemót of Bapchild, 696 × 716, on which see H. & S. iii. 238–246, 300–302, 340–342; Bright, pp. 382–385; D. C. B. iv. 1177, 1178. In a spurious charter Swæbhard is described as 'regii status lectissimus flos;' K. C. D. No. 40; Birch, No. 89. I have already, on iii. 22, expressed my scepticism as to the proposed identification of him with Swefred of Essex.

tertio die Kal. Iul. . . . prid. Kal. Sept.] These were Sundays in 693; the former is also St. Peter's day.

Godwin.

Goduine] Archbishop of Lyons, 693–713. (He certainly occupied the see during these years, but the exact dates of his accession and death are unknown; Gallia Christ. iv. 50.)

Gebmund.

Gebmundo . . . defuncto] The Sax. Chron. places his death in 693, but this is a mere inference from the fact that Bede mentions it immediately after the consecration of Bertwald in that year. And it is a wrong inference, for Gebmund was present at the witenagemót of Bersted in 696; see reff. given above. At that of Bapchild his successor Tobias was present, and therefore this must be later than 696. The Sax. Chron. F. *seems* to place it under 694, but the reference is vague, and not strictly chronological: 'sona ðas ðe he cing was,' 'soon after he became king;' *v.* H. & S. iii. 232, 241.

p. 296. **Saxonica lingua**] 'in Englisc,' 'in English,' AS. vers.

CHAPTER 9.

sacerdos] It is probable that 'sacerdos' here, as often, means 'bishop.' See on i. 28. Above, iii. 27, *sub. fin.*, where Bede speaks of Egbert's 'acceptum sacerdotii gradum,' the AS. vers. says 'biscophade onfeng,' 'he received the episcopate.' Alcuin, in his prose life of Wilbrord, c. 4, calls him 'beatissimus pater et episcopus Ecgbertus qui cognomento Sanctus uocabatur;' Mon. Alc. p. 43. And Ethelwerd enters him in his chronicle as 'episcopus.' M. H. B. p. 507. Ethelwulf, in his poem, de Abbatibus, written early in the ninth century, distinctly calls him 'pontifex,' and says that he consecrated and sent an altar for Ethelwulf's own monastery, which Mr. T. Arnold thinks was Crayke, S. D. i. 270–272. The life of St. Adalbert calls him: 'Egbertus Northumbrorum episcopus;' Pertz, xv. 700; cf. also the Saxon Version, cited on c. 22. Moreover he is called 'Ichtbricht epscop,' 'Egbert bishop,' in an Irish document containing an account of a synod at Birra (Parsonstown) in which the so-called 'Cáin Adomnáin,' 'Law of Adamnan' was promulgated. Of this document there is a copy in MS. Rawl. B. 512, f. 48 ff. Egbert's name occurs on f. 49 d. Of the ecclesiastics attending this synod, I have identified about a dozen. Their obits in the F. M. range from 696 to 785. The synod cannot therefore be later than the former year, in which the Ann. Ult. place it, and at which time Egbert was in Ireland. Dr. Reeves had a copy of this document taken from a Brussels MS. 2324; Rs. Ad. p. 179; though he himself speaks of Egbert as only a priest; ib. 379. It illustrates the nature of Irish episcopacy that with few exceptions the abbots in this document take precedence of the bishops; *v. s.* on iii. 4. Egbert has been already mentioned iii. 4, 27. Egbert, a bishop.

nationes, a quibus, &c.] That the common origin of the continental and insular Saxons was distinctly recognised as a ground for the evangelisation of the former by the latter, is shown by a letter of a certain priest named Wigbert, who writes from Britain to Lullus, Archbishop of Mainz (755–786): 'si in regione *gentis nostrae*, id est Saxanorum, aliqua ianua diuinae misericordiae aperta sit, remandare nobis id ipsum curate. Quia multi cum Dei adiutorio in eorum auxilium festinare cupiunt;' Mon. Mog. p. 304; cf. H. H. p. 126. Common origin of all the Saxons.

unde . . . nuncupantur] Bede seems to mean that in his day the British population called their Teutonic neighbours 'Garmani.' 'Saxon' is however in all Celtic languages the name given to the English and their speech. 'Eingl' = Angli, and 'Ellmyn' = Celtic names for the English.

Alemanni, are occasionally found, but Prof. Rhŷs tell me that he has never met with any word answering to 'Garmani'; cf. his Celtic Britain, p. 139. The whole sentence is omitted by the AS. translator; perhaps because it was no longer true.

Fresones] Cf. Zeuss, Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme, pp. 136, 397–400.

Rugini. **Rugini**] Probably the Rugii of Tacitus, Germ. c. 43. Their original seat was on the Baltic, where they have left their name in the Island of Rügen, and in Rügenwalde. They played a prominent part in the wars of Attila, 433-453, after which they appear on the north side of the Danube, in Austria, and Upper Hungary; Dict. Class. Geogr.; cf. Zeuss, *u. s.* pp. 154, 484-486.

Danai] 'Dæne' 'the Danes,' AS. vers.; cf. Zeuss, *u. s.* pp. 508–511.

The Huns. **Hunni**] The invasion of Europe by the Huns under Attila fills a large space in the history of the fifth century. But they made no lasting settlements. It is possible that Bede includes under the name the Avars, who formed a large kingdom to the north of the Danube, and in the seventh century were the most dangerous invaders of the Roman territory; Freeman, Hist. Geog. pp. 90, 96, 117; cf. Zeuss, *u. s.* pp. 706–710.

Antiqui Saxones] 'Ald-Seaxan,' AS. vers.; cf. Zeuss, *u. s.* pp. 150–152, 380–388, 490–495.

The Boructuarii. **Boructuari**] 'The Bructeri in Westphalia;' H. & S. iii. 225; between the Ems and the Lippe; Dict. Class. Geogr. *s. v.* Bructeri; cf. Zeuss, *u. s.* pp. 92–94, 350–353. The Bructeri are mentioned by Apollonaris Sidonius, Carm. vii. 324; cf. AA. SS. Mart. i. 70.

'Christ's knight.' **Christi miles**] The Ann. Ult. adopt this phrase when speaking of Egbert's death under the year 728, and Tighernach translates it, calling him 'ridire Crist,' 'Christ's knight.'

p. 297. Boisili] *v. s.* iv. 27, 28, pp. 269, 272.

expletis . . . matutinalibus] *v.* Introd. p. xxvi.

etiam] 'gea,' 'yea,' AS. vers.; *v. s.* c. 2, p. 284.

Columbae monasteria] *i. e.* the 'muinter Coluim Cille,' 'the family of Columba;' *v. s.* on iii. 4.

transmontanis Pictis ad aquilonem] 'in þæm mórlandum ða ðe siondan to norðdæle Peohta rices,' 'in the mountain-districts which belong to the north part of the kingdom of the Picts,' AS. vers.

Columcille. **nunc . . . uocatur**] 'þe Scottas siððan Columcille nemdon,' 'whom the Irish afterwards called Columcille,' AS. vers.; (omitting the clause 'composito . . . nomine'). This is the regular name of St. Columba in Irish sources; generally abbreviated to

C.C. Joceline, Life of St. Kentigern, strangely says: 'Columba Abbas, quem *Angli* uocant Colum-killum;' N. & K. p. 229.

aratra . . . incedunt] Cf. Bede, Opp. i. 214: 'etsi [lectorem] in sanctuarium prophetici sensus introducere nesciui, ab aratro tamen haereticae deceptionis longius abduxi.' In the Irish lives of St. Brigit, from the Lebar Brecc and Book of Lismore, Stokes, Three Irish Homilies, p. 68; Lismore Lives, p. 45, and in one of the Latin Lives, printed in Colgan's Trias Thaumaturga, Vita IV. ii. 27, pp. 553, 554, there is a curious vision in which the progress of the gospel under Patrick and Brigit is represented by four ploughs which plough the whole of Ireland, while the work of the false teachers is figured by four other ploughs which plough across the furrows of the first. Heresy figured by a plough.

p. 298. remanere domi passus est] 'unrot ham ferde,' 'went home sad,' AS. vers.

Uictberct] He also is mentioned in Alcuin's life of Wilbrord, *u. s.*, in connexion with the latter and Egbert as 'uenerabilis . . . sacerdos Dei.' There are no criteria for dating these abortive attempts of Egbert and Witbert, except that they must be prior to 690, as that is the date of Wilbrord's mission; *v.* c. 10. Witbert.

Rathbedo] On him, see c. 10.

CHAPTER 10.

p. 299. Uilbrord] At his consecration by Pope Sergius, he was given the name of Clement; c. 11, p. 303; but the Roman name never became in his case the accepted name, as in the case of Wynfrid-Boniface. His life was written in Prose and Verse by Alcuin at the request of Beornred, Archbishop of Sens, and abbot of Wilbrord's monastery of Epternach (777–797); the former for public use in the church, the other for the private instruction of the pupils in the monastic school; Mon. Alc. p. 39. Both are printed in Mon. Alc. pp. 39–79; the metrical life also in Poetae Lat. Aeui Carol. i. 237 ff. For earlier editions, see Hardy, Cat. i. 465–467. Alcuin's work was based on an earlier life by an Irishman: 'Nam primo quidam linguae ac gentis Scotticae aggressus tanti uiri gesta describere, rustico stilo detriuit dignitatem hystoriae, dein . . . Alcwinus de Britannia, uir urbanae elegantiae, utpote magni Karoli yperasspistes, . . . conatus est in urbanum lepido seponere dicto et incompta comere;' Thiofridi Vita Willibr. c. 24, cited in Pertz, xxiii. 11. This earlier life is not known to exist. Wattenbach is therefore wrong in saying of Alcuin: 'Willibrordi uitam ante eum nemo scripserat,' Mon. Alc. p. 35. But when Wattenbach wrote, these extracts from the life by Theofrid, Abbot of Epternach Wilbrord. Lives by Alcuin.

(† 1110), had not been published. Wattenbach also complains that the lives contain so few historical facts and so many miracles : but it is idle to find fault with any class of literature because it does not furnish what it never professed to give ; cf. M. Fustel de Coulanges : 'il est bien certain que ces biographies n'étaient pas rédigées en vue de faire œuvre historique. . . . La biographie était comme la légende explicative des reliques que le couvent possédait, et qui faisaient sa fortune. Aussi . . . s'allongeait-elle de tous les miracles que le saint avait faits pendant sa vie, et de tous ceux qu'il produisait après sa mort ;' La Monarchie Franque, pp. 9–12 (cited by Dr. Stokes, Lismore Lives, pp. xci. f.). The whole passage is admirable. The following facts however can be made out. Wilbrord was a Northumbrian, born in 657 or 658. His father, Wilgils, after the birth of his son, became an anchorite on a promontory at the mouth of the Humber (cc. 1, 2). His day was observed as a festival in the monastery of his son (c. 31), and Alcuin himself ruled the cell where his body reposed Pref. and c. 1). As soon as the child was weaned, he was entrusted to the monks of Ripon (c. 3) ; cf. Eddius, c. 26, cited on next chapter. In his twentieth year (*i.e.* c. 677), he went to Ireland, where he remained twelve years with Egbert and Wigbert *or* Witbert (c. 4). In 690 (cf. ib. p. 46, note cited on c. 11, *inf.*) he set out for the Continent, landing at the mouth of the Rhine, and proceeding thence to Traiectum (Utrecht). Finding Radbod and his Frisians wholly heathen he retired to Pippin (c. 5), and this is the point where Bede's account begins. The sequel will be given in the notes to c. 11. A cleric belonging to his household was cured at Lindisfarne at the tomb of St. Cuthbert ; Bede, Vita Cudb. c. 44 ; Vita Anon. § 45. The chief modern authority for Wilbrord is Thijm, 'Willibrord, der Apostel der Niederlande' (German translation from the Dutch).

Character of saints' lives.

History of Wilbrord.

numero XII] One of his companions was named Adalbert (*i.e.* Æðelberht), and settled at Egmond in North Holland ; Ann. Xantenses, 690, 694 A D. ; Pertz, ii. 220. The list given in the life of Swidbert by Marcellinus is, like the rest of that life, quite spurious (Surius, March 1, *v.* H. & S. iii. 225). On the frequency of the number twelve, cf. on iii. 26.

His companions.

ad Pippinum ducem Francorum] This is Pippin of Heristal, the Austrasian Mayor of the Palace, and real ruler of the Franks. The battle of Testry, 687, had established the ascendency of Austrasia over Neutria, and that of his family over both. The shadow of Merovingian royalty continued till 752, when his grandson Pippin set the crown of the Franks upon his head (cf. Kitchin's France, i. 94 ff.). This later Pippin was baptized by

Pippin of Heristal.

Wilbrord, who is said to have foretold his future greatness: 'scitote quod iste infans ... erit ... omnium praecedentium Francorum ducibus maior;' Mon. Alc. p. 56; cf. Pertz, x. 557. Pippin of Heristal died in 714, and was succeeded by his son Charles Martel († 741), the father of Pippin the Short, and grandfather of Charles the Great.

citeriorem Fresiam] *i.e.* the part of Fresia nearest to the Franks: in other words, the south-western portion.

Rathbedo rege] Alcuin (Vita Willbr. Pros. c. 5 also calls him 'king.' He was continually at war with the Franks under Pippin and Charles Martel. He died in 719, having in the preceding year withdrawn from the very edge of the baptismal font on being told by the officiating prelate, St. Wulframn, Archbishop of Sens, that his heathen ancestors were 'in tartarea damnatione.' 'Qui statim pedem a fonte retraxit, dicens se non posse carere consortio praedecessorum suorum, et cum paruo numero sedere in caelesti regno;' Ann. Xant. Pertz, ii. 221; Vita Wulframni, AA.SS. Ord. Bened. iii. 361; H. & S. iii. 225; Martin, Hist. de France, ii. 170–183. St. Boniface heard of his death as he was returning from Rome; Mon. Mog. p. 446; and there is a letter from Bugga to St. Boniface congratulating him on the fall of Rathbod, 'inimicus catholicae ecclesiae.' After his death Boniface assisted Wilbrord for three years. Wilbrord wished to consecrate him bishop, but he refused to be consecrated without the licence of the Pope; Mon. Mog. pp. 446–451; cf. Pertz, xiv. 100. Rathbod.

Heuuald] Alcuin, De Sanctis Ebor. v. 1045, gives their name as Herwaldus. Their mission must be later than 690, and before the death of Pippin in 714 (*v. inf.*); but there are no data for fixing it more exactly; R. W. places it in 695, i. 188; cf. D. C. B. iii. 14, and reff. The two Hewalds.

hospitium ... uilici] 'sumes tungerefan giæstern,' 'the guest-house of some township reeve,' AS. vers.

satrapam ... satrapas] 'aldorman, aldormenn,' AS. vers. For the constitutional importance of this notice see S. C. H. i. 41, 42; cf. on iv. 12. Constitution of the old Saxons.

p. 300. tabulam ... dedicatam] In the York Pontifical (Surtees Soc. 1873), pp. 124–132, there is a form for 'Benedictio lapidis portabilis siue lapidis itinerarii;' but in the rubrics the word 'tabula' constantly occurs as an alternative to 'lapis,' pp. 126, 127, 131, 132, and of course a wooden altar would be much more portable. A portable wooden altar belonging to St. Cuthbert was found in his tomb, and is now in the Chapter Library at Durham; D. C. A. i. 69; cf. ib. ii. 1560. Portable altar.

Idle rage of persecutors.

in Rheno proiecerunt] Cf. Bede on Luke xii. 4 : 'si persecutores, sanctorum occisis corporibus, non habent amplius quid contra illos agant, ergo superuacua furiunt insania, qui mortua martyrum membra . . . uel in auras extenuari, uel in undas solui, uel . . . in cinerem faciunt redigi ;' Opp. xi. 157.

uicanos . . . uicum] 'tunscipe . . . tun,' AS. vers.

V°. Non. Oct.] October 3.

radius lucis] Cf. i. 33.

p. 301. milite] 'cyninges þægn,' 'king's thegn,' AS. vers.

Church of St. Cunibert, Cologne.

in ecclesia Coloniae ciuitatis] The Gallican martyrology cited by Smith says 'in collegiata S. Cuniberti.' Hanno II, Archbishop of Cologne, in 1074 translated their bodies and placed them one on each side of the patron saint, Cunibert ; Pertz, xi. 482, and note, 500, 506. Frederick, Archbishop of Cologne, in 1121 gave a portion of their relics to Norbert, Archbishop of Magdeburg ; Pertz, xii. 862. The church of St. Victor at Xanten, Pertz, xiii. 44, and the abbey of Gorze, near Metz, ib. xv. 976, also claimed to possess portions of their relics.

CHAPTER 11.

Wilbrord at Rome.

acceleravit uenire Romam] Wilbrord went twice to Rome ; once to obtain the papal sanction to his mission (probably in 692, Mon. Alc. p. 45. note), the second time to receive consecration at the hands of the Pope in 695. The first visit is mentioned here, the second further on in this chapter. Alcuin only mentions one visit ; cc. 6, 7.

Destruction of idols.

destructis idolis] Wilbrord showed heroic courage in this work ; witness his attack on the heathen sanctuary of the god Fosite in Heligoland, Alcuin, cc. 10, 11 (on this deity, who was a son of Balder, see Grimm, Deutsche Mythologie, i. 188 ff., ed. 1875); and his breaking down of the idol at Walcheren ; Alc. c. 14 ; cf. the letter of Boniface cited below. He extended his missionary labours 'ad ferocissimos Danos,' and their king, Ongendus (who has been identified with the Ongentheow of the Beowulf) ; but finding them obdurate, he brought away thirty Danish boys, baptizing them lest any of them should perish on the journey, ib. c. 9 (cf. St. Gregory's earlier idea of converting the Angles by similar means, *sup.* i. 23, note).

reliquias . . . introduceret] Cf. *sup.* on i. 30.

Growth of the parochial system.

singula quaeque loca dedicaret] Cf. Alc. c. 12 : 'dum per dies singulos numerus crescebat fidelium, . . . caeperunt plurimi, fidei feruore incitati, patrimonia sua uiro Dei offerre. Quibus ille acceptis, mox ecclesias in eis aedificare iusserat, statuitque per eas

singulas presbiteros, et uerbi Dei sibi cooperatores, quatenus nouus Dei populus haberet quo se . . . congregaret, . . . uel a quibus sacri baptismatis munera accepisset, et christianae relegionis regulas ediscerct.' This is an interesting passage for the growth of the parochial system; cf. Lappenberg, i. 190; E. T. i. 197; iii. 2, p. 130, note.

p. 302. **Suidberctum**] Alcuin, De Sanctis Ebor. v. 1073, joins with him a certain 'Wyra sacerdos,' on whom see Jaffé's note *ad loc.*; cited also H. Y. i. 381. We have already seen that the life of Swidbert by Marcellinus in Surius, March 1, is a gross forgery. Swidbert.

qui eis . . . antistes] His see while bishop in Frisia was at Dorostadium or Dorostat, now Wijk-bij-Duurstede on the Rhine. This appears from an entry at the end of the Vienna fifth-century Livy (Hofbibliothek, Cod. Lat. 15): 'Sutbertus episcopus de Dorostat;' Palaeographical Soc., plate 183. It would seem that amid his missionary labours he kept up a taste for classical learning. His see.

Uilfrid] *v.* on c. 19.

non enim . . . reuerso] This must have been after Bertwald's election, but before his return from Gaul; *i. e.* between July 1, 692, and Aug. 31, 693; *v.* c. 8 *ad fin.*

Bliththrydae] This is the name commonly written Plectrudis. After Pippin's death she tried to grasp his power, but very soon had to give way before Charles Martel, the son of Pippin by a concubine. The date of her death seems to be unknown. Plectrude, wife of Pippin.

In litore] Now Kaiserswerth on the Rhine, about seven miles north of Düsseldorf. In a silver shrine in the old 'Stiftskirche' are still preserved what are believed to be the relics of St. Swidbert. Both church and shrine are of the thirteenth century; Baedeker's Rheinlande (1886), p. 412. Kaiserswerth.

heredes . . . eius] 'his erfeweardas,' AS. vers. So Sax. Chron. 565 E, of Columba, translating Bede's 'successores,' iii. 4, p. 134; cf. the Irish 'comarba,' 'coarb,' literally 'heir,' constantly used of the successor of a founder.

diem . . . ultimum] 713. 'Depositio Suitberthi Episcopi;' Ann. Francorum (eighth century); Bouquet, ii. 641. A corrupt entry in an early ninth-century chronicle, under the same year, probably refers to the same event; ib. 644. His day is March 1. The date of his death has also been given as 714, Hardy, Cat. i. 411, and 715, Smith, *a. l.* A homily and some verses on him by St. Radbod, bishop of Utrecht (901–918, are printed in AA. SS. March, i. 84, 85; with a long preliminary dissertation, ib. 67 ff. Death of Swidbert.

p. 303. **anno . . . DCXCVI**] This is Wilbrord's second visit to Rome. It is probable that Bede has placed it a year too late; for an entry Wilbrord's second visit to Rome.

made in the year 728 in an old calendar belonging to the monastery of Epternach says: 'Clemens Willibrordus anno DCXC . . . ueniebat . . . in Francia, et . . . anno DCXCV, . . . quamuis indignus, fuit ordinatus in Roma episcopus a . . . Sergio Papa.' The words 'quamuis indignus' make it almost certain that this entry is genuine and by Wilbrord himself. No later writer, especially in his own monastery, would have dreamed of inserting them. The entry was discovered by Bolland; AA. SS. Ian. I. xlvi; cited Mon. Alc. p. 46, note.

His consecration.

ordinatus . . . eius] Alcuin, c. 7, says that he was consecrated in St. Peter's; but this is a very natural substitution of the better for the less known church. A difficulty has been made because neither in 695 nor in 696 did St. Cecilia's day (Nov. 22) fall on a Sunday, the usual day for consecrating bishops. But it was a festival, and in her own church would be a high festival. The church meant is Santa Cecilia in Trastevere; said to have been founded by Urban I (223–230?) and rebuilt by Paschal I (817–824); Gregorovius, Gesch. d. Stadt Rom, i. 80, 251; iii. 48 ff.

Utrecht and Wiltenburg.

quod . . . uocatur] 'sio alde worde þere þiode is nemned Wiltaburg, Galleas nemnaþ Traiectum, we cweðaþ Æt Treocum,' 'which by an ancient name of that people is called Wiltaburg, the Gauls call it Traiectum, we say Æt Treocum.' AS. vers. 'Monet Cluuerius distinguendum locum Wiltaburg, qui hodie quoque dicitur Wiltenburg, a Traiecto, Utrecht;' note in Bouquet, iii. 642. And Zedler's Universal-Lexicon says that Wiltenburg is the name of a small village a mile from Utrecht, where remains are still to be seen of the city which was the seat of the bishops of Utrecht. But the two names seem to be used quite indiscriminately; *e. g.* Liudger (who had seen St. Boniface) writes: 'in loco qui nuncupatur Traiectum, et alio nomine Wiltaburg;' Pertz, xv. 75; cf. ii. 361. Charles Martel in 722 made a formal grant of Utrecht to Wilbrord (see the document in Bouquet, iv. 699). But in this he was probably only confirming what his father had already done.

Boniface's account of Wilbrord.

ecclesia] St. Saviour's; cf. the interesting notice of Wilbrord in St. Boniface's letter of 755 to Pope Stephen III: 'tempore Sergii . . . pontificis uenit ad limina . . . apostolorum presbiter quidam mirae abstinentiae et sanctitatis, generis Saxonum, nomine Wilbrord, et alio nomine Clemens uocatus; quem praefatus papa episcopum ordinauit, et ad praedicandum paganam gentem Fresorum transmisit in littoribus oceani occidui. Qui per l. annos praedicans, praefatam gentem Fresorum maxima ex parte conuertit ad fidem Christi, fana et dilubra destruxit, et ecclesias construxit, et sedem episcopalem et ecclesiam in honore sancti Salvatoris

constituens in . . . castello quod dicitur Traiectum. Et in illa sede et ecclesia . . . praedicans usque ad debilem senectutem permansit. Et sibi corepiscopum ad ministerium implendum substituit ; et finitis longeuae uitae diebus, in pace migrauit ad Dominum.' Boniface also speaks of 'fundamenta cuiusdam destructae a paganis ecclesiolae, quam Wilbrordus . . . in castello Traiecto repperit, et eam proprio labore a fundamento construxit et in honore S Martini consecrauit ;' Mon. Mog. pp. 259, 260. Cf. Alcuin's description of his person and character : 'statura decens, . . . facie uenustus, corde laetus, consilio sapiens, ore iucundus, moribus compositus, in omni opere Dei strenuus ;' c. 24.

Wilbrord's monasteries.

monasteria] Among these the principal would be Epternach, where he died and was buried. Many grants to him for this monastery are in Pertz, xxiii. 50–64.

Date of his death.

ipse autem . . . superest] Cf. what Bede says of him in the Chron. : 'idem Papa Sergius ordinauit . . . Willibrordum cognomine Clementem Fresonum genti episcopum, in qua usque hodie pro aeterna patria peregrinus, est enim de Britannia gentis Anglorum, innumera quotidie diabolo detrimenta et Christianae fidei facit augmenta ;' Opp. vi. 328 ; Opp. Min. p. 200. So Eddius says of Wilfrid's work in Frisia : 'primum ibi . . . fundamentum fidei posuit, quod adhuc superaedificat filius eius in Hripis nutritus, gratia Dei Wilbrordus episcopus, multo labore desudans, cuius merces manet in aeternum.' As to the date of his death, Alcuin, Vita Metr. c. 24, says :

> 'Bis octona pius conpleuit lustra sacerdos,
> Ter quater et menses, mensis iam iamque Nouembri
> Idibus octonis, caeli migrauit ad aulam.'

i. e. he was eighty-one when he died. He was in his thirty-third year in 690 (*u. s*) ; therefore he must have died in 738 or 739. The latter is the year given in Theofrid's life of him, c. 24 ; Pertz, xxiii. 25. When Boniface states (*u. s.*) that he preached for fifty years, he is obviously using a round number. It is not far wrong, however. As to the day of his death, Alcuin (*u. s.*), and in the Prose Life, gives Nov. 6 : Theofrid gives Nov. 7, and this is his day in the Roman Calendar. He was buried at Epternach, and his remains were translated in 1031 ; Pertz, xv. 1307 ; xxiii. 27, 34. For various notices of his relics *v.* Pertz, xv. 967, 970, 971, 1095, 1271, 1273, 1274, 1283. Less than fifty years after his death : 'Widukind Dux Saxonum . . . euertit Frisones a uia Dei . . . et . . . fecit [eos] Christi fidem relinquere ;' Pertz, ii. 410.

tricesimum et sextum . . . annum] If Wilbrord was consecrated on Nov. 22, 695, the thirty-sixth year of his episcopate would be

from Nov. 22, 730, to Nov. 21, 731. As Bede wrote the Hist. Eccl. in 731, this confirms what was said above as to the year of Wilbrord's consecration. At the same time it is not quite incompatible with his having been consecrated in 696, as Bede may have written this part of his history after Nov. 21, 731.

CHAPTER 12.

Drythelm's vision.

His temporibus] It is impossible to say what date Bede means to indicate by this vague reference. The dates mentioned or implied in the last chapter range from 692 to 696. The Sax. Chron. D. E. place Dryhthelm's vision under 693. 'Her . . . Dryhthelm [Brihthelm E.] was of life gelaed,' 'Here Drythelm was led forth from life' [not 'died' as I have wrongly taken it in my glossary to the Sax. Chron.; and as it is taken also by the writer of the article Dryethelm in the D. C. B.]. The Ann. Xantenses place it under 671, which is certainly too early: Pertz, ii. 220. It must be some little time before the death of Aldfrid 705, as he used to come 'saepissime' to hear Drythelm at Melrose, *infra*. R. W. places it under 699; i. 190.

Visions of the other world.

antiquorum simile] Two of the earliest instances of visions of this kind which have come down to us, are contained in the Apocryphal Acts of Thomas (Salmon, Introduction N. T. 3rd ed. 1888, pp. 358 ff.) and the Apocalypse of Peter, of which about half has recently been recovered, both being at least as early as the second century. The latter, through the medium of the Apocalypse of Paul, which is of the end of the fourth century, has influenced almost the whole of this branch of mediaeval literature, which is very extensive, and reaches its culminating point in the Divina Commedia; cf. Robinson and James on the Gospel and Revelation of Peter, pp. 39 ff. A list of this class of literature will be found in Mr. Ward's Catalogue of Romances, ii. 390 ff. Ælfric, Hom., ed. Thorpe, ii. 332, is indignant that any one should read 'the lying work called Paul's vision,' when St. Paul himself declared that it was not lawful to utter the things which he heard. In Mon. Mog. pp. 53–61, there is a very curious vision of a monk of Much Wenlock narrated by St. Boniface in a letter written 717 × 718. The vision itself cannot be later than 716, as Ceolred of Mercia (709–716) was then alive, though in the vision he appears in torment (cf. Dante's Frate Alberigo and Branca d'Oria, Inf. xxxiii. 118–147). This vision presents several points of contact with Drythelm's. Another vision of the eighth century is in Ethelwulf de Abbatibus, c. 11; in S. D. i. 277–279. In 824 Hetto, Bishop of Basle, wrote the vision

of Wetinus, the monk of Reichenau, in which Charles the Great appears suffering punishment; Poetae Lat. aeui Carol. ii. 269 ff. This was afterwards versified by Walafridus Strabo; ib. 301 ff. This vision was very famous; *v.* Bouquet, vi. 225. Cf. the vision of the Emperor Charles III given from Hariulf. by W. M. i. 112–116. The Chron. of Verdun 934, has a vision of a deacon named Adelmar, who having died and received sentence of condemnation, was restored to life by the prayers of the Virgin and St. Martin; Bouquet, viii. 290; cf. the vision of Eadulf, 1075 × 1080, in S. D. i. 114–116, who expressly refers to the parallel of Drythelm. An Irish parallel which has interest for readers of Bede is the vision of Adamnan, 'Fís Adamnáin,' of which the oldest copy is in the Lebar na h-Uidre, a MS. of c. 1100, printed in Windisch, Ir. Texte, i. 169 ff., from two MSS. Though ascribed to the biographer of St. Columba, it must be later than his time; Reeves, Ad. p. lii. The Visio Tnugdali (ed. Wagner, 1882) and St. Patrick's Purgatory, both of Irish origin, and both of the twelfth century, were very popular in the Middle Ages; cf. Wagner, *u.s.* pp. v ff.; Wright, St. Patrick's Purgatory, pp. 32, 60 ff. The former vision is placed under 1149 by Alberic of Trois Fontaines; Pertz, xxiii. 840, who also gives a very interesting account of the latter; ib. 834–836. 'Tnugdalus' represents the Irish name Dungal (Dubgal, in Icelandic Annal. 1149; Sturlunga Saga, ii. 358), and an Icelandic version under the name 'Duggals leiðsla' is printed in Heilagra Manna Sögur, i. 329 ff. ('leiðsla,' lit. 'leading,' is the regular name in Icelandic for these visions of the other world; cf. 'of life gelæd,' quoted above). There is an Anglo-Saxon Homily on Drythelm in Ælfric, ed. Thorpe, ii. 348 ff. The popularity of the story is shown by the fact that this chapter often occurs separately in MSS.: *e. g.* Troyes, No. 1876; Bourges, No. 97; Basle, University Library, A. v. 39; Bibliothèque Mazarine, Catalogue, p. 144.

p. 304. **Incuneningum**] Generally identified with Cunningham, just within the Scotch border. Mr. Moberly in a private communication suggests Chester-le-Street, of which the Saxon name was Cunungaceaster.

ad uillulae oratorium] 'to ðære ciricean þæs tunes,' 'to the church of the township,' AS. vers.

peruenit] '7 wearð . . . ðam abbude Æþelwolde underþeod,' 'and became subject to Abbot Ethelwald;' Ælfric, *u. s.* (on Ethelwald, see below).

contra . . . solstitialem] 'ongen norðeast rodor, swa sunnan upgong bið æt middum sumere,' 'towards the north-east quarter, where sunrise is at midsummer,' AS. vers.

Conception of the place of torment.

p. 305. unum latus . . . alterum] Cf. Bede's De Die Iudicii, Opp. i. pp. 101, 102:

'Ignibus aeternae nigris loca plena gehennae,
Frigora mixta simul feruentibus algida flammis.
Nunc oculos nimio flentes ardore camini,
His miseris uicibus miseri uoluuntur in aeuum.
. . . . . .
Non sentitur ibi quidquam nisi frigora, flammae,
Foetor et ingenti complet putredine nares.'

For the origin of this conception of the place of future punishment as consisting of extremes of alternate heat and cold, cf. Bede on Luke xiii. 28: '*ibi erit fletus et stridor dentium;*' 'Fletus de ardore, stridor dentium solet excitari de frigore. Ubi duplex ostenditur gehenna; id est nimii frigoris, et intolerabilis esse feruoris. Cui beati Iob sententia consentit dicentis [xxiv. 19]: '*Ad calorem nimium transibunt ab aquis niuium;*' Opp. xi. 191. So, almost in the same words, ix. 179; cf. xii. 21; Wulfstan's Homilies, ed. Napier, p. 138: 'hwylon þær eagan ungemetum wepað for þæs ofnes bryne, hwylon eac þa teð for mycclum cyle manna þær gnyrrað,' 'There sometimes eyes weep immoderately by reason of the heat of the furnace, sometimes teeth chatter for the greatness of the cold.' So Claudio in 'Measure for Measure,' III. i. 122, 123:

'To bathe in fiery floods, or to reside
In thrilling regions of thick-ribbed ice.'

sola . . . umbras] Verg. Aen. vi. 268:

'Ibant obscuri sola sub nocte per umbram.'

In Opp. viii. 215, Bede quotes the whole line with 'uadunt,' instead of 'ibant.'

p. 306. sed et fetor] Cf. Apoc. Pauli, § 41. Tischendorf, Apocalypses Apocryphae, ed. 1866, pp. 61, 62: *καὶ . . . ὁ ἄγγελος . . . ἔστησέν με ἐπάνω φρέατος . . . καὶ ἀνοίξαντος αὐτοῦ ἐξῆλθεν δυσωδία ἣν οὐκ ἦν ἐπενεγκεῖν. καὶ . . . ἴδον τὸ φρέαρ . . . σκότους καὶ ζόφους πεπληρωμένον, καὶ πολλὴν στενοχωρίαν ἐν αὐτῷ.*

sonum . . . promiscuum] Cf. Dante, Inf. iii. 22–30:

'Diverse lingue, orribili favelle,' &c.

quasi fulgor stellae micantis, &c.] See the critical note; and cf. Dante, Purg. xii. 88–90:

'A noi venia la creatura bella
Bianco vestita, e nella faccia quale
Par tremolando mattutina stella.'

Cf. ib. ii. 13 ff. and Alcuin, De Sanctis Ebor. vv. 953–955, versifying this tale of Drythelm:

'Tunc mihi post tergum fulsit quasi stella per umbras,
Quae magis accrescens properansque fugauerat hostes;
Dux erat ille meus ueniens cum luce repente.'

p. 307. contra ortum . . . brumalem] 'suðeast on ðon roðor swa swa on wintre sunne upp gongeð,' 'south-east to the quarter where the sun rises in winter,' AS. vers.

et ecce ibi campus, &c.] This is the passage which comes closest to the Apocalypse of Peter; *v.* Robinson and James, *u. s.* pp. 49, 90, § 5.

p. 308. locus, in quo examinandae, &c.] For Bede's own view of Purgatory, *v.* Introduction, p. lxvi, note. Purgatory.

qui differentes confiteri] The fate of these souls in Dante is much less terrible; Cf. Purg. iii.

multos . . . adiuuant] Cf. Dante, Purg. iii. 140, 141:

'Se tal decreto
Più corto per buon prieghi non diventa.'

p. 309. multum detestatus sum] This is a common feature in these stories; cf. Lismore Lives, p. xii.

non omnibus . . . desidiosis, &c.] Cf. iii. 19, p. 167.

Aldfrido] *v.* on iv. 26; Introduction, p. xxxiii.

p. 310. monasterio supra memorato] *i. e.* Melrose.

Ediluald] He had been a servant 'minister' of St. Cuthbert; Vita Anon. § 23; Vita Pros. c. 30. When the former life was written he was 'Praepositus' or 'Prior' of Melrose, when the latter was written he was abbot; Opp. Min. pp. 277, 107. If the date of his abbacy could be fixed, it would help to fix the date of this vision of Drythelm, and of Bede's life of Cuthbert. He became bishop of Lindisfarne after Eadfrid, who died 721. The date of Ethelwald's consecration is generally given as 724. This is an inference from the fact that S. D. ii. 32 says that he died in 740 (so Cont. Baedae, *infr.* p. 362; 739, Fl. Wig.; 737, Sax. Chron. D. E.), while in i. 39 he says that he was bishop sixteen years. But this seems insufficient ground on which to traverse the statement of Fl. Wig. that he succeeded in 721; which is also the more probable date, as no vacancy of the see is anywhere hinted at. He caused a beautiful stone cross to be erected with his name at Lindisfarne, which shared the wanderings of St. Cuthbert's body till it reposed at Durham; S. D. i. 39. He also caused a cover of gold and jewels to be made for the copy of the Gospels which his predecessor Eadfrid had written in honour of St. Cuthbert; S. D. i. 64–68 (where the adventures of this book are narrated. In visions of St. Cuthbert, the saint appears holding this book; ib. 204, 232). It is now in the Brit. Mus., Cott. Nero D. iv., but Ethelwald's cover had been removed before it came into the possession of Sir Robert Cotton; Ethelwald.

and the existing cover is modern, the gift of Bishop Maltby. There is an interesting account of the MS. by Sir E. Maunde Thompson in Bibliographica, Part ii. pp. 129–138. He sees no reason to doubt the local tradition recorded in the colophon appended by the Priest Aldred who, in the tenth century, added the Northumbrian gloss to the MS. He thinks the illuminations were done by special artists under Eadfrid's directions. There are facsimiles also in the series issued by the Palaeographical Society, plates 3–6, 22; but no facsimile can give any idea of the exquisite beauty of the original. It is the fairest MS. that has ever come under my notice; cf. D. C. B. ii. 7; and Dom Germain Morin, in the Revue Bénédictine, 1891, pp. 481, 529, cited by Sir E. M. Thompson.

Asceticism. **solebat . . . insistere**] So Kentigern: 'nudum . . . se reddens, aquis uehementibus et frigidis se inmergebat; . . . ibique in frigore et nuditate . . . totum ex integro decantabat psalterium;' N. & K. p. 185; 'hyemali tempore, bruma . . . cuncta . . . congelante, iuxta morem in frigidissimis aquis nudus persoluit psalterium;' ib. 205; cf. Introduction, § 9.

CHAPTER 13.

Cenred of Mercia. **P. 311. temporibus Coenredi**] He reigned from 704 to 709, *v. infr.* c. 24, pp. 355, 356; therefore this incident must be placed between those years; R. W. places it under 707, i. 200. The Sax. Chron. MSS. D. E. record his accession both at 702 and at 704. The former entry is probably due to the uncritical copying of some authority of which the chronology is antedated by two years.

officio militari positus] 'cyninges þeng,' 'a king's thane;' AS. vers.

tempore sequente] 'þonne he eldra wære,' 'when he should be older,' inserts AS. vers.; which inserts the same phrase again lower down, before the words 'cum . . . resurgeret.'

The vision. **p. 312. codicem horrendae uisionis**] Cf. Apoc. Pauli, § 10: Tischendorf, *u. s.*, pp. 39, 40: *γνῶτε, υἱοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὅτι πάντα τὰ πραττόμενα παρ' ὑμῶν καθ' ἡμέραν ἄγγελοι ἀπογράφονται ἐν οὐρανοῖς.* Ib. § 16, pp. 45, 46: *προέτρεχεν αὐτῇ* [sc. *ψυχῇ ἀσεβεῖ*] *ὁ συνήθης ἄγγελος λέγων . . . ταλαίπωρε ψυχὴ ποῦ πορεύει; ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἀπογραφόμενος τὰς ἁμαρτίας σου.* § 17, p. 47: *καὶ ἤκουσα τοῦ κριτοῦ λέγοντος· ἐὰν ἔλθῃ ὁ ἄγγελος ἐπὶ χεῖρας ἔχων τὸ χειρόγραφον τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων σου.*

Spiritual desperation. **inueni omnia scelera, &c.**] Cf. Bede on Prov. v. 14: 'Quod ergo sero poenitens ait contemptor sapientiae: *paene fui in omni malo in medio ecclesiae et synagogae;* uidetur misero magnitudinem suae

damnationis perpendenti, quia nihil paene fuerit sceleris, quo non sit irretitus, qui tanta meruit tormenta subire;' Opp. ix. 79.

desperans] In a Christmas homily, commenting on the Magnificat, Bede says: 'Nunquam de impetranda admissorum uenia desperemus, quia *misericordia eius a progenie in progenies timentibus eum*. Nulli inter mala quae fecit grauior impoenitendi culpa surripiat, quia *Deus superbis resistit*, eosque a beatorum sorte secernens, per uaria poenarum loca pro peccatorum uarietate dispergit;' Opp. v. 306. For other passages in Bede against spiritual desperation, cf. ib. 3, 155, 357, 433; ix. 122; x. 258.

p. 313. ne . . . praeuenti] Cf. the Ash Wednesday antiphon in the Roman Missal: 'Emendemus in melius quae ignoranter peccauimus: ne subito praeoccupati die mortis, quaeramus spatium poenitentiae, et inuenire non possimus.'

psalmus] 'se sealmscop,' 'the Psalmist,' AS. vers.

siue audientium] Bede evidently contemplates the possibility of his work being read aloud for purposes of edification, as was in fact done. See the additional critical notes for evidence as to the way in which passages of the H. E. were used as lections in Church and Refectory. This very chapter occurs separately in a MS. of the Basle University Library, A. v. 39. Lections.

CHAPTER 14.

Noui autem, &c.] R. W. places this incident in 728; but there are no means of determining the date. He speaks very dishonestly, as if *he* were concealing the name of the culprit which he knew: 'quem nominare supersedeo;' i. 217.

maioribus] 'ealdormannum,' 'aldermen,' AS. vers.

p. 314. fabrili arte singularis] For another monastic smith, but of a very different character, cf. Ethelwulf de Abbatibus, c. 10; S. D. i. 276, 277:

> 'Mirificis fratrem liceat memorare loquelis,
> Ferrea qui domitans potuit formare metalla,
> Diuersisque modis sapiens incude subactum
> Malleus in ferrum peditat stridente camino.'

quod solent dicere] 'dictum crudelissimum.' O^{y}_{18}.

quia uideret, &c.] The words are obviously chosen with a view to bringing out the contrast between this vision and that of St. Stephen, cited below. The vision.

Satanan] 'þone ealdan feond moncynnes,' 'the ancient enemy of mankind,' inserts AS. vers.

Caiphanque] 'þone ealdorman þara sacerda,' 'the alderman *or* chief of the priests,' inserts AS. vers. Cf. Dante, Inf. xxiii. 115 ff.

desperans] See note on last chapter.

Prayers for the impenitent dead.

neque aliquis pro eo] Bede himself, on 1 John v. 16, discussing the sin unto death, for which St. John dares not bid us pray, says: 'peccatum quod in hac uita non corrigitur, eius uenia frustra post mortem postulatur;' Opp. xii. 318. Cf. Theodore's Penitential, I. v. 11: 'Si episcopus aut abbas iusserit monacho suo pro hereticis mortuis missam cantare, non licet et non expedit obœdire ei.' Legatine Synod of 787, § 20: 'Si quis . . . sine poenitentia aut confessione de hac luce discessit, pro eo minime orandum est;' H. & S. iii. 181, 459. Cf. ib. 227. Yet prayers for the heathen dead were allowed in the early Church. Cf. Ramsay, Church in the Roman Empire, p. 421.

uel psalmos cantare] On psalms for the dead, *v. s.* on iii. 5, p. 136.

Stephen's vision.

uidit caelos apertos] Commenting on this passage of the Acts, Bede says: 'Ad confortandam . . . beati martyris patientiam coelestis regni ianua panditur, et ne innoxius homo lapidatus titubet in terra, Deus homo crucifixus apparet coronatus in coelo. Unde quia stare pugnantis uel adiuuantis est, recte a dextris Dei stantem uidit, quem inter homines persequentes adiutorem habuit. . . . Marcus eum . . . sedere describit, qui situs iudicantis est, quia et nunc inuisibiliter omnia iudicat, et ad extremum Iudex omnium uisibilis aduenietque;' Opp. xii. 37. Cf. x. 262 (on Mark xvi. 19).

CHAPTER 15.

Anglo-Saxon version.

The AS. vers. omits cc. 15–17, and gives as capitulum xv: 'Ðæt monega cyricean . . . eall geleaflican Eastran onfengon; 7 be Ealdelme, se ða bóc *de uirginitate* 7 eac oðra manega geworhte; ge eac Þæt Suðseaxan 7c.' (as in capitulum xviii. *inf.*, p. 320), 'That many churches . . . received the Catholic Easter; and of Aldhelm, who composed the book *De Virginitate*, and many others also; and, further, how the South Saxons, &c.'

Date.

P. 315. **Quo tempore**] H. & S. ii. 6, 7, take this to mean the year of Adamnan's death (703 or 704, *v. infr.*), but it can hardly be fixed so precisely. The change might be spread over several years, as were the labours of Adamnan in Ireland, to which the change was mainly due. See below.

The northern Irish adopt the Roman Easter,

plurima . . . Hibernia] *i. e.* the northern Irish; the southern Irish had conformed long before this. See on iii. 3. It was, however, only those 'qui ab Hiensium dominio erant liberi' who yielded to Adamnan's arguments (*infra*), and this limits the 'plurima pars' considerably.

nonnulla . . . de Brettonibus] Probably the Strathclyde Britons; H. & S. *u. s.* The chronological reference is not, however, so precise as to exclude the possibility that Bede is thinking also of the Cornish Britons (Cornwealas), some of whom were converted by Aldheld, *infr.* c. 18, pp. 320, 321, whose letter to Gerontius (Geraint), King of Damnonia, on the Paschal question, was written in 705; H. & S. iii. 268. I do not think that Bede's words imply that Adamnan had anything to do with the conversion of the Britons; ib. ii. 7. If he had, it would only be the Strathclyde Britons that he could be brought into contact with. The Britons of Wales did not begin to conform till after the middle of the eighth century, and the controversy lasted on into the ninth century; ib. i. 203, 204. Cf. *inf.* c. 23 *ad fin.* as do some of the Britons.

Adamnan . . . Hii] This is the biographer of St. Columba, and ninth abbot of Iona, 679–704. Much material relating to him is collected by Dr. Reeves in the Introduction to his monumental edition of Adamnan's Life of Columba, but the material requires rather more critical sifting than Dr. Reeves has given it. Cf. also S. C. S. ii. 170–175. On the churches dedicated to Adamnan in Ireland and Scotland, and the various transformations undergone by his name, *v.* Rs. Ad. pp. lxi–lxviii, 256–258. Adamnan, Abbot of Iona.

cum legationis gratia . . . uenisset] He is described in the same way, c. 21, p. 344: 'legatus suae gentis ad Aldfridum regem.' Adamnan tells us himself that he paid two visits to the Northumbrian court: 'regem Aldfridum uisitantes amicum, . . . et in prima post bellum Ecfridi uisitatione, et in secunda interiectis duobus annis;' Rs. Ad. pp. 185, 186. The 'bellum Ecfridi' is, of course, Nechtansmere, 685. The object of the first visit was to obtain from Aldfrid, whose friendship he had no doubt acquired during the latter's exile ('regem . . . amicum,' cf. Fragments of Irish Ann. p. 110, cited on iv. 26), the release of the prisoners brought from Ireland by Egfrid's general, Bert, in 684; iv. 26. In this he was successful: 'Adomnanus captiuos reduxit ad Hiberniam lx;' Tigh. 687; Ann. Ult. 686. The latter is probably the right date; cf. F. M. 684. (For a later mythical account of this mission, *v.* Rs. Ad. pp. xlv f.) The second visit would then fall in 688. The conference with Ceolfrid, c. 21, is generally connected with this second visit; Reeves, Skene; O'Donovan, *ad* F. M. 684, connects it with the first; and the similarity of the words in which Adamnan is described here and in c. 21, *v.s.*, makes this the more probable view. Reeves, *u. s.* p. 187, following Westminster, as he says, places the mission mentioned by Bede in 701; H. & S. ii. 109 place it as late as 703. This is impossible. The language of Bede, 'cum . . . His missions to Aldfrid.

nenisset,' does not exclude, and the probabilities of the case require an interval of some time between Adamnan's own conversion and his success in bringing over the Northern Irish. Reeves himself, p. liii, says that Adamnan was in Ireland in 701, which makes it the more strange that he should have been misled by Westminster. The latter is here simply copying Matth. Paris, Chron. Mai. i. 318, who in turn is copying R. W. i. 196. None of these have, of course, any value for this early period; but in fact the entry implies nothing as to the date of Adamnan's mission. The date 701 is merely given as that of Adamnan's 'floruit,' and then the fact of his mission is narrated in language taken from Bede. Smith's reliance on Westminster is as pathetic as it is unfounded: 'in re tam obscura eius auctoritatem tutus sequor.'

He is converted to the Roman Easter.

a pluribus . . . admonitus] By Ceolfrid, c. 21, p. 344. Bede himself, then about fourteen, probably saw Adamnan on this occasion. Yet Mr. Macpherson, in the Preface to his translation of Arculfus (see below), says: 'It is useless to ask whether there can have been any connexion at all between him [Bede] and Adamnan;' p. xvii.

cum suis . . . positis] On this form of argument cf. ii. 19, *ad init.* note.

uir bonus, &c.] Compare the character given of him in c. 21, p. 344.

Visits of Adamnan to Ireland.

p. 316. nauigauit Hiberniam] Besides the voyage with the released prisoners in 686, v. s., the Irish Annals record two journeys of Adamnan to Ireland; one in 691, Ann. Ult.; 692, Tigh.; the other in 696, Ann. Ult.; 697, Tigh. (on the latter visit, cf. Rs. Ad. pp. l, li). Reeves, p. liii, thinks that he remained there from that time until he returned to Iona shortly before his death, as mentioned by Bede. This is possible, though it does not seem capable of proof. The Fragments of Irish Annals, which give a very mythical and confused account of these events, pp. 110–114, speak of Adamnan as expelled from Iona. This is no doubt an exaggeration. But the picture they give of the dissensions caused in Ireland by the Paschal question is probably founded on fact: 'is amlaid tictis na cleirig isna senadaib, 7 a tuata leo, combitis comraiethe catha 7 marbtha imda etorre,' 'it is thus that the clergy would go to the synods; with their lay-folk about them, so that there were conflicts, and many mutual slaughters.' The scribe of the MS. writes 'calumnia' in the margin; but we can prove in many instances that later compilers, like the Four Masters, deliberately omitted accounts of ecclesiastical dissensions recorded in their authorities for the sake of avoiding scandal; Rs.

Dissensions on the Easter question.

Ad. p. 255. To these troubles in connexion with the Easter question Adamnan is thought to allude at the end of his work De Locis Sanctis, where he speaks of himself as 'inter laboriosas et prope insustentabiles tota die undique conglobatas ecclesiasticae sollicitudinis occupationes constitutus.' And he says that Columba foretold them; Reeves, p. 26.

p. 316. qui ab Hiensium . . . liberi] On the federation of Columbite monasteries, see notes to iii. 4. Thus both in Ireland and Britain it was precisely among his own flock that Adamnan had the least success.

migrasse de saeculo] 703, Ann. Ult.; 704, Tigh. and Ann. Camb. His day is Sept. 23; Félire; Mart. Doneg. Bede seems to imply that the following year was one in which the two Easters would have differed. If the eighty-four years' cycle given by Ideler was the one used by the Celts, then it would seem that this was the case both in 704 and 705.

Arculfus and Adamnan De Locis Sanctis.

scripsit . . . librum] Of Arculfus, from whose dictation Adamnan wrote this book on the holy places, nothing is known except what Adamnan and Bede have told us, viz. that he was a bishop from Gaul who travelled in the East, and on his return was driven by stress of weather on to the western coast of Britain. Even the name of his see, if he held one, is unknown, though Périgueux has been suggested; Vicomte Alexis de Gourgues, Le saint Suaire, cited by Tobler, *ut infra*, p. xxx. Adamnan thus describes the mode of composition: 'Arculfus . . . in Hierosolymitana ciuitate per menses IX hospitatus, . . . mihi Adamnano haec . . . primo in tabulas describenti . . . dictauit, quae nunc in membranis . . . scribuntur' (Prologus). Adamnan however does not merely reproduce Arculfus' narrative. He compares his words 'cum aliorum scriptis'; i. 23; ii. 29. He cites St. Jerome, ii. 7, 10, 28; Josephus, de Bello Iud. ii. 19; cf. Tobler, p. xxxi. Arculfus' pilgrimage has been dated c. 670; ib. xxx. He suffered, as other travellers have suffered, from the impatience of his guide: 'diutius hospitari non poterat, quia ipsum cogebat locorum peritus Christi miles festinare, de Burgundia ortus, uitam ducens solitariam, Petrus nomine;' ii. 25; cf. ib. 26. Besides the Holy Land, he visited Damascus, Tyre, Alexandria, Crete, Constantinople, where he saw the exposition of the relics of the true Cross in Holy Week, and Sicily, where he saw Aetna; ii. 27–iii. 6.

The work of Adamnan has been often printed, by Gretser, Ingolstadt, 1619, 4to, reprinted in his collected works; by Mabillon, AA. SS. iv. 502 (1672); by Migne, Pat. Lat. vol. 83, 1850; by Delpit at the end of his Essai sur les anciens pélerinages

à Jérusalem, 1870; by Tobler in Itinera et Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae . . . saec. iv–xi, i. 139; edited for the Société de l'Orient Latine, 1877. An English translation with notes by the Rev. J R. Macpherson was issued by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society in 1889. It is on this work of Adamnan's that Bede mainly based his own book De Locis Sanctis; Opp. iv. 402–442; cf. what he says himself at the end of that book: 'Haec de locis sanctis, prout potui, fidem historiae secutus exposui, et maxime Arculphi dictatus Galliarum episcopi, quos eruditissimus in scripturis presbyter Adamnanus lacinioso sermone describens, tribus libellis comprehendit. Siquidem memoratus antistes, desiderio locorum sanctorum patriam deserens, terram repromissionis adiit, aliquot mensibus Hierosolymis demoratus, ueteranoque monacho nomine Petro duce pariter atque interprete usus, cuncta in circuitu, quae desiderauerat, uiuida intentione lustrauit; necnon Alexandriam, Damascum, Constantinopolim, Siciliamque percurrit. Sed cum patriam reuisere uellet, nauis, qua uehebatur, post multos anfractus uento contrario in nostram, id est, Brittanorum insulam perlata est; tandemque ipse post nonnulla pericula ad praefatum uirum uenerabilem Adamnanum ueniens, iter pariter suum, et ea, quae uiderat explicando, pulcherrimae illum historiae docuit esse scriptorem. Ex qua nos aliqua decerpentes, ueterumque libris comparantes, tibi legenda transmittimus, obsecrantes per omnia, ut praesentis seculi laborem, non otio lasciui corporis, sed lectionis orationisque studio tibi temperare satagas.'

Bede's De Locis Sanctis.

From this it will be seen that Bede did not confine himself to merely reproducing Adamnan (cf. Tobler, pref., who shows that he used also Josephus, de Bello Iud., and either Eucherius, or some predecessor of Eucherius). The word 'tibi' shows that the work was addressed to some individual; but the dedication, if there ever was one, seems to have been lost. This work also is printed by Tobler, and translated by Macpherson. From what Bede says at the end of this present chapter, and at the end of c. 17, it might be supposed that the extracts which he gives here were taken direct from Adamnan. That however is not the case. They are all, with the exception of a few words, taken from his own book, as was rightly seen by Mr. Macpherson, p. xviii. I have printed in smaller type the parts which Bede has borrowed from his own work. The italics, whether in the small or larger type, indicate what he derived from Adamnan. There is an abbreviated Irish translation of Bede's work in L. Br. p. 157 b; Laud Misc. 610 f. 27 c. On Holy Places, Pilgrimages, &c., see D. C. A. i. 774 ff.; ii. 1635 ff.

et maxime . . . norunt] Cf. Bede, In Cant., Lib. i, *ad fin.*: 'ne me superfluum iudicet [lector], qui de natura arborum, . . . iuxta quod in libris antiquorum didici, latius explanare uoluerim. Feci namque hoc non arrogantiae studendo, sed meae meorumque imperitiae consulendo, qui longius extra orbem, hoc est in insula maris oceani nati et nutriti, ea quae in primis orbis partibus, Arabia dico et India, Iudaea et Aegypto geruntur, non nisi per eorum, qui his interfuere, scripta nosse ualemus;' Opp. ix. 200. Bede's desire to instruct his readers.

CHAPTER 16.

P. 317. I cannot pretend to discuss the subject of the mediaeval topography of Jerusalem, and must content myself with indicating in the margin the sources from which Bede drew.

ecclesiam Constantinianam] Cf. 'Constantinus fecit Romae, ubi baptizatus est, basilicam . . . , quae appellata est Constantiniana;' Chron. Opp. Min. p. 181.

Anastasis] *v.* D. C. A. i. 80, 81.

p. 318. **huius in medio**] This passage, to the end of the chapter, is given in a somewhat abbreviated form in Bede's Commentary on Mark xv. 46; Opp. x. 251, 252. Compare also Opp. xi. 284, 358 with Opp. iv. 418, 410; Opp. vii. 167 with Opp. iv. 420.

CHAPTER 17.

brucosa] This word is not in any of the dictionaries. It may be connected with the Low Latin 'bruscus,' 'brushwood.'

p. 319. **Chebron**] Of Hebron, see an interesting account in Stanley, Jewish Church, vol. i, App. ii.

memoriae] '*Memoria*, monumentum, sepulcrum, *μνημεῖον*;' Ducange.

uel in eo . . . excerpsimus] *i. e.* the De Locis Sanctis of Bede, on which see notes to c. 15, *sup.* It is curious that Bede does not mention this in the list of his works in c. 24. Bede's De Locis Sanctis.

CHAPTER 18.

P. 320. **Anno . . . inpleto**] For Aldfrid, see notes on iv. 26. His death is recorded in most of the Irish authorities and in Ann. Camb. under the year 703 or 704. The Saxon Chron. follows Bede and gives 705. MSS. D. and E. of the Chron., followed by Fl. Wig., say that he died at Driffield, which is said to be a corruption of Deira-feld, Murray's Yorkshire (1867), p. 119, in the East Riding Date of Aldfrid's death.

of Yorkshire, on the 19th of the Calends of January, *i. e.* Dec. 14. (According to Smith on iv. 26, his monument was still shown at Little Driffield. It has now disappeared ; cf. Murray, *u. s.* pp. 120, 145.) As he succeeded May 21, 685, this would give him a reign of more than twenty years, instead of less, as Bede here affirms, while in c. 1, *ad fin.*, he gives him only nineteen years. Mr. Stevenson proposed to read Iun. for Ianr. in the Chron. and Florence. Unluckily there are not nineteen days of the Calends of June, as in May the Ides are on the 15th. Eddius, c. 59, regards the illness and death of Aldfrid as a judgement on him for his treatment of Wilfrid. He affirms, on the authority of eye-witnesses, that he repented on his death-bed and charged his heir, 'quicunque mihi . . . successerit,' to make peace with Wilfrid. The words cited show that the succession was known to be doubtful. For two months Eadwulf, whose relationship, if any, to the royal house is not known, usurped the crown. Osred, with Bertfrith, his chief supporter, who is described as 'secundus a rege princeps,' was besieged at Bamborough ; but on their vowing obedience to the papal commands about Wilfrid, Eadwulf's partisans deserted him, and Osred obtained the throne ; ib. c. 60 ; cf. G. P. p. 242. Now if the two months of Eadwulf's reign, and the synod on the Nidd have to be brought into 705, as would appear from c. 19, p. 329, then clearly Aldfrid's death cannot have taken place in Dec. 705. On the other hand it must be subsequent to Wilfrid's arrival in Britain, and he was not at Meaux till 705. See notes on c. 19.

Character of Osred.

Osred . . . XI] The death of Aldfrid and the accession of Osred mark the end of Northumbrian greatness ; *v.* Introduction, § 10. Osred seems to have been a youth of precocious viciousness. St. Boniface in his letter to Ethelbald (744 × 747) says : 'priuilegia ecclesiarum in regno Anglorum . . . inuiolata permanserunt usque ad tempora Ceolredi Regis Mercionum et Osredi Regis Derorum et Berniciorum. Hi duo reges . . . commorantes . . . in stupratione . . . nonnarum et fractura monasteriorum, . . . immatura . . . morte praeuenti, . . . in profundum inferni . . . demersi sunt,' &c. And again : 'Osredum quoque spiritus luxoriae . . . agitauit ; usque quod ipse gloriosum regnum et iuuenilem uitam, et ipsam luxoriosam animam contemptibili et despecta morte perdidit ;' Mon. Mog. pp. 174, 175 ; H. & S. iii. 355 ; cf. W. M. i. 58. Ethelwulf also gives him a very bad character :

'Hic igitur multos [*sc.* proceres] miseranda morte peremit,
Ast alios cogit summo seruire parenti,
Inque monasterii attonsos consistere saeptis, . . .
Anglorum proceres nimium trucidante tyranno ;'

De Abbatibus, c. 3, in S. D. i. 268, 269. Yet Folcard in his life of John of Beverley calls him 'uir religionis et fidei;' H. Y. i. 254.

Haeddi] On Hædde and the history of the West-Saxon bishopric, see notes to iii. 7; iv. 12. Hædde.

migrauit] Of course he was buried at Glastonbury according to W. M. i. 25, 26.

episcopalem . . . exercebat] Malmesbury, G. P. p. 159, cites this judgement of Bede's, and adds: 'unde non paruo moueor scrupulo, quippe qui legerim eius formales epistolas non nimis indocte compositas, et Aldelmi ad eum scripta, maximam uim eloquentiae et scientiae redolentia.' Of Hædde's 'formales epistolae' none, as far as I know, exist. There is a letter of Aldhelm's to him excusing himself for being unable to spend Christmas with him on the ground of his many studies and occupations; Aldh. Opp. ed. Giles, pp. 96, 97; Mon. Mog. pp. 32–34; G. P. pp. 341–343. Some lines addressed to him by Theodore are in H. & S. iii. 203; and Hardy, Cat. i. 388. They are better evidence of Theodore's regard for him than the spurious decree cited on iii. 7.

Pecthelm] See on c. 23, p. 351.

propter quod . . . non minima] Cf. iii. 9, p. 145.

episcopatus . . . diuisus est] The limits of the two dioceses are thus given in G. P. p. 175: 'In diuisione West Saxonici episcopatus hoc obseruatum palam est, ut, qui Wintoniae sederet haberet duos pagos Amptunensem et Sudreiensem; alter qui Scireburniae, haberet Wiltunensem. Dorsatensem, Berruchensem, Sunersetensem, Domnoniensem [Devon], Cornubiensem;' cf. ib. 375: 'Iniqua et impar fuit ea diuisio, ut unus duos tantum pagos, alter totum regeret, quicquid West Saxonici tractus immensitas continet.' The division was effected in a regular council; H. & S. iii. 275, 276; Aldh. Opp. p. 368; cf. also F. N. C. ii. 589, 590; Green, M. E. p. 392. Of Sherborne itself Malmesbury says: 'Scireburnia est uiculus, nec habitantium frequentia nec positionis gratia suauis, in quo mirandum et pene pudendum sedem episcopalem per tot durasse saecula;' G. P. p. 175. Division of the West Saxon diocese.

Daniheli] He furnished Bede with materials for the ecclesiastical history of Wessex, Sussex, and Wight; Pref. p. 7; which last he was the first to bring under regular episcopal jurisdiction, iv. 16, p. 238. In these two passages he is called 'Occidentalium Saxonum episcopus,' in spite of the fact that in the division of the see of Wessex he had much the smaller share. In c. 23, p. 350, he is called 'Uentanus antistes,' 'episcopus Uentae ciuitatis;' cf. the present chapter, *ad fin.* Malmesbury calls him: 'eiusdem regionis oriundus, et literarum non egenus;' G. P. p. Bishop Daniel.

375; and gives some examples of his ascetic practices; ib. 357, 358. Cynehard, Bishop of Winchester, writing to Lullus, calls him 'Danihel doctissimus Dei plebis famulus;' H. & S. iii. 432; Mon. Mog. p. 269. There is a commendatory letter of his for Wynfrid (St. Boniface) on his final departure for Frisia, 718, in Mon. Mog. pp. 61, 62; H. & S. iii. 302. His letter to Boniface on the best way of dealing with the heathen, Mon. Mog. pp. 71–74; H. & S. iii. 304–306, has been alluded to above on i. 30. A later letter of Boniface to Daniel asking his advice, with Daniel's reply (732 × 746) is in Mon. Mog. pp. 157–166; H. & S. iii. 343–349. From these letters it appears that Daniel in his later years was blind. In 721, he made a journey to Rome; Sax. Chron.; Fl. Wig. In 744 he resigned his see, and in 745 he died, ib. These authorities give him an episcopate of forty-three years, which, as they place Hædde's death in 703, is not so far wrong. In G. P. p. 160, he is said to have retired to Malmesbury, and died, and been buried there, but this seems inconsistent with the statements of the Chron. and Fl. Wig. In Mon. Mog. No. 112, there is a curious vision of the other world, in which among the occupants of the lower regions appear: 'infantium numerosa multitudo, sub Danielo episcopo maxime sine baptismo morientium;' p. 276. Whether there is any foundation for this charge, I do not know. The vision cannot be earlier than 757. It is just possible that Bede, by applying the term 'strenuissime' to Aldhelm's government, means to hint that Daniel was somewhat wanting in that quality; cf. on Daniel, Bright, pp. 424, 425.

Aldhelm. Aldhelmo] There are two principal lives of Aldhelm extant, *v.* Hardy, Cat. i. 389–396; one by Faricius, a Tuscan, physician to Henry I, who was first a monk at Malmesbury, and afterwards abbot of Abingdon (× 1117). This is printed in AA. SS. (May 25) in Aldh. Opp. ed Giles, pp. 354–382, and in Migne, Pat. Lat. vol. 89. The more ancient lives have perished. Faricius had earlier materials written 'barbarice atque Latine,' *i. e.* in English and Latin (contrast G. P. p. 230: 'prefectus, in alios barbarus et immanis, in istum Anglus et lenis'). The former he could only read 'ex interprete'; much had however been destroyed by the Danes, pp. 354–356; G. P. p. 390. The other life is by Malmesbury, and forms Lib. v. of the Gesta Pontificum (ed. Hamilton, R. S. pp. 332–443). He uses the life by Faricius, though he makes merry over his blunders; he also cites Manualem librum regis Elfredi, pp. 332, 333 (cf. W. M. i. 132 'liber proprius quem patria lingua Handboc, id est, Manualem librum, appellauit'). On the authority of this lost work he gives the beautiful tradition

how Aldhelm used his skill as a minstrel (cf. Fl. Wig. i. 237 : 'citharaedus optimus') to collect the people round him after mass, and, having done so, gradually won them to listen to sacred themes. Lays attributed to him were still sung in Alfred's time ; and Alfred, no mean judge, considered them superior to all other English poetry ; p. 336. How willingly would we surrender the whole of Aldhelm's stilted Latin to recover one of his native poems! The rest of Malmesbury's work is largely made up of extracts from Aldhelm's letters, and Malmesbury charters, most of the latter being of very doubtful authenticity. Malmesbury says that Aldhelm was not less than seventy when he died, 709 ; this would place his birth about 639. He was connected with the royal family of Wessex ; G. P. p. 332 ; cf. W. M. i. 35. He became a monk at Malmesbury under Maelduib (*v. infra*), where he was afterwards abbot. He also studied under Abbot Hadrian, the companion of Theodore, as is proved by his own letter to Hadrian ; ib. 333–335 ; Opp. p. 330 ; and we have seen (on iii. 27) that in spite of his own connexion with Maelduib, he thought it derogatory to the school of Canterbury that Englishmen should resort to Ireland for instruction ; Opp. p. 94. At some period of his life he visited Rome. This rests not only on the statements of his biographers, Opp. pp. 360, 361 ; G. P. pp. 363 ff., but on a contemporary letter addressed to him, Opp. p. 98 : 'tu Romae aduena fuisti.' Among other foundations he built an 'ecclesiola' to St. Lawrence at Bradford-on-Avon, which escaped the ravages of the Danes, and was standing in Malmesbury's time, G. P. p. 346, and is probably the same 'little church' which has been discovered in our own days. His appointment to Malmesbury must be placed, 670 × 676, if it was made, as stated, by Leutherius or Hlothhere, Bishop of Wessex, 670–676, Sax. Chron. Malmesbury places it in 675, G. P. p. 385 ; Fl. Wig. in 666, i. 27 ; which is impossible. He became bishop in 705, and died, May 25, 709, at Doulting in Somerset, and was buried at Malmesbury, stones called 'bishop-stones' being erected along the route ; G. P. pp. 381–386. He seems to have received almost at once a sort of informal canonisation ; cf. W. M. i. 144, 152. Lanfranc 'legem in totam promulgauit Angliam, qua eum . . . haberi et coli pro Sancto praeciperet ;' G. P. p. 428. Faricius says that after he became bishop, 'impeditus rebus saecularibus, in episcopio, ut mos est omnium, . . . haud postea tantum ualuit in uirtutibus, quantum prius ualebat ;' Opp. p. 369 ; cf. *supra* on ii. 1. Both in the De Virginitate, and in the Letter to Acircius, he speaks of being weighed down with ecclesiastical cares ; Opp. pp. 79, 327. But this must

Aldhelm as a minstrel.

refer to his cares as abbot. As abbot he signs a charter of 692; K. C. D. No. 995; Birch, No. 78; cf. on Aldhelm, Bp. Stubbs' article in D. C. B., and Bright, pp. 258 ff., 398 ff., 425 ff.

Origin of the foundation and name of Malmesbury.

Mailduﬁ urbem] We have here another instance, in addition to that of Dicul at Selsey, iv. 13, of Irish influence in the south of Britain. This 'Maildufus,' as Bede calls him, was the first founder of this settlement, and was Aldhelm's instructor and predecessor as abbot. A certain 'Scot' appeals to Aldhelm to take him as a pupil on the ground that Aldhelm himself 'a quodam sancto uiro de nostro genere nutritus es;' Mon. Mog. p. 34; Opp. Aldh. p. 98. Bede's 'Maildufus' represents the Irish 'Maelduib' (cf. the critical notes), a name which occurs, *e. g.* Mart. Doneg. pp. 68, 264, 278, 340, 346; F. M. *ad ann.* 622, 681, 695, 890. From this name come various forms of the place-name: 'Meldubesburg,' G. P. p. 390; 'Maldubesburg,' ib. 380; 'Mailduberi' (*i. e.* 'Mailduib-byrig'), ib. 333, 395; 'Maldubia ciuitas,' Mon. Mog. p. 300; 'Maildubiensis ecclesia,' G. P. p. 396; cf. ib. 387; 'monasterium Maldubiense,' ib. 388. The founder's name is however often found written, Meildulf, *e. g.* G. P. pp. 333, 345, 421. This has no Irish equivalent, and is probably a mere contamination with the common Anglo-Saxon termination, 'wulf' or 'ulf'; it gives rise to the form 'Maldulfesbirg' for the place-name, ib. 334. 'Maldulfesburg,' AS. vers. *a. h. l.* Other forms of the place-name point to 'Maelduin' as the name of the founder. This is a very common Irish name; it occupies *e. g.* more than a column of the Index to the Four Masters. It is well known as the name of the hero of the famous Irish tale: 'immram curaig Mailduin' 'the Navigation of Maelduin's Coracle,' which Tennyson has made known to English readers in his Voyage of Maeldune. Faricius in his life of Aldhelm calls the founder Meldun; Giles, Opp. Aldh. p. 362; G. P. p. ix: 'Meldunensis . . . a quodam Meldone solitario, qui . . . locum illum prius inhabitauit, cuius crux lapidea in medio claustri stetit ad praedictam (? -ti) solitarii memoriam.' Hence we get 'Meldunesburg' as the place-name; charters in Opp. Aldh. *u. s.* pp. 343, 344, (= K. C. D. Nos. 22, 23; Birch, Nos. 58, 59), while in Latin 'Meldunum' and the adjective 'Meldunensis' ('Maldunensis,' G. P. p. 387) are among the commonest forms; G. P. pp. ix, 160, 354, 378, 396, 397, 403. 'Maelduin' seems however to have been early misread 'Maeldum'; and hence we find the founder called 'Meldum,' G. P. pp. 333, 335; and the place 'Meldumesburg,' ib. 335, 355; 'Maldumesburg,' ib. 348, 352, 368, 395; and 'Mealdumesburg,' ib. 371; cf. 'æt Meldum, þæt is oþrum naman Maldumesburuh geclypud,' 'at Meldum, otherwise called Maldumsborough,' ib.

The greater fame of Aldhelm eclipsed that of the original founder, and we find the place called 'Ealdelmesburg,' 'Aldhelm's borough'; Sax. Chron. 1015, MSS. C. D. (cf. Stubbs' Dunstan, p. 302). By a contamination of this with the older forms we get 'Mealdelmesburg'; ib. MSS. E. F., which became the prevailing form; and through various gradations, 'Maldelmesburuh,' G. P. p. 410; 'Malmesburge'; Aldh. Opp. p. 346 (=K. C. D. No. 26; Birch, No. 65); 'Mealmesbyri,' Stubbs' Dunstan, p. 378; 'Malmesberi,' G. P. p. 333 (in Latin 'Malmesbiria': 'quod nunc corruptior aetas Malmesbiriam nuncupat;' G. P. p. 345; cf. W. M. i. 152), became the modern Malmesbury. The idea of Thorpe, that the initial *m* of 'Mealdelmesburg' represents the preposition 'in,' though advanced confidently ('no doubt') is quite impossible; *n* could only become *m* before a labial; Sax. Chron. ed. Thorpe, i. 405.

scripsit, iubente synodo, &c.] This was in 705, just before Aldhelm's elevation to the episcopate; H. & S. iii. 268; cf. G. P. pp. 360, 361. Aldhelm's letter to Gerontius [Geraint], King 'occidentalis regni,' may be found, H. & S. iii. 268–273; Aldh. Opp. pp. 83–89; Mon. Mog. pp. 24–31. On the Paschal question generally, *v.* Excursus. Aldhelm's letter to Geraint.

p. 321. castitati] *i.e.* orthodoxy, cf. on iii. 28.

multos . . . Brettones] Here, as often, political and ecclesiastical influence go together. In c. 23, *ad fin.*, Bede distinguishes between those Britons who were 'sui iuris,' and those who were 'Anglorum seruitio mancipati.' The present passage seems to show that some even of the latter maintained, at any rate in ecclesiastical matters, an independent organisation under West-Saxon overlordship. Britons partly subject to Wessex.

de uirginitate . . . eximium] 'heah boc 7 weorðlice,' 'a high book and a worthy one,' AS. vers. Aldhelm's De Virginitate, in prose and verse is in Giles, pp. 1–81, 135–202. It is dedicated to Hildilid, Abbess of Barking (*supra*, iv. 10), and her companions, p. 1. Though Bede mentions the metrical version first, it was really composed later than the prose, as may be seen by referring to pp. 80, 136, 190, 195. On the sources of the work, see a monograph by Manitius, Aldhelm und Baeda (Vienna, 1886), pp. 71–74. Aldhelm's De Virginitate.

in exemplum Sedulii] The reference is to Sedulius' Carmen Paschale, which he afterwards translated into prose and called Opus Paschale. See Prof. Lock's article on Sedulius in D. C. B. This may be the reason why Bede places Aldhelm's metrical work first. Sedulius.

scripsit et alia] Of these the most important is the Epistola ad Acircium, siue liber de septenario, et de metris, aenigmatibus, ac Aldheld and Aldfrid.

pedum regulis; Aldh. Opp. pp. 219–329, called also Liber de Schematibus, G. P. p. 335. Acircius is Aldfrid of Northumbria, ib. 344. Aldhelm addresses him as 'aquilonalis imperii sceptra gubernans,' he says that twenty years previously he had taken him for his adopted son, p. 216; cf. p. 228. There is a probable allusion to Aldfrid's name in what he says of Solomon, p. 219: 'Gloriosissimus . . . regum, qui . . . ipso proprii nominis uocabulo piae [? priscae] pacis praesagia . . . figuraliter gestabat' ('eald-friδ,' 'ancient peace'; cf. Aldhelm's etymologising of his own name as 'prisca galea,' 'eald-helm,' in G. P. p. 332). At the end of the work he exhorts him thus: 'commoneo ut . . . nullatenus . . . solertis ingenii gratiam prae caeteris contribulibus et coaetaneis tibi diuinitus collatam . . . segnitie squalescere patiaris. . . . Quamuis mundanae dispensationis curis uelut . . . undarum . . . uorticibus fatigatus, . . . nequaquam . . . diuinarum studia scripturarum negligenda . . . ducas;' p. 328. This would seem to show that the work was composed during the early troubles of Aldfrid's reign. On the sources of the work, *v.* Manitius, *u. s.* pp. 57–71. On the order of Aldhelm's extant works, *v.* ib. 9–11. For the preservation of several letters and fragments of letters we are indebted to Malmesbury's life. He complains that many of them had been lost; G. P. p. 344. He himself could obtain no copy of the letter to Geraint which we have; ib. 343. He accuses the Britons of having destroyed it: 'debent usque hodie Britones correctionem suam Aldelmo; quamuis, pro insita nequitia, et uirum non agnoscant, et uolumen pessum dederint;' ib. 361.

Aldhelm's learning.

uir . . . doctissimus; . . . eruditione mirandus] That Aldhelm's erudition was really extensive is shown abundantly by Manitius, *u. s.*, who not only traces the sources whence Aldhelm derived the materials of his works, and the numerous quotations with which they abound, but also shows how his reading has influenced his phraseology and vocabulary. Bede applies the same phrase 'uir undecumque doctissimus' to Aldfrid in c. 12, p. 309.

His style.

sermone nitidus] No one would now repeat this judgement; still less would any one agree with Malmesbury that Aldhelm 'non nisi perraro et necessario uerba ponit exotica;' G. P. p. 344. That his style is 'pompaticus' (ib. cf. W. M. i. 31) all would heartily agree, but they would not use the word as a term of praise. For, as Elmham, with excellent good sense, says: 'pompatice scribere est uoluntatem rationi praeferre;' p. 277. Much of Aldhelm's writing is quite unintelligible from its puerile pomposity and use of unusual and foreign words. That Ethelwerd, a feebler imitator of the same style, should admire Aldhelm's writings,

'miro artificio edita opuscula,' M. H. B. p. 507, was natural enough. A good specimen of this 'sermo nitidus' may be found on p. 92 of his works.

scripturarum] I cannot agree with Manitius, pp. 54, 55, in his argument that because Aldhelm's biblical quotations are sometimes nearer to the Itala and sometimes to the Vulgate, he therefore had a text midway between the two. We have seen, Introduction, pp. xix, liv–lvi, and App. II. *infra*, that Bede constantly uses both translations side by side; and Aldhelm may have done the same. In one place, Opp. p. 217, after quoting the Vulgate he distinctly refers to the Itala in the words: 'siue, ut altera continet translatio.' On p. 76 he quotes the Septuagint. Question of Aldhelm's Biblical text.

Fortheri] He went to Rome in 737; Sax. Chron. The date of his death is not recorded. He signs a charter of 739, a grant of Ethelhard of Wessex to himself; Crawford Charters, ed. Napier and Stevenson, pp. 1–3, and notes. He must therefore have returned to Britain. Dr. Stubbs first directed me to this charter. A letter of Archbishop Bertwald to him, alluded to above, on c. 8, is in Mon. Mog. pp. 48, 49; H. & S. iii. 284. Forthere.

usque hodie] 'cwæð se writere,' 'said the author,' adds AS. vers., though above in the case of Daniel it has, contrary to custom, preserved the phrase unaltered.

quibus . . . administrantibus] Who are meant by 'quibus'? Grammatically the easiest reference is to Aldhelm and Forthere; in which case it would imply that Bede was not sure whether the see of Sussex was constituted before or after Aldhelm's death in 709. But I think that he is referring back to the notice of the partition of the West-Saxon diocese, and that 'quibus' means Aldhelm and Daniel. Elmham, p. 266, followed by H. & S. iii. 296, takes 'quibus' to mean Daniel and Forthere. It is in favour of this that Westminster gives 711 as the date of this event. But the authority is too late to have much value. In the Episcopal Succession, pp. 5, 172, Stubbs gives 709 as the date of Eadbert's consecration. Foundation of the South-Saxon see.

Eadberct] There is a grant to him in K. C. D. No. 1000; Birch, No. 144.

Eolla] He signs a charter, K. C. D. No. 1001; Birch, No. 145.

episcopatus . . . cessauit] '7 se bysceophad þær syððan fela geara blon,' 'and the episcopal office ceased there for many years afterwards,' AS. vers. Bede lived however to see it restored. Two years after he wrote this Archbishop Tatwin consecrated Sigfrid or Sigga as bishop of Selsey; Cont. Baed. *infra*, p. 361; S. D. ii. 30. Its temporary cessation.

CHAPTER 19.

Anno . . . IIII°] *i.e.* 709 A.D.

Cenred of Mercia.

Coinred] On him see c. 13 note. W. M. i. 79, attributes his resignation to the effect on his mind of the incident there related; but this may be only his own inference.

tempore aliquanto] About five years; c. 13 note.

p. 322. Constantino] Constantine I, 708-715.

Ceolred of Mercia.

Ceolredo] From the reigns of Ceolred and Osred, St. Boniface dates the growth of sacrilegious attacks on the English Church; see on c. 18. Ceolred died in 716; c. 24, p. 356, having fought against Ini of Wessex in 715; Sax. Chron.; cf. W. M.: 'Chelredus, sicut uirtute contra Inam mirabilis, ita immatura morte miserabilis;' i. 79. Of his death Boniface says in the same letter: 'Ceolredum, . . . ut testati sunt qui praesentes fuerant, apud comites suos splendide epulantem, malignus spiritus . . . peccantem subito in insaniam mentis conuertit; ut sine paenitentia et confessione . . . ad tormenta inferni migrauit;' H. & S. iii. 355; Mon. Mog. p. 175. (The text of this given in W. M. i. 80–82, differs very materially from the genuine text both by way of omission and addition.) Even before Ceolred's death, a monk of Much Wenlock had seen a vision of the other world, in which he appeared among the lost; 'subsequens . . . et citus scelerati regis exitus, quae de illo uisa fuerunt, uera esse . . . probauit;' Mon. Mog. pp. 59. 60. If Cenred knew anything of the character of his successor, he was certainly much to blame in resigning the crown to him. Ceolred seems however to have been on good terms with Wilfrid, see notes below, p. 328; and H. H. says of him: 'patriae et auitae uirtutis haeres clarissime rexit' (!); p. 110. There is a charter of his confirming a grant by his predecessor; K. C. D. No. 52; Birch, No. 111.

Offa of Essex.

filius Sigheri . . . Offa . . . exoptatissimus] On the royal family of Essex, see iii. 22; iv. 6 and notes. Bede's language here does not by itself imply that Offa was king, but only that his accession was looked forward to; nor does he name kingdom or sceptre among the things which he gave up for Christ. The capitulum however distinctly calls him 'Rex.' Sighard and Swefred had succeeded their father Sebbi; *circa* 694, iv. 11; and W. M. says: 'illis defunctis, pauco tempore regnum moderatus est Offa;' i. 99; so Fl. Wig. i. 46, 263; G. P. p. 317. If this is correct, Offa must have succeeded shortly before 709. He was succeeded by Selred, whose slaughter is recorded in the Sax. Chron. at 746; cf. W. M.; Fl.

Wig. *u. s.*; R. W. i. 203. The story that Offa had wished to marry a daughter of Penda is impossible on chronological grounds. See Stubbs' note on W. M. *u. s.* Egwin, Bishop of the Hwiccas (see on iv. 23) is said to have accompanied him and Cenred to Rome; Fl. Wig.; W. M. *u. s.*; G. P. pp. 296, 297, 317, 386. There is nothing impossible in the story, but the authorities are not good; see H. & S. iii. 297, 298; and in some of them Offa is made king of the East Angles instead of the East Saxons; G. P. *u. s.*; K. C. D. No. 61; Birch, Nos. 125, 131. For this confusion, cf. on iv. 6; R. W. is inconsistent with himself; i. 203, 205.

reliquit uxorem, &c.] cf. Hist. Abb. § 1, *infra*, p. 365.

peruenit] Both are said to have died soon after their arrival: 'sub uelocitate ut obtabant defuncti sunt;' Pauli Diac. Hist. Langob. vi. 28, which is taken from the Liber Pontificalis, ed. Duchesne, i. 391. Arrival at Rome.

Uilfrid] The typography and marginal notes of the present chapter, and also of iii. 25, 28; iv. 2, 13, show clearly that Bede, in his account of Wilfrid, is largely indebted for his materials to the life of Wilfrid by Aeddi or Eddius, alias Stephanus, one of Wilfrid's chanters, who is mentioned above; iv. 2, p. 205; cf. Eddius, c. 14. Owing to Bede's mode of using his materials (cf. Introduction, pp. xlvi, xlvii), typography cannot give a measure of the extent of his obligations to his predecessors. These obligations, in the case of Eddius, Bede nowhere acknowledges; ib. p. xxiv. He is not however wholly dependent upon Eddius, and tells of matters which the latter omits. He had heard from Wilfrid's own lips the account of his relations with Ethelthryth; iv. 19, p. 243. He might remember his administration of the see of Lindisfarne, 687–688; iv. 29, p. 275, or he may have heard of it during his own sojourn there; *v.* Introduction, p. xvi. From Acca he heard of their sojourn with Wilbrord on the way to Rome in 703 or 704; iii. 13, p. 152. From him too he may have heard of the consecration of Swidbert as missionary bishop to Frisia; v. 11, p. 302; and the beautiful story how Wilfrid relieved the famine in Sussex; iv. 13, p. 231. Other events not mentioned by Eddius are the consecration of Oftfor; iv. 23, p. 255. and the desire of Oswy, frustrated by death, that Wilfrid should accompany him to Rome; iv. 5, p. 214. On the other hand, Bede omits much that is told by Eddius, often with very bad results to the clearness of his own narrative. Malmesbury, whose own life of Wilfrid, G. P. pp. 210–245, is largely founded, as he admits, p. 210, on Eddius, comments upon Bede's omissions: 'multa ex historia Bedae uacant;' ib.; cf. pp. 238, 239. It is curious too that with the exception of the vision of St. Michael Sources of Bede's account of Wilfrid.

(below), Bede omits all the miracles which Eddius connects with Wilfrid; cc. 1, 5, 9, 13, 18, 23, 24, 37, 38, 39, 59, 66, 67. This cannot, as we have seen, be due to any critical scruples of Bede on the subject of miracles; Introduction, pp. xlvi, lxiv. He has the warmest admiration for the kings who expelled Wilfrid; Egfrid is 'uenerabilis ac piissimus;' Hist. Abb. § 1. Aldfrid, 'uir . . . doctissimus,' restores the condition of Northumbria, 'nobiliter;' iv. 26, p. 268. There is no hint of blame for Oswy's substitution of Ceadda for Wilfrid; iii. 28, *ad init.*, for Theodore's division of his diocese, nor for the prelates who took his place; iv. 12, *sub fin.* (contrast the 'subintroduxit' of Wine, iii. 7, p. 140; it is interesting to note that in G. P. p. 216, 'subintroductus' *is* used of Ceadda's appointment). Moreover, on the Wilfridian view, two of Bede's chief heroes, Bishop John of Hexham, and Cuthbert (so far as he accepted in the first instance the see of Hexham; iv. 28, p. 273 were mere usurpers; H. Y. I. xxxiv; yet Bede never hints a doubt as to their position. It is certain that Bede would disapprove Wilfrid's opposition to the division of his diocese; cf. iv. 5, p. 216; Ep. ad Egb. § 8, and possible that he disliked his Romanising tendencies. In fact 'it is evident that there was little sympathy between Wilfrid and Bede;' Raine, H. Y. *u. s.* (For Canon Raine's own view of Wilfrid, *v.* ib. xxvi–xxx.) On the lives of Wilfrid, see Hardy, Cat. i. 396–402. The best edition of all the Latin lives is that of Canon Raine in vol. i. of 'Historians of the Church of York;' R. S.; cf. also for Wilfrid, Bright, pp. 187–194, 209–214, 233–236, 280–308, 347–355, 367–372, 392–416, 428–434; Raine's Hexham, I. xxvii–xxxi.; Raine in D. C. B. iv. 1179 ff.

Chronology of Wilfrid's life.

Uilfrid] It is desirable in the first place to fix the chronology of Wilfrid's life. The present note was drawn up at first independently of Smith's excursus on the same subject. In almost all points our conclusions agree. The few divergences are noted. Eddius' Life is cited as E.

634. Birth; cf. H. Y. i. 163. (He was thirty years old when elected bishop in 664; E. c. 11; 'circiter triginta;' *infr.*, p. 325. He died 709, in his seventy-sixth year; E. c. 65.)

648. In his fourteenth year he enters Lindisfarne; E. c. 2; *infr.*, p. 322.

? 652. 'Post circulum annorum;' E. c. 3, he goes to Kent. He stays there just a year; ib. (He must have left Kent before the death of Honorius, Sept. 653; cf. *infr.*, p. 323.)

653 (so Fl. Wig.). He sets out with Benedict Biscop, who leaves him at Lyons; E. c. 3; *infr.*, pp. 323, 324. Dalfinus (really Annemundus), Archbishop of Lyons, wishes to adopt him. He declines,

and proceeds to Rome, where he remains 'multos menses;' E. cc. 4, 5; 'menses aliquot;' *infr.*, p. 324; leaving it probably after Aug. 10, 654; see below.

654 × 655 [655 Smith]. He returns to Lyons, where he remains three years with Annemundus, till his murder; E. c. 6; *infr.*, pp. 324, 325; cf. iii. 25, p. 182.

657 × 658 [658 Smith]. Murder of Annemundus. Wilfrid returns to Britain.

? 658. Alchfrid sends for Wilfrid; E. c. 7; *infr.*, p. 325; iii. 25, p. 182.

? 658 × 661. Grant of Stanford; E. c. 8; *infr.*, p. 325.

? 661. Grant 'post paululum' of Ripon; ib.; cf. iii. 27, notes.

663 or 664. Wilfrid ordained priest by Agilbert; E. c. 9; *infr.*, p. 325. (Shortly before the Synod of Whitby; ib.)

Early in 664 (*v.* notes to iii. 25), Synod of Whitby, 'non multo post' Wilfrid's ordination as priest; *infr.*, p. 325; E. c. 10.

664. Wilfrid elected bishop, æt. 30. Sets out for Gaul; E. cc. 11, 12; *infr.*, p. 325.

664. Consecration of Wilfrid by twelve Frankish bishops at Compiègne; E. c. 12; *infr.*, p. 325; iii. 28, p. 194. (Bede says that Wilfrid died in 709 'post XL et V annos accepti episcopatus;' *infr.*, p. 322; and with this agrees the epitaph; Eddius, c. 65, gives him an episcopate of forty-six years. G. P. p. 244 says: 'anno XLVI° episcopatus.' This may be what E. means. Wilfrid's consecration can hardly therefore be later than 664; and Bede distinctly places it in that year in c. 24, p. 354. This seems fatal to Bright's argument in favour of 665; p. 210.)

666. Wilfrid 'post spatium temporis' returns to Britain; E. *u.s.* (The date is fixed by the fact that E. c. 14 says that Wilfrid was three years in retirement at Ripon prior to his installation in his see by Theodore in 669.)

666–669. Wilfrid, on finding Ceadda in his see, retires to Ripon, where he remains three years, occasionally discharging episcopal functions in Mercia and Kent; E. c. 14; *infr.*, p. 326; cf. iii. 28, p. 195; iv. 2, pp. 205, 206.

669. Wilfrid put in possession of his see by Theodore; E. c. 15; *sup.*, iv. 2, p. 205.

669. Wilfrid ordains Ceolfrid priest; Hist. Abb. Anon. § 3, p. 389.

669 × 671. Oswy wishes Wilfrid to accompany him to Rome; iv. 5, p. 214.

? 672. Ethelthryth receives the veil from Wilfrid, *v.* iv. 19, notes.

Sept. 673. Wilfrid sends representatives to the Council of Hertford; iv. 5, p. 215.

671 × 678. Church at Ripon built and dedicated; E. c. 17. (It was after the accession of Egfrid, which I believe to have been in 671, *v.* iv. 5, note, and before Wilfrid's expulsion in 678. I do not see that the date can be fixed more exactly. Smith says 670.)

672 × 678. Church at Hexham built; E. c. 22. The site was given by Ethelthryth 'Deo dicata;' therefore not earlier than 672. (Richard of Hexham says: 'circa DCLXXIV;' Raine's Hexham, i. 23. Smith says c. 675. On the grant of Hexham, and Wilfrid's buildings, cf. S. D. ii. 52; G. P. p. 255.)

678. Wilfrid expelled, and his diocese divided. (Bede gives this date; iv. 12, p. 229; *infr.*, c. 24, p. 355. It was exactly a year before the death of Ælfwine; E. c. 24, which was in 679; *infr.*, c. 24, *u. s.*; iv. 21, note.)

678. Wilfrid sets out for Rome; preaches in Frisia, where he winters; E. c. 26; *infr.*, p. 326.

679. Wilfrid reaches Rome, staying on the way with Dagobert II, King of Austrasia, and Perctarit, King of the Lombards; E. c. 28; *infr.*, p. 326.

679, Nov. to 680, March. Councils at Rome in connexion with Wilfrid's business; E. cc. 29–32, 53; *infr.*, pp. 326, 327. (The councils lasted four months, till Easter week, 680; Easter being March 25; E. c. 53, p. 78.)

680 (after Easter). Wilfrid leaves Rome; passes through Gaul, where he finds Dagobert II 'nuper occisum,' and is in some danger of being put to death as an adherent of his; E. c. 33. (Note that according to Martin, Hist. de France, ii. 160, Eddius is the only contemporary authority for Dagobert II; hence the date of the latter's death must be fixed with reference to Wilfrid's movements, not *vice versa*. L'Art de vérifier les Dates gives Dec. 23, 679, as the day of Dagobert's death; which is quite possible, but I do not know on what authority it rests.)

680–681. Wilfrid returns to Britain; is thrown into prison by Egfrid and kept there nine months; E. cc. 34–38. (The Peterborough interpolator of the Sax. Chron. at 675, founding on a spurious Latin charter, makes Wilfrid on his return from Rome attend the council of Hatfield, Sept. 680. But this is impossible. He was either not in Britain, or he was in prison; *v.* H. & S. iii. 160.)

681. Wilfrid is released; he goes to Mercia, Wessex, and finally to Sussex, where he labours for five years; E. cc. 39–41; *sup.*, iv. 13. (At the end of iv. 13, Bede says that Wilfrid laboured in Sussex for

five years, and that he was there until the death of Egfrid. This would apparently place his arrival in 680; but that does not leave enough time for his journey from Rome and nine months' imprisonment. This last, Bede wholly omits; and this may be the cause of his error. Or the phrase 'ad mortem Ecgfridi' may be used loosely to indicate that it was that event which prepared the way for Wilfrid's return. Eddius and Bede agree in saying that it was not till the second year of Aldfrid, May 686 × May 687, that Wilfrid was recalled to Northumbria; E. c. 44; *infr.*, p. 327.)

681–686. Wilfrid evangelises Sussex and Wight; E. cc. 41, 42; *sup.*, iv. 13, 16; *infr.*, p. 327.

c. 686. Wilfrid in Wessex with Cædwalla; *sup.*, iv. 16, note; E. c. 42.

May 686 × May 687. Wilfrid restored to York, Hexham, and the monastery of Ripon, *v. s.* (Some MSS. in c. 24, date this 686, *v.* critical note *a. l.*, p. 355; Smith places the restoration of Hexham in 686, that of York and Ripon in 687; and E. says that there was an 'interuallum temporis between them'; c. 44.)

687–688. Wilfrid administers the bishopric of Lindisfarne; *sup.*, iv. 29, p. 275.

May 691 × May 692. 'Post quinque annos' from his restoration, Wilfrid is again expelled; *infr.*, p. 327. He acts as bishop of the 'Middle English' in succession to Sexwulf, and as such consecrates Oftfor as bishop of the Hwiccas; E. c. 45; *sup.*, iv. 23, p. 255. (Fl. Wig., Smith, and H. & S. iii. 220 place Wilfrid's second expulsion and the consecration of Oftfor in 691. But there is nothing to prevent the former having taken place in the early part of 692; and the latter may be even later; see on iv. 23. Several MSS. in c. 24 place the expulsion in 692; *v.* p. 355, critical note. And Fl. Wig. has certainly placed the first expulsion too early, in 677 instead of 678.)

July 692 × Aug. 693. Wilfrid consecrates Swidbert as missionary bishop for Frisia; *sup.*, c. 11, p. 302. (The date is fixed by the fact that this took place during the absence of Bertwald, who had gone to seek consecration in Gaul: *i. e.* between his election, July 1, 692, and his return, Aug. 693; *sup.*, c. 8, *ad fin.*)

695 or 696. Wilfrid is present at the translation of St. Etheldhryth; iv. 19, p. 245.

702 × 703 [703 Smith]. Great council in Northumbria under Aldfrid 'cum Berhtwaldo archiepiscopo, et totius paene Brittanniae episcopis.' Wilfrid is condemned, excommunicated, and stripped of all his possessions except the monastery of Ripon. He appeals to Rome, and retires to Mercia; E. cc. 46–49. (All this is omitted

by Bede. The date is fixed by Wilfrid's words that his enemies had been resisting the apostolic see for twenty-two years, *i. e.* since 680 ; and that he himself had been bishop for nearly forty years ; pp. 66, 68.)

704. Wilfrid at Rome ; E. cc. 50–54 ; *infr.*, pp. 327, 328. (There seems no evidence to show when Wilfrid left Britain [end of 703, Smith, see below]. If it is literally true that he accomplished the land part of his journey 'pedestri gressu,' E. p. 71, it must have taken some time. In any case it was a wonderful achievement for an old man of seventy. Eddius speaks of him as 'honorabili senio confectus,' p. 76, and says that he had been bishop for forty years 'et eo amplius,' p. 79 : Bede, *infr.*, p. 328, says nearly ['prope'] forty years. This is perhaps taken from E. c. 47, where it refers to the Northumbrian council, *v. s.* Anyhow E.'s authority is to be preferred. Hence the Roman council cannot be earlier than 704. Nor can it be later, for John VI, the Pope under whom it was held, died Jan. 705. The sittings of the council lasted 'multis mensibus;' E. c. 55.)

704. Wilfrid leaves Rome ; E. c. 55.

705. Wilfrid, on his return, falls ill at Meaux ; E. c. 56 ; *infr.*, pp. 328, 329. (This was just four years before his death.)

705. Wilfrid reaches Britain. Aldfrid refuses to receive him and dies ; E. cc. 57–59 ; *infr.*, p. 329.

705. Synod on the Nidd 'in primo anno Osredi,' E. c. 60, at which Wilfrid recovers Hexham and the monastery of Ripon, ib. ; *infr.*, pp. 329, 330.

709. Wilfrid survives four years, and dies at Oundle, and is buried at Ripon ; E. cc. 64, 65 ; *infr.*, pp. 322, 330.

loculo inditum] 'on cyste gedon,' 'placed in a chest,' AS. vers. Cf. the heading to Gen. l. in A. V. 'Joseph . . . dieth, and is chested.' The text of the Vulgate is 'repositus est in loculo.'

mater obierat] He had a cruel stepmother; and this made him anxious to leave home ; E. c. 2.

Wilfrid enters Lindisfarne.

p. 323. uenit ergo, &c.] He first went to Eanfled, Oswy's queen, who sent him to Lindisfarne under the charge of Cudda, a king's *gesiδ* or thane ('sodalis regis'), who wished himself to become a monk, and who seems to have become abbot of Lindisfarne ; E. c. 2, and note *a. l.*

Jerome's two Psalters.

didicit . . . psalmos] When Wilfrid reached Kent : 'psalmos, . . . quos primo secundum Hieronymi emendationem legerat more Romanorum iuxta quintam editionem memorialiter transmetuit ;' E. c. 3. The former is known as the Gallican Psalter, and is the version made by Jerome from the LXX, c. 389 ; now embodied in

the ordinary Latin Vulgate. The latter, or Roman Psalter, is his cursory revision of the old Italic version made in 383; Bright, p. 188. (The Canticles, 'Venite,' &c., are still taken from this version in the Roman Breviary; D. C. A. ii. 1754.) The term 'quinta editio' (reproduced, G. P. p. 213) has not been satisfactorily explained. It has been suggested, H. Y. i. 5, note, that it represents the Greek word κοινή, 'Vetus Latina . . . quae κοινὴ olim, seu *communis* dicebatur;' Sabatier, ii. 8. Jerome's version of the Psalms made from the Hebrew never obtained public recognition.

necdum . . . adtonsus] 'laicus capite, corde uero a uitiis circumcisus;' E. c. 2.

uenire Romam] 'adhuc inattritam uiam genti nostrae;' E. c. 3.

filius auunculi sui] Eanfled's mother, Ethelberg, was sister to Eadbald, Earconbert's father. Elmham, misunderstanding this passage, makes Wilfrid cousin (consanguineus) of Earconbert, p. 198. Wilfrid in Kent,

aliquandiu] Just a year; E. c. 3.

Biscop . . . Benedictus] The founder of Wearmouth and Jarrow. See his life in Hist. Abb. Eddius, c. 3, calls him Biscop Baducing. Cf. Fridegoda, H. Y. i. 110: 'Barbaries Biscop Baducing quem inculta uocabat.'

p. 324. Lugdunum] Here Benedict left him: 'discedente ab eo austerae mentis duce;' E. c. 3, who compares the separation of Paul and Barnabas; so that there would seem to have been some disagreement between them. Cf. 'iratus praecesserat'; G. P. p. 213. at Lyons.

Dalfino] Eddius has here led Bede into error. It seems to be made out that the archbishop of Lyons at this time was Annemundus, and that Dalfinus was his brother and Count of the City of Lyons. It was therefore Dalfinus' daughter who was offered to Wilfrid, and hence perhaps the confusion; cf. Gallia Christ. iv. 43–47. Smith's suggestion that Dalfinus is a 'cognomen' of Annemundus is not likely. Dalfinus and Annemundus.

Bonifatii . . . archidiaconi] A few years ago there was 'found at Whitby . . . a leaden Bulla . . . bearing the inscription + Bonifatii + —— + ARCEIDIAC+. It is now in the Whitby Museum;' H. Y. i. 8, note. It is quite possible that this is a relic of Wilfrid and his Roman friend. Archdeacon Boniface.

apostolici papae] Wilfrid probably arrived at Rome during a practical vacancy in the papacy. In June, 653, Martin I was sent to Constantinople, whence he never returned; being kept in prison by the Emperor, first in that city, and then in the Crimea, where he died Sept. 16, 655. Eugenius I was consecrated Aug. 10, Condition of the Papacy.

654; irregularly, Martin I being still alive. This explains the language of Eddius, who, after detailing Wilfrid's doings in Rome, 'per multos menses,' says of Boniface: '*postremo* praesentauit eum papae;' c. 5, p. 8.

Baldhild. p. 325. **Baldhild**] She is said to have been an Anglo-Saxon slave originally. She married Clovis II, who died in 656. She was at this time regent for her son, Clothaire III. Here again it is probable that Eddius has misled Bede. Frankish history at this time is very obscure; but it is unlikely that Baldhild had anything to do directly with the death of Annemundus, which in the legends is represented as the first act of Ebroin on his election to the mayoralty of the palace. A little later, 659, she was the means of securing the see of Autun for Leodegar (St. Leger), Ebroin's chief rival; while in 664, Sigebrand, Bishop of Paris, was put to death for being an adherent of Baldhild. In this sense, but probably only in this sense, she may have caused the death of Annemundus; cf. AA.SS. Ian. ii. 737, 738. After Sigebrand's death she retired in 664 to the monastery of Chelles, of which she was the second foundress; iii. 8, notes. Here she died, 680. She attained the honours of saintship, and though this is not conclusive as to her character, very curious people finding their way in those days into the ranks of the saints, yet there seems no evidence that she was the Jezebel that Eddius represents, and what evidence there is points the other way. It is possible that she has been confounded with the famous Brunhild (×613), whose name occurs as a various reading both here (see additional critical notes), in E. c. 6, and in the parallel passage in Fridegoda's life; H. Y. i. 114; see Martin, Hist. de France, ii. 150–152; Milman, Lat. Christ. Bk. iv. ch. 10; Hardy, Cat. i. 286, 287; see Lives printed in AA.SS. Ian. ii. 739 ff. For her translation, *v.* Pertz, xv. 284, 285; Mabillon AA.SS. IV. i. 450–453.

clericus illius] 'his preost 7 his hondþeng,' 'his priest and attendant,' AS. vers.

Wilfrid's escape. **pepercere illi**] Eadmer in his life of Wilfrid, c. 7, H. Y. i. 169, represents this as due to the terror of the English name: 'id ne fieret . . . , quae tunc temporis magno terrori quam plurimis erat, sua, scilicet Anglorum, natio interdixit.'

Alchfrid. **Alchfridi**] *v.* iii. 14, *ad init.*; 21, *ad init.*; 24, 25. According to E. c. 7, it was from Cenwalh of Wessex that Alchfrid first imbibed his Roman preferences.

Stamford. **Stanford**] Durham tradition in the fifteenth century certainly identified this with Stamford in Lincolnshire; see Raine, Hexham, i. 14; D. C. B. iv. 1179. But Smith, *a. l.* (followed by Stevenson),

objects that Alchfrid can have had no authority in Lincolnshire at this time. He suggests Stamford on the Yorkshire Derwent.

Inhrypum] On Wilfrid's buildings at Ripon, *v.* E. c. 17. None of them now remain except the crypt popularly called St. Wilfrid's needle; cf. D. C. B. iv. 1180. Hence, prior to the synod of Whitby, Alchfrid had been pressing the adoption of the Roman Easter. Eata and Cuthbert were among those who left Ripon rather than conform to it; *v.* iii. 26, notes; and Ceolfrid, afterwards Bede's abbot, was probably among those who came to take their place; *v.* iii. 27, notes. Eata and Cuthbert not only conformed after the synod of Whitby; but the latter, on his deathbed, charged his monks: 'cum illis . . . qui ab unitate catholicae pacis, uel Pascha non suo tempore celebrando, uel peruerse uiuendo aberrant, uobis sit nulla communio;' Baed. Vit. Cudb. c. 39. It was while Cuthbert was at Ripon that the miracle related, ib. c. 7, Vit. Anon. § 12, is alleged to have taken place. Ripon.

sibi rogauit ordinari] So iii. 28, *ad init.*, Alchfrid asks for Wilfrid 'sibi suisque consecrari.' Alchfrid was sub-king of Deira. The idea therefore probably was that Wilfrid should be bishop of Deira, and Tuda (*v.* iii. 26) bishop of Bernicia; though Bede, *loc. cit.*, speaks of the latter as having 'pontificatum Nordanhymbrorum.' Tuda however died the same year, 664, and no successor was appointed. Hence Ceadda, 664–669, and Wilfrid, 669–678, did administer the whole of Northumbria. Cf. iv. 3: 'episcopatus . . . omnium Nordanhymbrorum,' p. 206; and *inf.*: 'episcopatus totius Nordanhymbrorum prouinciae;' p. 326. When therefore Theodore in 678 separated Bernicia from Deira, iv. 12, p. 229, he was probably only reverting to what had been intended in 664. This might a little modify the charges of arbitrariness so often brought against Theodore for his action on that occasion. Elmham rightly protests against these exaggerations, pp. 276, 277. Position of Wilfrid in 664.

Agilberco . . . ciuitatis] For the mistake involved here, see note on iii. 7. For this mistake Eddius is not responsible.

XI episcopi] 'qui omnes eum . . . publice ordinauerunt, et in sella aurea sedentem, more eorum, sursum eleuauerunt portantes manibus soli episcopi intra oratorium, nullo alio attingente, hymnos canticaque in choro canentes;' E. c. 12. This passage, which is copied by Fridegoda, H. Y. i. 120, and G. P. p. 215, has been thought to be the only authority known for this curious ceremony; which from the words 'more eorum' seems to have been peculiar to the Gallican Church; *v.* note. *a. l.* Bright however refers to the Benedictine life of Gregory I, iii. 8, Opp. iv. 256, where the following passage is cited: 'sedem Turonicam ita Ceremony of the golden chair.

nobilitauit ut auream ei cathedram donaret, quae apud praefatam sedem in posterum seruaretur.'

Wilfrid and the South Saxons.

p. 326. quo . . . demorante] See note on iii. 28. On his return he was driven on the coast of Sussex, and nearly murdered by the still heathen inhabitants; E. c. 13. For this he subsequently took the noblest revenge by converting them to Christianity.

Chronology.

tribus annis] These three years are a difficulty. Bede, c. 24, p. 354, certainly says that Ceadda was consecrated in 664. The narrative, iii. 28, gives the same impression. But he certainly was not deposed till 669. Probably Bede has transferred to the duration of Ceadda's episcopate the three years which E. c. 14 rightly assigns to the retirement of Wilfrid at Ripon, forgetting that Wilfrid did not return to Britain for about two years after Ceadda's consecration.

First expulsion of Wilfrid.

pulsus est] This was owing to the enmity of Eormenburg, Egfrid's second wife; E. c. 24; S. D. i. 223; G. P. pp. 219, 213. According to Lib. Eli. p. 55, he went first to Ely; and this (in spite of Smith, p. 753) is quite likely. His friend St. Etheldhryth did not die till 679 or 680 (see on iv. 19), and Ely would lie on his way from the North to the port of embarkation for Frisia; cf. Mab. AA.SS. ii. 757, 758; Raine's Hexham, i. 23.

alii pro illo] The two who were consecrated strictly 'pro illo' were Bosa and Eata, iv. 12, p. 229. Eadhed's district, Lindsey, was not an integral part of Northumbria, iii. 11, note. Eddius makes additional charges against Theodore; (*a*) that he acted as sole consecrator, 'inordinate solus ordinauit'; (*b*) that the new prelates did not belong to the diocese: 'episcopos aliunde inuentos et non de subiectis illius parochiae;' c. 24. The former complaint, if true, is well grounded; see on i. 27, p. 52; the latter has no foundation. Thus Deusdedit of Canterbury was a West-Saxon; Damian of Rochester a South-Saxon, iii. 20, *ad fin.*; Tatwin a Mercian, c. 23. Eddius also, *l. c.*, accuses Theodore of being bribed; and the charge is repeated, G. P. p. 220; but this is the mere reckless assertion of a partisan.

Appeal to Rome.

Romam . . . iturus] According to E. c. 24, Wilfrid appealed to Rome, 'cum consilio co-episcoporum suorum.' It would be interesting to know who these were. Possibly other bishops may have felt themselves threatened by Theodore's proceedings. Cf. the case of Wynfrid, which occurred about the same time as, and was curiously involved with, that of Wilfrid; iv. 6, *ad init.* and note. Wilfrid, in his petition to the Pope, says that Theodore acted 'absque consensu cuiuslibet episcopi;' E. c. 30.

Sojourn in Frisia.

pulsus est Fresiam] Bede's language gives the impression that

Wilfrid was driven out of his course by stress of weather; and so Fuller, § 97, cited by M. & L. p. 330, 'It is an ill wind which bloweth no man profit;' Raine in D. C. B. iv. 1181, and Lappenberg, i. 174; E. T. i. 181. But Eddius, c. 26, is quite explicit: 'secundum desiderium eius, flante Zephyro . . . temperanter, . . . in Freis prospere . . . peruenit;' and so Smith, rightly, p. 752.

Aldgilso] Ebroin tried to bribe him to kill or surrender Wilfrid, but in vain; E. c. 27. Ebroin's hostility to Wilfrid was due to the latter's friendship with Dagobert II; Bright, p. 288; Lappenberg, i. 173; E. T. i. 181; see below.

praedicabat] His preaching was favoured by the fact that it was an exceptionally fruitful year; E. c. 26. Wilfrid must therefore have reached Frisia before harvest.

hiemem . . . exigens] He left Frisia when 'iam se uerna temperies aperiebat in flores,' as Malmesbury poetically says; G. P. p. 221. He went first to Dagobert II, King of Austrasia, whom he had assisted on his return to Gaul from his exile in Ireland, cf. E. c. 33, and who wished to make him bishop of Strasburg. On his refusal he sent him on to Rome, under the guidance of Deodatus, Bishop (of Toul 679–680; Gams, p. 635, which confirms the chronology of Wilfrid's movements; cf. H. & S. iii. 131, 135). From Dagobert he went on to Perctarit, King of the Lombards, to whom Wilfrid's enemies had offered large bribes to induce him to arrest Wilfrid; E. c. 28.

causa . . . uentilata] On these Roman councils, cf. H. & S. iii. 131–141. I am inclined to think that the first document given by them is only a different version of the second, which comes from Eddius, and that it does not represent a distinct council; and so the editors themselves suggest; cf. Bright, p. 292; *v.* E. cc. 29–32. The Roman councils.

aduersus eos . . . dogmatizabant] Cf. iv. 17, 18, and notes.

iussit . . . dicere fidem suam, simul et prouinciae] These words are important, because they bring out the fact that bishops attended councils, not as theologians, to decide what the faith of the Church ought to be, but as witnesses, to give evidence as to what the faith of their churches actually was. If this was remembered, we should be spared some rather cheap rhetoric.

p. 327. **reuersus Brittaniam**] Here again Bede omits all reference to Wilfrid's imprisonment; E. cc. 34, 35; cf. iv. 13. He was committed to the custody first of Osfrith, 'praefectus . . . in Bromnis urbe regis,' and then of Tydlin, Prefect of Dynbaer (Dunbar); cc. 36-38. Bromnis has been identified by some with Brunanburgh. Unhappily this is 'ignotum per ignotius.' Canon Raine in D. C. B. says Bamborough; but this is Bebbanburg in E. c. 60. Wilfrid's imprisonment.

He was released at the intercession of Ebba, Abbess of Coldingham, Egfrid's aunt, iv. 19, 25, pp. 243, 264, who persuaded him that an illness of the queen's was a punishment for his treatment of Wilfrid; E. c. 39. He was expelled from Mercia, where the queen was Egfrid's sister (see iv. 21), and from Wessex, where Centwine's queen was Eormenburg's sister, and finally found a refuge in Sussex; E. cc. 40, 41. The treatment which he received from Centwine may have made him not unwilling to help Cædwalla against him; D. C. B. i. 372.

Conversion of Sussex.

Australium Saxonum] On the conversion of Sussex and Wight, *v.* iv. 13, 16; E. c. 41. The latter does not mention Wight, though it may be included in the 'innumeris terrarum partibus et muneribus donorum,' given by Cædwalla to Wilfrid; c. 42.

Restoration.

ipso rege inuitante] This restoration was due to Theodore, who, in view of his age and infirmities and the near prospect of death, reconciled himself to Wilfrid, and both wrote to Aldfrid himself, and induced Ethelred of Mercia and Elfled, Abbess of Whitby, Aldfrid's half-sister, to intercede on his behalf; E. c. 43.

sedem suam . . . recepit] Eddius says that Wilfrid was restored, first to the monastery of Hexham (where Eata was lately dead, *sup.* c. 2), then, 'post interuallum temporis,' to York and the monastery of Ripon, 'expulsis . . . alienis episcopis;' *i. e.* Bosa and Eadhed. If Ripon had ever really been an episcopal see (*v. s.* on iv. 12), it now ceased to be so for over a thousand years (till 1836). I borrow the following note from H. & S. iii. 171, which puts clearly a very complicated business:—'The bishopric of York which Wilfrid governed from A. D. 669 to 678, and that to which he was restored in A. D. 686, were by no means the same; and in accepting the latter he gave up the whole question of the division of the bishopric, and accepted the limits laid down by Theodore in A. D. 678 and 681. (1) Lindsey had been cut off, by the result of its recovery by Mercia, as well as by the division of A. D. 678; and (2) Abercorn in the same way, by its reconquest by the Picts, as well as by the act of A. D. 681. (3) Lindisfarne remained in Cuthbert's hands, and was merely administered for a year by Wilfrid, on Cuthbert's death, until a successor was consecrated; and (4) Hexham, to which Eata had been transferred from Lindisfarne in A. D. 685, was, upon Eata's death in A. D. 686, held by Wilfrid for a year only (much as he just afterwards held Lindisfarne), until John of Beverley was consecrated to it (B. iv. 2 in A. D. 687 (B. v. 7).'

Second expulsion.

pulsus est] This second exile seems to have been largely due to the fact that Wilfrid could not bring himself to acquiesce in this

changed position. Eddius enumerates three causes of quarrel: (1) Spoliation of the Church of St. Peter of its lands (this might mean York, but probably means Ripon, which was also dedicated to St. Peter; cf. the epitaph at the end of this chapter; and so it is understood by G. P. p. 235). (2) Attempt to transform Ripon into an episcopal see. (3) The enforcement of Theodore's decrees of 678 for the division of the diocese; E. c. 45. On the events omitted by Bede between this second expulsion and the journey to Rome, see above. Bosa seems to have been restored to York on Wilfrid's expulsion; and Hexham and Lindisfarne had been already filled up.

Appeal to Rome.

ueniensque Romam] See above. He must have gone through Frisia on this occasion also, for to this journey must be referred the visit to Wilbrord mentioned in iii. 13; for at the time of his former journey, in 678, Wilbrord had not yet gone to Frisia. Perhaps, as before, he spent the winter there. If so, he must have left Britain in 703; cf. Bright, p. 403, and *supra*. There is a letter of Aldhelm to the clergy of Wilfrid, urging them to be true to him in exile; but whether it refers to this exile, or to the former one of 678, is not clear; Opp. ed. Giles, pp. 334, 335; G. P. pp. 338, 339; H. & S. iii. 254, 255.

scriptumque] The letter is in E. c. 54; H. & S. iii. 262-264, G. P. pp. 240, 241 (abbreviated and remodelled).

p. 328. Acca] See notes to next chapter.

'Tell the vision to no man.'

p. 329. quam te . . . tegere uolo] This trait is not given by Eddius. Bede may well have had it from Acca himself. It is put very strongly by Eadmer in his life of Wilfrid; c. 49; H. Y. i. 217; cf. iv. 3, note.

Bertwald.

Berctuald] Wilfrid landed in Kent, and was there reconciled to the archbishop; E. c. 57.

Ethelred.

tunc autem abbas] 'wæs ða Beardsætna abbud,' 'was then abbot *of Bardney*,' says AS. vers. quite correctly; cf. W. M. i. 78, 79; *v. s.* on iii. 11, iv. 12. As abbot of Bardney he is made to sign the spurious foundation charter of Croyland; K. C. D., No. 66; Birch, No. 135.

Aldfrid] On the circumstances of the death of Aldfrid, *v.* c. 18, *ad init.* notes.

Position of Wilfrid in 705.

praesulatum . . . suae . . . ecclesiae] Not York, but Hexham; a fact which Bede's language here rather obscures, though he has stated it correctly, c. 3, *ad init.* This was the more marked, inasmuch as Bosa's death just about this time would have made Wilfrid's restoration to York easy; cf. G. P. p. 245. Instead of this, John of Beverley was transferred to York, and Wilfrid only

received the see of Hexham thus vacated. He had gained less than nothing by his appeals to Rome, though his biographers carefully conceal this fact. He received also his monastery of Ripon, E. c. 60, the idea of founding a bishopric there being definitely abandoned. Wilfrid had, however, indicated to the pope a willingness to waive the question of York, if Hexham and Ripon were secured to him, E. c. 61, though this was practically giving up his case. On Wilfrid's buildings at Hexham, *v.* E. c. 22; G. P. p. 255; Raine's Hexham, I. xiv ff. 10–16, 20, 175, 176.

His death, **p. 330. defunctus est**] He died while the monks of Oundle were chanting Ps. ciii. (civ.) 30, 'Emitte spiritum tuum, et creabuntur, et renouabis faciem terrae.' Authorities differ as to the date of Wilfrid's death. Some give April 24, others Oct. 12. So York Missal, I. xxxix; Surtees Soc. 1872. The former may be set aside as being the day, not of his death, but of his translation; ib. xxxiii. E. c. 64 says that he died on a Thursday. Oct. 12 was a Saturday in 709; and it is worth noticing that Ps. ciii. (civ.) forms part of the office for matins on Saturday both in the Roman and Benedictine breviaries. The obituary of the Church of Durham gives Oct. 3, which was a Thursday in 709; Raine, Fasti Eborac. i. 81, cited by Bright, p. 433.

at Oundle. **in prouincia Undalum**] 'on Undalana mægðe,' AS. vers. He was on his way to an interview with Ceolred of Mercia, who came to the throne in this very year, 709, and had sent for Wilfrid, promising 'omnem uitam suam meo [*sc.* Wilfridi] iudicio disponere;' E. c. 63.

Cudualdi] See on iv. 6.

positus est] Odo, Archbishop of Canterbury 942–959, removed to Canterbury what he believed to be the body of Wilfrid, but this was stoutly denied by the Northerners, who maintained that it was only the body of Wilfrid II which Odo carried off; and a very pretty quarrel arose; cf. H. Y. I. xxxix, xliii–xlviii, 106, 223–226, 462; G. P. pp. 22, 245; Stubbs' Dunstan, p. 271. There is a treatise on the subject in MS. C.C.C.C. No. 298; *v.* Hardy, Cat. ii. 22. These Canterbury relics were translated by Lanfranc on Oct. 12 (the year is not given; H. Y. i. 226). The day was probably chosen because it was believed, rightly or wrongly, to be the anniversary of his death (cf. the case of Cuthbert, iv. 30, *ad init.*). This Canterbury translation of disputed relics is not likely to have caused the substitution of Oct. 12 as the day of his death in a northern source like the York Missal.

epitaphium] The epitaph is not in Eddius.

quattuor . . . thecam] On these gifts of Wilfrid, cf. E. c. 17,

ad fin. The 'theca' or 'bibliotheca' is the case or binding of the book. On the sumptuous bindings of liturgical books, see D.C.A. ii. 1014. Professor Wattenbach identifies this Gospel-book of Wilfrid's with the Gospels of the Hamilton Collection. See Sir E. Maunde Thompson, Palaeography, pp. 41, 52.

CHAPTER 20.

Anno . . . regis] Owing to the doubt which hangs over the exact date of Aldfrid's death, c. 18, *ad init.* note, the regnal years of Osred are not a very safe guide. Above, however, c. 19, p. 322, Bede says that Wilfrid's death was in the same year as Cenred's abdication, which below, c. 24, p. 356, he distinctly places in 709. Hence Hadrian's death ought, according to this, to be placed in 710. It seems, however, impossible to reconcile with this the chronological marks given just below. It is there said that Hadrian died in the forty-first year from his mission by the Pope, and in the thirty-ninth year from his arrival in Britain. Theodore and Hadrian certainly left Rome May, 668; iv. 1, p. 203. Theodore arrived in Britain in May, 669; Hadrian was detained by Ebroin in Gaul, and this may have delayed his arrival till 670. But 668 + 41 or 670 + 39 only brings us to 709 as the year of Hadrian's death. Elmham, p. 8, places Hadrian's death in 708, which is certainly too early. On Hadrian, cf. iv. 1. Date of Abbot Hadrian's death.

p. 331. Albinus] See Pref. p. 6.

Grecam . . . linguam, &c.] Cf. iv. 2.

non minus quam Anglorum] 'swa swa Englisc,' 'like English,' AS. vers.

Acca] This is the prelate to whom Bede dedicated so many of his works; *v.* Introd. p. xlix. Bede evidently cherished the warmest affection for him. He addresses him as 'carissime,' Opp. i. 202; 'dilectissime,' i. 204, viii. 265, x. 2; 'dilectissime antistitum,' i. 198, viii. 78, 263; cf. vii. 1, viii. 162; 'amantissime antistes,' vii. 2; 'amantissime pontificum,' viii. 162; 'dilectissime ac desiderantissime omnium qui in terris morantur antistitum,' vii. 369; 'sancte antistes,' i. 214; 'reuerendissime antistes,' viii. 360; 'tua dulcissima sanctitas,' x. 268. He addresses his letters to him as: 'Domino in Christo dilectissimo,' i. 198; 'Domino . . . nimium desiderantissimo,' x. 268; 'Domino beatissimo et intima semper caritate uenerando,' i. 203; 'Domino in Christo desideratissimo,' xii. 1. Acca, in the one letter which has been preserved, addresses Bede as 'dilectissime,' x. 267. (These extracts illustrate the confusion Acca.

existing in the Latin of this period between the active and passive participles. A yet clearer instance is seen in c. 1, p. 282, 'amantissimum Deo patrem Oidilualdum.') Bede tells us (*infra*) that Acca had belonged originally to the household of Bosa when bishop of York. On his retirement to make way for Wilfrid in 686×687, Acca would seem to have attached himself to the latter. He shared his expulsion in 691×692, and accompanied him to Frisia, iii. 13; Rome, and back to Britain, c. 19, pp. 328, 329; and from him Bede received many details of the life of Wilfrid; *v.* notes to c. 19. He confirmed Hwætbert in the abbacy of Wearmouth and Jarrow after Ceolfrid's retirement in 716; Hist. Abb. § 20, p. 384; Opp. viii. 162. In the same year he attended a council at Clovesho; H. & S. iii. 300–302. He was bishop when Bede finished his history in 731, c. 23, p. 351; but was expelled that very year, Cont. Baed. 731, p. 361; no doubt in connexion with the deposition of Ceolwulf mentioned in the same annal. (See, however, H. & S. iii. 313; ii. 7). These two events are placed in 732 by S. D. ii. 30; in 733 by Sax. Chron. D. E. F.; Fl. Wig. The G. P., p. 225, say that Acca was expelled 'triennio post [? ante] obitum Bedae, incertum an regressum.' His death is placed in 740 by S. D. ii. 32; cf. Raine's Hexham, i. 34, 194; in 737 by Sax. Chron. *u. s.* Frithbert was consecrated bishop of Hexham in 735, Cont. Baed. *infr.* p. 361; in 734, S. D. ii. 31; and died in 766, Cont. Baed. p. 363; Sax. Chron. D. E.; Hexham, i. 199; cf. H. & S. iii. 335. Acca would seem therefore never to have recovered his see; cf. S. C. S. ii. 273, 274. For his burial, translation, and the miracles wrought at his tomb, cf. S. D. ii. 33–38. One of the crosses placed on his original grave is supposed to be still in existence; Raine's Hexham, I. xxxiv. On Acca's buildings, &c., at Hexham, on which Bede also lays great stress, cf. ib. 31–36; Eddius, c. 22; S. D. ii. 52. Wilfrid on his deathbed expressed the wish that Acca might succeed him in the monastery of Hexham; E. c. 97. Acca was one of those who urged Eddius to write Wilfrid's life; ib. Praef. For a sketch of Acca, cf. Raine, *u. s.* pp. xxx–xxxv, 31–36. For the history of his relics, ib. lxiii, lxxiii, lxxxii, 35, 36, 49, 50, 55, 194, 195, 200. For the reverence felt for him after his death, ib. 186, 189. For the later history of Hexham, ib. xl–cxxx; App. cxxvi.

reliquiis] His master Wilfrid was a great collector of relics; E. cc. 5, 33, 34, 39, 55.

porticibus] Side chapels. See on ii. 3.

Saints' lives.

historias passionis eorum] See the passage cited on c. 10 from M. Fustel de Coulanges. These lives perished in the Danish inroads; Raine, *u. s.* p. 190.

bibliothecam] 'bócgestréon,' 'book-treasure,' AS. vers. This was destroyed by the Danes in 875; Raine, *u. s.* pp. xliii, 31, 32, 190. Library.

Maban] 'Mafan,' ib. p. 32. 'Mafa,' AS. vers. The name sounds British. On the Roman chanting, see ii. 20, note.

p. 332. castissimus] See on iii. 28 *ad fin.*

usquedum . . . desistit] The AS. vers. puts all this in the past tense.

obsequio] See on i. 7.

didicit] '7 ða wel heold 7 læste oð his lifes ende,' 'and he kept and observed them well until his life's end,' adds AS. vers.

CHAPTER 21.

Eo tempore] This is commonly taken to indicate the year 710; but we have seen that we cannot always interpret these time references in Bede so strictly. Date.

Naiton] This is Nechtan mac Derili, King of the Picts. His brother Brude, whom he succeeded, died in 706; Tigh. Here, as elsewhere, the adoption of the reformed Easter caused great divisions; and under 717 we read in Tigh.: 'expulsio familiae Ie [of Iona] trans dorsum Britanniae a Nectono rege;' *i. e.* the Columbite clergy within the Pictish kingdom were expelled, no doubt for refusing to conform. (That they were very numerous is shown by iii. 3 *ad fin.*: 'Hii . . . monasterium in . . . omnium Pictorum monasteriis . . . arcem tenebat;' cf. Rs. Ad. pp. 276–298.) In 724 Nechtan was tonsured, probably involuntarily; in 726 he was thrown into prison by his rival Drust. In 728 he recovered, at any rate, a portion of his kingdom; in 729 he suffered a severe defeat at the hands of Angus, King of Fortrenn; in 732 he died. The dates are from Tighernach; cf. S. C. S. i. 270–289; P. & S. pp. clvii–clxi; Rhŷs, Rhind Lectures, pp. 26, 73, 92, 93; C. B. pp. 173–176. Naiton or Nechtan, King of the Picts.

Ceolfridum] See Hab. §§ 7, 13–18, 21–23; Haa. §§ 1–14, 16–37; Introd. §§ 2, 3. Ceolfrid.

monasterii] Note the singular. Though locally divided, part being at Wearmouth, and part at Jarrow, it formed only one monastery; *v.* Hist. Abb. § 7; Introd. § 2. R. W. makes the mistake of placing Jarrow at the mouth of the Wear; i. 220. Wearmouth and Jarrow.

p. 333. architectos] 'sumne heahcræftigan stangeworces,' 'some master-craftsman in stone-work,' AS. vers.

ecclesiam de lapide] *v. s.* on ii. 14. On the probable site of this church, *v.* H. & S. ii. 116.

quos petebatur] For the construction, see on ii. 12, p. 107.

Anglo-Saxon version.

misit illi et litteras] The AS. vers., which omits the letter, turns this sentence as follows: 'sende him eac stafas 7 gewrit be gehealde rihtra Eastrana, 7 be Godes þeowa sceare, eac oðrum rihtum Godes cyricean,' 'he sent him also letters and a writing about the observance of the correct Easter, and about the tonsure of God's servants, together with other rites of God's church.'

Bede, the author of the letter.

Ceolfrid abbas . . . salutem] Though the letter runs in Ceolfrid's name, there can be little doubt that it is the composition of Bede himself. The likeness to his other works on similar subjects amounts in many cases to verbal identity, as will be shown in the notes.

quidam] Plato, Rep. 473, D. The dictum is also quoted by Hericus to Charles the Bald in 876; Bouquet, vii. 563; cf. G. P., p. 160, of Ethelwulf; W. M. i. 137, of the children of Edward the Elder; S. D. ii. 64, R. W. i. 267, of Charlemagne; Stubbs' Dunstan, p. 379, of St. Edmund of East Anglia.

Rules for Easter.

tres . . . regulae] Cf. De Temp. Rat. c. 61: 'In ueteri testamento tribus argumentorum indiciis paschale tempus est obseruari praeceptum, uidelicet ut post aequinoctium, ut mense primo, ut tertia eius septimana, id est, a uespera XIIII^{ae} lunae, quod est initium XV^{ae}, usque in uesperum, id est, terminum XXI^{ae} celebretur. Quarta in eiusdem obseruatione regula est nobis a tempore dominicae resurrectionis imposita, ut cum, aequinoctio transcenso, lunam primi mensis XIIII^{am} uespere ortum facere uiderimus, non statim ad faciendum Pascha prosiliamus, sed dominicum diem quo ipse Pascha, id est transitum de morte ad uitam, de corruptione ad incorruptionem, de poena ad gloriam resurgendo facere dignatus est, expectantes, in ipso tandem congrua Paschae solennia celebremus;' Opp. vi. 259, 260.

p. 337. **si ergo fieri posset**] 'Si fieri posset, ut eadem omnibus annis sabbati die luna XIIII^{a} contigisset, nil nostrae paschalis obseruantiae tempus a legali discreparet;' Opp. vi. 256.

quanquam . . . discreto] 'Nil nostrum tempus paschale a legali dissonat, quamuis aliis sacramentorum generibus eiusdem paschae solennia colimus;' Opp. vi. 260.

quia uero dies] 'quomodo lunae dies eadem diuersas septimanae deuoluitur in ferias;' Opp. vi. 257.

per Marcum] Cf. Opp. vi. 235; x. 2.

pascha nostrum] *i. e.* Easter week.

nulla cogente necessitate] On the postponement of the passover for those who could not keep it in the first month, cf. Opp. vi. 261; viii. 276.

cum enim a uespera] 'Qui a XIII^{a} luna usque ad XX^{am} domi-

nicum paschae diem obseruandum decernunt, praeoccupant saepius initium paschae legalis, dum quod ipsa in XIIII^{a} luna fieri statuit, illi in XIII^{a} conuertunt; et quod de XX^{a} statuit, sanctam eam et celeberrimam consecrans, quasi haec ad pascha minime pertineat, funditus contemnunt;' Opp. vi. 257, 258.

p. 338. **rursumque, qui a XVI^{a} die**] 'At contra hi, qui dominicum paschae diem a XVI^{a} luna usque ad XXII^{am} celebrandum aestimant, duplici miseria laborant, quia et legitimum paschae principium nunquam habent, et crebro euenit, ut nullum dierum, qui in lege praescripti sunt, in sua paschali obseruatione consequantur; dum et uesperam XIIII^{mi} diei, quo pascha initiari statutum est, et mane XV^{mi}, quo septem azymorum dierum solennitas inchoari praecepta, a sua prorsus festiuitate repudiant. Atque insuper in huius poenam peccati XXII^{um} diem, qui in tota paschali institutione per Moysen nec semel appellatus inuenitur, frequenter in sui paschae principium sanciri praecipiunt. Sunt qui in alteram partem a uia ueritatis, sed non minore labantur errore, cum scriptura praecipiat uia regia gradiendum, et neque ad dexteram, neque ad sinistram ab ea diuertendum;' Opp. vi. 257; cf. ib. 246, 247.

poenam erroris] Both the Itala and Vulgate have 'mercedem' in Rom. i. 27; the former has 'semetipsos' as here, the latter 'semetipsis.'

p. 339. **aequinoctium autem**] 'Aequinoctium uernale XII° Kal. Apr. die cunctorum Orientalium sententiis, et maxime Aegyptiorum, quos calculandi esse peritissimos constat, specialiter adnotatur. . . . Item catholicae institutionis regula praecipit, ut ante uernalis aequinoctii transgressum Pascha non celebretur . . . et hoc aequinoctium XII° Kal. Apr. diei ueraciter adscribendum . . . non solum auctoritate paterna, sed et horologica consideratione docemur;' Opp. vi. 206, 207. 'Quod esse uerissimum etiam horologica docet inspectio;' i. 157. 'Quod in conspectione horologica et aperta ratione probabitur,' &c.; ib. 162.

quaecumque ergo luna] 'Neque enim alia seruandae paschae regula est, quam ut aequinoctium uernale plenilunio succedente perficiatur; at si uel uno die plenitudo lunae praecesserit aequinoctium, iam non primi mensis, sed ultimi luna putetur,' &c.; vi. 154–156; cf. ib. 245, 246.

alia . . . editio] The old Latin or Itala, quoted also Opp. i. 166: 'et fecit duo luminaria magna, et posuit ea in firmamento coeli, ut luceant super terram. Luminare maius in inchoationem diei,' &c. Cf. vi. 245: 'quando primum ortus est sol in inchoatione diei . . . , deinde orta est luna in inchoatione noctis.' On Bede's use of the Itala, see Introd. pp. xix, liv–lvi; *infra*, App. II. The Itala.

at si uno saltim die] See last note but one.

Symbolism of numbers.

p. 340. quia ante legem . . . Christus] 'Libet interea paucis intueri quam pulchre legalis umbra paschae nostro uero paschae, in quo immolatus est Christus, non tantum mysterii, sed et temporis ratione concordet;' Opp. xi. 294. On Bede's use of the symbolism of numbers, *v.* Introd. pp. lx, lxi.

The Canticle of Habakkuk.

eleuatus . . . suo] This is Hab. iii. 11, in the old Latin version. The song of Habakkuk (Hab. iii.) formed in Bede's time, Opp. ix. 405, as it does still, part of the office for matins on Friday. In his commentary on that song, Opp. ix. 405–426, Bede uses the old Latin version, no doubt because in his time it occurred in the office in that form. In the modern Roman Breviary the Vulgate version has been substituted. This verse is commented on pp. 416, 417. Bede also quotes it on Cant. i. 5: 'solis nomine aliquando Dominus ipse signatur, sicut de ascensione eius dictum est: *Eleuatus est sol, et luna stetit in ordine suo*;' Opp. ix. 216. This is derived from St. Gregory's Homily on the Ascension: 'de hac Ascensionis eius gloria etiam Habacuc ait: *Eleuatus est sol, luna stetit in ordine suo.* Quis enim solis nomine nisi Dominus, et quae lunae nomine nisi ecclesia designatur?'

The Pelagians.

eis qui . . . confidunt] *i.e.* the Pelagians, on whom see i. 17, note. Bede uses this symbolism against them in exactly the same way, Opp. vi. 155, 156.

The Dionysian cycle.

p. 341. decennouenali circulo] Bede gives much the same account of this, De Temp. Rat. c. 44; Opp. vi. 234, 235. On Theophilus of Alexandria, *v.* Opp. i. 165–168; vi. 234, 235, 258, 260. On the Paschal epistles of the bishops of Alexandria fixing the time of Easter, see D. C. A. ii. 1562–1564.

Cycles and Annals.

tanta . . . copia] The drawing up of these tables gave a great impulse to annalistic writing. Each year occupying a line of the MS., the custom grew up of entering on each line any notable event which happened to mark that year; *v.* Pertz, i. 1, 2, and the introduction to my edition of the Sax. Chron. For the word 'calculator,' cf. iii. 25, p. 188.

The great cycle.

etiamsi . . . annos] *i.e.* the great or paschal cycle of 532 years, formed by multiplying together the lunar cycle of nineteen and the solar cycle of twenty-eight years; on which cf. De Temp. Rat. c. 65; Opp. vi. 269, 270.

The Tonsure.

p. 342. tonsuram] On this, *v.* Excursus on the Easter and tonsure controversies.

seruitutis intonsis . . . crinibus] The converse of this is the rule both with Celts and Teutons; long hair being the mark of the freeman, and the shorn or shaven head the mark of the slave; for the Celts, cf. Rhŷs, Celtic Britain, pp. 73–75.

p. 343. **formam quoque coronae**] The construction is: 'oportet eos, qui, &c. . . . formam . . . praeferre.' Yet all the edd. put a full stop before 'formam,' and Giles and Holder even begin a new paragraph with 'formam.'

magum . . . Simonem] Cf. Aldhelm's letter to Gerontius; Opp. ed. Giles, p. 85. It is curious that the other side seems to have made no attempt to deny this assertion; see Adamnan's words quoted below; cf. Rs. Ad. pp. 350, 351.

p. 344. **est Adamnan**] It must not be argued from the present tense that Adamnan was alive at this time. He died two years before the accession of Nechtan; Tigh. On Adamnan and his visits to Northumbria, *v.* c. 15, notes. If, as is probable, the incident here related occurred on the former visit, the scene of it is probably Jarrow; as till 688 Ceolfrid was only abbot of Jarrow. If it occurred on the second visit the scene might be either Jarrow or Wearmouth. Adamnan.

nostrum . . . uoluisset] Evidently the fame of Benedict's monastery was already great.

p. 345. **in linguam eius**] What the Pictish language really was is one of the most vexed questions in ethnology. Professor Rhŷs has recently made a fresh attempt to solve it; see Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot. 1892. The Pictish language.

de medio . . . suorum] 'of middum his ealdormannum 7 his witum,' 'from the midst of his aldermen and counsellors,' AS. vers.

p. 346. **regia auctoritate perfecit**] See above; note 2, on this chapter.

patrocinio] 'mundbyrde,' AS. vers. That this really did amount to a change in the patron saint of the Picts, *v.* S. C. S. i. 270-289; H. & S. ii. 114. Patron saint of the Picts.

CHAPTER 22.

Hii . . . monasteriis] *v.* iii. 3, *ad fin.*; iii. 4 and notes.

anno . . . DCCXVI] In iii. 4, Bede dates the change of Easter at Iona in 715: in this chapter and in c. 24 he dates it 716. The discrepancy has been explained by supposing that the change was resolved on in 715 and came into operation at Easter 716. This does not solve the difficulty, for in the present passage Bede distinctly places Egbert's arrival in Iona in 716. Lower down he says that Egbert died April 24, 729, after residing thirteen years in the island. This is consistent with his having arrived there any time later than April, 715. Egbert seems to have taken his time in executing the commission which he received; c. 9. That Change of Easter at Iona.

commission preceded the departure of Wilbrord for Frisia, which must be dated 690; *v. s.* cc. 10, 11, notes. Perhaps he had been attempting to convert the Columbite monasteries in Ireland, with whom, as we saw, c. 15, Adamnan failed. Bede Chron. says of him: 'plurimas Scoticae gentis prouincias ad canonicam . . . obseruantiam conuertit;' Opp. Min. p. 203.

Death of Osred.

Osredo occiso] On Osred's character and death, see c. 18, note. [716] 'Guin rig Saxan ('the slaying of the king of the Saxons') .i. Osrith mic Aldfrith nepotis Osu;' Tigh. [715] 'Iugulatio rexis (*sic*) Saxonum,' &c., Ann. Ult. The Sax. Chron. 716 says, 'her Osred . . . wearð ofslægen,' 'here Osred was slain;' and MSS. D. E. add: 'be suðan gemære,' 'to the south of the border' (not 'on the southern border,' as commonly translated). D. is the MS. which has additions from good northern sources. (See my introduction to Sax. Chron.) This does not say which border is meant; if the southern, it would suggest a conflict with Mercia; if the northern, with the Picts, with whom the Sax. Chron. and Ann. Ult., Tigh., and Bede c. 24, p. 365, record a battle under 710 and 711 respectively. Wendover's 'Osredus iuxta mare . . . interemptus,' i. 211, would be decisive for the northern frontier, were it not probably traceable to a mere misunderstanding of the words of the Chron.: 'be . . . gemære,' which H. H. represents by 'iuxta Mere,' p. 111; which in turn has been interpreted of Windermere; (!) Lingard, Hist. Engl. i. 71; Bright, p. 413; cf. Lappenberg, i. 206. W. M. however says: 'tandem cognatorum insidiis caesus, eandem fortunam in ipsos refudit. Siquidem Kenred ii, et Osricus xi annis regnantes hoc tantum memorabile habuere, quod domini sui, licet merito, ut putabant, occisi, sanguinem luentes, foedo exitu auras polluere;' i. 58. This implies that Cenred and Osric were concerned in the slaying of Osred. It would be interesting to know Malmesbury's authority for this. We have seen that in default of authority he is not incapable of romancing.

Cenred of Northumbria.

Coenred] He was a son of Cuthwine, a scion of a younger branch of the Northumbrian house. He reigned two years; Sax. Chron. 716; S. D. ii. 390; cf. ib. 375; i. 201, 360; Fl. Wig. i. 48; and the Irish Annals enter his death two years after that of Osred: 'Mac Cuitin rex Saxonum moritur;' Tigh. 'Filius Cuidine,' &c., Ann. Ult. The Sax. Chron. *s. a.* 731, makes Ceolwulf, Cenred's brother, c. 23, grandson, not son, of Cuthwine. If W. M. *u. s.* can be trusted, Cenred also came to a violent end.

Egbert a bishop.

sacerdos] Probably 'bishop,' as often; *v.* i. 28, note; and for evidence that Egbert was a bishop, see on c. 9. The AS. vers. divides these two chapters, 22 and 23, into three; and the heading

of the middle chapter runs thus: 'Be forðfore . . . Ecgbyrhtes þæs arwurþan biscopes,' 'Of the death of Egbert the venerable bishop.' Here the Latin word 'sacerd' is retained.

saepius] iii. 4 *sub fin.*; 27; iv. 3, pp. 220, 221; v. 9; cf. Chron. Opp. Min. p. 203.

doctor . . . exsecutor] *v.* Introd. p. xxxvi.

p. 347. **coronae perpetis**] The Irish Annals place the adoption of the coronal tonsure at Iona two years after the change in the observance of Easter. If this is correct it would fall in the abbacy not of Dunchad but of his successor Faelchu. Change of tonsure at Iona.

per gentem Anglorum] For other instances of men of Saxon race at Iona, cf. Rs. Ad. pp. 208, 227. Aldfrid himself is another case in point.

Brettones] On the date at which the British churches conformed, *v.* c. 15, note. The AS. translator retains this passage in the present tense. Does this imply that the schism was not wholly extinct even then? On the refusal of the Britons to attempt the conversion of their conquerors, cf. ii. 2, p. 83. The Britons and the Easter question.

Hiienses monachi] 'Hiisetena munecas,' 'the monks of the settlers in Hii *or* Iona,' AS. vers.

annos circiter LXXX] Eighty or eighty-one; Aidan's mission was probably in 635; iii. 5, 17, 26.

octauo Kal. Mai.] April 24. This was Easter Day in 729.

immo . . . non desinit] Cf. Opp. v. 62: 'annuis . . . festis . . . admonemur, desiderium nostrum ad obtinenda festa, quae non sunt annua sed continua, non terrena sed coelestia semper accendere.'

p. 348. **eo die . . . quo numquam, &c.**] For the explanation of the meaning of this passage, see the Excursus on the Paschal Controversy; *inf.* p. 352.

CHAPTER 23.

Anno . . . Osrici regis] Therefore Osric must have succeeded in 718, which leaves two years from 716, the date of Osred's death, for the reign of Cenred, as stated in the notes to the last chapter. Lower down Osric's death is placed in 729, after a reign of eleven years, which yields the same result. In S. D. i. 39, Osric is called 'filius regis Alfridi.' This relationship is not noticed in Bede, Sax. Chron., Fl. Wig., H. H., or W. M. But as S. D. is copying the words of Bede in this chapter, and deliberately inserts this addition, he must have had some authority which we have not. But who is meant by the 'rex Alfridus'? A list of kings Osric.

printed in S. D. ii. 390, makes Osric 'filius Aldfridi,' *i. e.* son of Aldfrid who died in 705, and therefore brother or half-brother of Osred. Dr. Stubbs however makes Osric the son of Alchfrid the rebellious son of Oswy; and further identifies him with Osric of the Hwiccas; iv. 23, p. 255, note. I cannot believe any part of this theory. Is it likely that the Northumbrians, in 718, would seek as their king a ruler of a distant province, the son of a man who had disappeared from history as far back as 664? Whereas there is nothing unlikely in the view that Osric was a son of Aldfrid.

Uictred . . . nono die . . . tenebat] April 23. 725. Therefore his accession must be placed in Oct. 690.

Kentish succession.

filios tres . . . heredes] Bede seems to imply that they reigned jointly. This is confirmed, as far as regards the first two brothers, by a charter of 738, which Kemble accepts as genuine; K. C. D. No. 85; Birch, No. 159. Canterbury insertions in MS. A of the Sax. Chron., and Fl. Wig. make Ethelbert (whom Bede names first) succeed Eadbert on his death in 748; while all MSS. of the Chron. place the death of Ethelbert II in 760; though a charter of his, which Kemble considers genuine, is dated 762; K. C. D. No. 108; Birch, No. 191. Nothing is said about Alric, nor does he appear in any of the charters, genuine or spurious; and Dr. Stubbs would 'set aside his reign altogether as resting on no authority earlier than W. M.;' D. C. B. ii. 3. The Chronology of Malmesbury and Elmham, which prolongs the reigns of the three brothers to 793 and 795 respectively, is quite incredible; and perhaps rests on a confusion of Alric son of Witred, with Alric son of Heardbert, slain in 798; Sax. Chron. There is a letter of Ethelbert II, to St. Boniface, asking him to send him two falcons for hawking; Mon. Mog. pp. 254–256.

Tobias . . . neminimus] *v.* c. 8, *ad fin.*

Aldwulf of Rochester.

p. 349. **Alduulf**] The death of Tobias, and the consecration of Aldwulf are placed in 727 by Sax. Chron. D. E. F. He acts as one of the consecrators of Archbishop Tatwin, *infra*, p. 350. His death is given by S. D. ii. 32, under 739; the accession of his successor Dun, is placed in 740 by Chron. C. D. E. F.; in 741, by Chron. A. B. and Fl. Wig. There are grants to him in K. C. D. Nos. 78, 85; Birch, Nos. 152, 159.

Comets.

cometae duae] 'twegen steorran . . . þa syndon on bocum *cometa* nemde,' 'two stars which are called *cometa* in books,' AS. vers. On the significance and duration of comets, *v.* iv. 12, note.

The Saracens.

Sarracenorum lues] The Saracens had conquered Spain in the years 710–713. Thence they spread beyond the Pyrenees and

established themselves in Narbonne, whence they plundered Gaul. The victory of Tours, won by Charles Martel in 732, saved Gaul from the fate of Spain: 'Sarraceni cum uxoribus et paruulis uenientes, Aquitaniam quasi habitaturi ingressi sunt;' Paul. Diac. Hist. Langob. vi. 46; Sigb. Gembl. *s. a.* 730 [=732]; Freeman, Conquests of the Saracens, Lect. V; Weber, Weltgesch. v. 109-120; Kitchin, France, i. 102, 103. If by the 'dignae poenae' Bede means the battle of Tours, this sentence must have been added after the completion of the H. E. in 731. He cannot, I think, refer to the defeats of 721 (Toulouse) or 725; as then we should lose the connexion with the comets of 729, which is evidently uppermost in Bede's mind.

Bede frequently refers to the Saracens in his theological works. Following Isidore (Chron. Tertia Aetas, *ad init.*: 'Ismael a quo Ismaelitarum gens, qui postea Agareni, ad ultimum Saraceni sunt dicti'), he regards them as descendants of Ishmael; Opp. viii. 185. Thus on Gen. xvi. 12, he says: 'significat semen eius habitaturum in heremo, id est, Sarracenos uagos, incertisque sedibus, qui uniuersas gentes, quibus desertum ex latere iungitur, incursant, et expugnantur ab omnibus; sed haec antiquitus. Nunc autem in tantum manus eius contra omnes, et manus sunt omnium contra eum, ut Africam totam in longitudine sua ditione premant, sed et Asiae maximam partem, et Europae nonnullam omnibus exosi et contrarii tenent;' Opp. vii. 185 (this was probably written in 720). So on 1 Sam. xxv. 1, citing Ps. cxix. (cxx.) 5: 'habitaui cum habitantibus Cedar;' he says: '[haec] Sarracenos specialiter aduersarios ecclesiae cunctos generaliter describunt;' viii. 185 (this was written in 716). On Cant. i. 4, citing Gen. *u. s.*, he says: 'cuius praesagii ueritatem exosa omnibus hodie Sarracenorum, qui ab eo exorti sunt, natio probat;' ix. 215. So commenting on the 'sidus Remphan' of Acts vii. 43, he says: 'Significat ... Luciferum, cuius cultui Sarracenorum gens ob honorem Veneris erat mancipata;' xii. 36; cf. vii. 214; ix. 413. St. Boniface, in a letter written 723×755, warns a correspondent not to go to Rome: 'donec ... minae Sarracenorum, quae apud Romanos nuper emerserunt, conquieuerint;' Mon. Mog. p. 236. In the letter to Ethelbald (744×747) cited above, he says: 'Gentes Hispaniae et Prouinciae et Burgundionum ... sic ... fornicatae sunt, donec Iudex ... talium criminum ultrices poenas ... per Sarracenos uenire ... permisit;' ib. 173; H. & S. iii. 354.

perfidiae] 'heathenism,' 'unbelief' *v.* on i. 7.

VII[a] ... die] May 9, 729.

Osric ... decessit] Under 729, MSS. D. E. F. of the Sax. Chron.

Death of Osric.

give the entry 'her . . . Osric forðferde,' 'here Osric died;' but under 731, MS. D (which frequently duplicates events owing to the compiler having a double source before him) has the further entry 'her wæs ofslægæn Osric . . . cyning,' 'Here Osric king was slain;' cf. the passage from W. M. given in the notes to the last chapter.

Ceolwulf.

Ceoluulfum] W. M. (i. 58) picturesquely says: 'conscendit . . . tremulum regni culmen Chelwulfus.' Of the troubles of the beginning of his reign we have a specimen in the statement of the Cont. Baedae, *inf.* p. 361, that in 731 (732, S. D. ii. 30; 733, R. W. i. 219) he was forcibly tonsured but restored. (Under 730, Ann. Ult. 731, Tigh., there is the following entry: 'clericatus Echdach filii Cuidini [Cuthwine, see on c. 22] rex Saxan, et constringitur.' This can hardly refer to anything but the tonsuring of Ceolwulf; so that he, like Aldfrid, would seem to have had an Irish name, which was Eochaid.) In 737 he voluntarily became a monk in Lindisfarne; ib.; Sax. Chron.; Ann. Lindisf. *s. a.*; S. D. ii. 32, 375; i. 47, 201: 'barbam deposuit, coronam [*i. e.* tonsure] accepit.' 'Hoc rege monacho facto efficiente data est monachis Lindisfarnensis ecclesiae licentia bibendi uinum uel ceruisiam; ante illud tempus non nisi lac uel aquam bibere solebant, secundum . . . traditionem sancti Aidani;' S. D. ii. 102; cf. i. 361. The Sax. Chron. and Ann. Lind. place his death in 760; S. D. ii. 42, followed by Hoveden, in 764. He was buried at Lindisfarne near St. Cuthbert, and miracles attested his sanctity; W. M. i. 67; but in 830, Bishop Egred translated his body to his new church at Norham; and his head was ultimately removed to Durham; S. D. i. 47, 52, 201; Ann. Lind. *s. a.* 830. In the letter to Egbert written Nov. 734, Bede speaks in the highest terms of his zeal for religion: § 9, *inf.* p. 412. To him he dedicated his Eccl. Hist., Praef. p. 5. To the influence of this, H. H., pp. 114, 117, 118, ascribes Ceolwulf's resolve to embrace the monastic life, which H. H. highly commends. To this commendation R. W. seems to allude, 'rex nobilissimus, ut quibusdam placet;' i. 226.

Date of Bertwald's death.

die Iduum Ian.] Jan. 13, 731. C, followed by AS. vers., and Sim. Dun. (*v.* critical note, and Introduction, pp. xciii, xciv), reads 'v. die Id.,' *i. e.* Jan. 9, and this is Bertwald's day in the Roman Calendar. So also Fl. Wig. i. 51; Elmham, p. 300; and the list in Ang. Sac. i. 94. Other lists, ib. 52, 85, give 'vi. Id.,' *i. e.* Jan. 8. The Sax. Chron. MSS. D. E. F. follows the ordinary text of Bede. If the 37 y. 6 m. 14 d. be reckoned from Bertwald's consecration, June 29, 693 (c. 8, *ad fin.*), it brings us apparently to Jan. 12, 731; S. D. *u. s.* places Bertwald's death in 732 (cf. *sup.*, where he is also one year in advance).

p. 350. **Tatuini**] He died 734; Cont. Bed. *inf.* p. 361; Sax. Chron.; on July 30, S. D. ii. 31, having received the pallium the previous year; ib. 30; *inf.* p. 361. (A spurious letter of Gregory III makes him go to Rome to fetch the pallium; G. P. p. 56; H. & S. iii. 311, 312.) Tatwin is the author of a collection of Latin riddles, printed in Wright's Anglo-Latin Poets of the twelfth century, vol. ii. Appendix i. On these, and the mediaeval riddle literature generally, *v.* Manitius, Aldhelm und Baeda, pp. 78–82. Tatwin.

de prouincia Merciorum] His election was probably due to the influence of Ethelbald; D. C. B. ii. 212; iv. 804, 805.

Briudun] Bredon in Worcestershire; Mon. Angl. i. 586, 587; viii. 1625. It was founded by Eanwulf, grandfather of Offa; Birch, i. 326; cf. ib. 297, 298, 329. Bredon.

Ingualdo] He died in 745; *inf.* p. 362; S. D. ii. 39. He signs a charter, K. C. D. No. 95; Birch, No. 171. Ingwald.

Alduino] He is otherwise called Worr, under which name he signs charters; K. C. D. Nos. 75, 79, 80, 83; Birch, Nos. 146, 153, 154, 156; the dates given for his accession and death are 721 and 737 respectively, the latter is given by S. D. ii. 32; the former is an inference from the fact that Hedda, who probably preceded him immediately, died in 721; D. C. B. i. 79. Aldwin.

die decima Iun.] This was a Sunday in 731. For the mode of dating, see on iii. 9, p. 145.

ecclesiis Cantuariorum] *v.* ii. 3, note.

Aldberct et Hadulac] Bishops of Dunwich and Elmham respectively. Nothing seems to be known about either of them; and the name of the former varies greatly in the different lists. East Anglian bishops.

Danihel et Fortheri] *v.* c. 18, notes.

Ualchstod] Bishop of Hereford. His predecessor Torthere signs as late as 727; Stubbs, Ep. Succ. p. 171, and his successor Cuthbert was consecrated in 736; S. D. ii. 32. Malmesbury has preserved some verses by Cuthbert inscribed on a cross, begun by Walhstod and finished by himself; also an epitaph composed by him on Walhstod and others of his predecessors; G. P. p. 229. 'These . . . are two of the most interesting minor relics of eighth-century history in England;' Stubbs in D. C. B. iv. 1170. Walhstod.

Huicciorum Uilfrid] Egwin, whom, as we have seen, Bede does not mention, died Dec. 30, 717; and Wilfrid was appointed before his death; Fl. Wig. i. 49. He died 743, ib. 54; 754, S. D. ii. 39. There is a grant by him in K. C. D. No. 91; Birch, No. 166. He must be carefully distinguished from his contemporary, Wilfrid II of York, *v. inf.* Wilfrid of the Hwiccas.

episcopatus Uectae] *v.* iv. 16, *ad fin.*

Cynibert. **Cyniberct**] He is mentioned above, iv. 12, p. 229, as fourth bishop of Lindsey. He gave Bede information as to the ecclesiastical history of his diocese; Praef. p. 7. He died 732; S. D. ii. 30. The date of his consecration does not seem to be known.

Ethelbald of Mercia. **Aedilbaldo**] He succeeded Ceolred in 716; c. 24, p. 356. It was to him that St. Boniface addressed his famous letter of remonstrance, already cited. But he was a strong ruler. Bede represents him here as having the hegemony of the whole of Britain south of the Humber, though he does not reckon him among the so-called Bretwaldas; cf. H. H. p. 121, who calls him 'rex regum'; while Dr. Stubbs says that he was 'no doubt the most powerful king since Ethelbert of Kent, not excepting the Northumbrian rulers;' D. C. B. ii. 213. And Boniface, while rebuking his flagrant immorality and ecclesiastical oppressions, gives him credit for liberality and vigorous justice. (This letter, with accompanying letters to Archbishop Egbert of York, and Herefrid [*inf.* p. 362], begging them to enforce its lessons, is in Mon. Mog. pp. 168–180; H. & S. iii. 350 360). We find him making war on Wessex in 733 and 740; Sax. Chron.; overrunning Northumberland in 740 [737, Sax. Chron.], while Eadbert, King of Northumbria, was engaged against the Picts, *inf.* p. 362; combining with Wessex against the Welsh; Sax. Chron. *s. a.* 743; defeated by Wessex in 752, ib.; cf. Cont. Baed. 752. His murder is placed by Cont. Baed. (*inf.* p. 369), in 757. So S. D. ii. 41. The Sax. Chron., followed by Fl. Wig., places it in 755, and says that it took place at Seckington (Secceswald, Fl.) in Warwickshire, and that he was buried at Repton. Under 716, the Chron. says that he reigned forty-one years, which agrees with 757. W. M., i. 79, says that his murderer was Beornred, who succeeded him; but was immediately displaced by Offa; *inf.*; Sax. Chron. *u. s.* Ethelbald appears as the traditional founder of Croyland Abbey, but the charter is a gross forgery; H. & S. iii. 296-299; K. C. D. No. 66; Birch, No. 135. There is an interesting and genuine charter of 749, in which Ethelbald 'pro expiatione delictorum suorum' frees ecclesiastical lands from all burdens, except the repair of bridges and defence of fortresses; H. & S. iii. 386, 387; K. C. D. No. 99; Birch, No. 178. Apparently this did not avail him, for in a vision (previously cited) he was seen among the lost; Mon. Mog. p. 275. To him Felix dedicated his life of St. Guthlac, according to which Guthlac had foretold his accession, at a time when he was much persecuted by Ceolred; Hardy, Cat. i. 405, 406; cf. Fl. Wig. i. 49.

Uilfrid] Wilfrid II. See c. 6, *ad fin.*, note.

Ediluald] *v.* c. 12, *ad fin.*, note.

p. 351. Acca] *v.* c. 20, notes.

Pecthelm] In S. D. ii. 29, by the common confusion of P and þ (see on iii. 21, p. 169), his name is written 'Wecthelmus.' Mr. Arnold, H. H. p. liii, thinks this is right. But 'Pehthelm' is clearly 'helm of the Picts,' as 'Pehtwine,' the name of one of his successors (whom H. H. pp. 125, 126, calls Witwine), is 'friend of the Picts.' Bede has cited him as his authority for the tale told in c. 13, *ad fin.* He had been deacon and monk under Aldhelm; c. 18, p. 320. There is no clue to the date of his consecration beyond Bede's 'nuper' here. There is a letter from St. Boniface to him asking for information as to prohibited degrees of marriage; Mon. Mog. pp. 94, 95; H. & S. iii. 310. He died in 735; Fl. Wig. He is the first bishop of the Anglian see of Whitern or Candida Casa, which lasted till the death of Badwulf or Baldwulf, who survived at any rate to 803; Sax. Chron. *s. a.*; compared with S. D. i. 52; cf. ib. ii. 53, 58; G. P. p. 257; H. & S. ii. 7, 8. On the see of Whitern under Ninian, *v.* iii. 4, notes. It would seem from Bede's words that the district had become heathen again since Ninian's time. Pehthelm.

Brettones] Cf. on ii. 4, p. 88.

qua adridente pace] Bede must here be referring to freedom from external attacks from Picts, Scots, and Britons; for he has just told us that the internal condition of Northumbria at this time was deplorable. External peace.

plures . . . accepta tonsura . . . uidebit] This shows that Bede by no means favours an indiscriminate adoption of the monastic life; especially as in many cases the adoption was not genuine; cf. Ep. ad Egb. §§ 11–13, *inf.* pp. 414–417. Growth of monasticism.

CHAPTER 24.

P. 352. The way in which Bede wrote his history, by subjects, rather than by order of time, rendered a chronological summary very necessary; and he might have made it fuller with advantage. This summary has a very important bearing on the history of annalistic writing, as I shall hope to show in my introduction to the Saxon Chronicle. The insertions made in it by the MSS. of the Winchester and Durham groups (see the critical notes, and Introd. pp. civ, cv) and the continuation of it, *inf.* pp. 361–363, show how easily it might become the starting-point of a regular chronicle. The references to the corresponding chapters of Bede's text are placed in the margin. These will show how widely the narrative The chronological summary.

departs from the chronological order. The AS. vers. omits the chronological summary, but gives the biographical notice which follows it.

Additions to the narrative.

XV . . . rexit] This is an addition to Bede's narrative. The annals 538, 540, and 547 have nothing corresponding to them in Bede's narrative. The eclipse of 540 is dated correctly June 20; but that of 538, which Bede dates Feb. 16, was really on Feb. 15; Art de Vérif. i. 62. On Ida see notes to Sax. Chron.

p. 354. 658 [critical note]; *v.* iii. 24, *ad fin.*

pp. 354, 355. 667, 686, 687, 692 [critical notes]. For the bearing of these additions on the classification of the MSS., see Introd. pp. civ, cv. For the substance of the last three, *v.* c. 19 and notes.

Wulfhere of Mercia.

p. 354. 675. On the chronology of Wulfhere's reign, see on iii. 24, *ad fin.* His death is not mentioned in the text of Bede. Fl. Wig. in relating it adds: 'qui regum Merciorum primus fidem . . . accepit [this is true, for Peada was only king of the South Mercians], et in tota gente sua daemoniorum culturam destruxit et penitus eradicauit;' i. 32. Cf. the case of Earconbert (*sup.* iii. 8), whose daughter St. Ermingild he married; ib.

p. 355. 704. **XXXI annos**] This is inconsistent with the date of his accession given above, viz. 675. The Sax. Chron. rightly gives twenty-nine years as the length of his reign.

Bede's works.

p. 356. **Haec de historia, &c.**] On Bede's history and on his life and works, see Introd. Part I.

p. 357. **monasterii**] *v.* note on c. 21, *ad init.*

dulce habui] This is a favourite phrase of Bede; *e.g.* Vit. Cudb. c. 25: 'Baldhelmus . . . uirtutes uiri Dei cunctis . . . referre melle dulcius habet;' cf. Opp. viii. 288; ix. 109, 156, 237, 305; xii. 287.

in principium Genesis] The references in the margin are to Giles' edition of Bede's works in 12 vols., 8vo, 1843–1844.

ad mortem Saulis libros III] The death of Saul comes at the end of the fourth book of the commentary on Samuel. The reading of C. O_2. D. AS., &c. is therefore right. Though there was an interval between the first three books and the fourth it was not so long as fifteen years (716–731); *v.* Introduction, pp. xv, xvi, cxlviii.

BAEDAE CONTINUATIO.

P. 361. As the annals 731–734 (as far as 'reuersa') are found in MS. M., and annals 733 and 734 up to the same point are found in C at the end of Bede's chronological summary (*v.* critical note, p. 356), it is quite possible that these entries were made by Bede himself after the completion of the work in 731, and before his death in 735. Of the later entries I shall only deal with those which are (i) connected with the narrative of Bede; (ii) not found in the Sax. Chron. The continuation.

731. For Ceolwulf, *v.* v. 23, p. 349; for Acca, v. 20.

732. For Egbert, see the notes on Bede's letter to him; *inf.* pp. 405 ff.; for Wilfrid, *v.* v. 6, *ad fin.*

733. **XVIIII Kal. Sep.**] Aug. 14. This date is quite correct.

734. There was a total eclipse of the moon on Jan. 24, 734, at 3 a.m. The date in the text is therefore just a week too late. On Tatwin, *v.* v. 23, p. 350.

735. On Nothelm, see Bede's Preface, p. 6, note; for Frithbert, *v.* v. 20, notes; for Frithwald, Bishop of Whitern, Sax. Chron. *s. a.* 762. On the date of Bede's death, see Introduction, pp. lxxi–lxxiii.

p. 362. 740. On Ethelbald, *v.* v. 23, notes; for Ethelwald, cf. v. 12, notes.

Arnuuini . . . interempti] '740. Arwine filius Eadulfi occisus est die X Kal. Ian. feria VII;' S. D. ii. 38 (*i. e.* Dec. 23, this was not a Saturday in 740, but was in 741). The Eadwulf meant is probably the one who succeeded Aldfrid for two months; see on v. 18, *ad init.* It will be seen that S. D. says nothing about Eadbert; and the insertion of his name is probably a mere slip, as Thorpe suggests, Lappenberg, E. T. i. 213. Anyhow it cannot refer to Eadbert, King of Northumbria, as he was king till 758. Arnwin.

741. **Carolus rex Francorum**] This is Charles Martel the conqueror of the Saracens. His sons, Carloman and Pippin the Short (the father of Charlemagne), for a time divided the Frankish power; but in 747 Carloman resigned, and like Cædwalla of Charles Martel.

Wessex, went to Rome and became a monk, *v.* D. C. B. iii. 600, leaving the whole power in the hands of Pippin. Pauli thinks that the title 'Rex Francorum' shows that these annals in their present shape cannot be older than the tenth century; Forschungen zur deutschen Gesch., xii. 157.

745. On Ingwald, *v.* v. 23, note.

Herefrid. 747. This is probably the Herefrid to whom St. Boniface wrote the letter cited on v. 23.

750. The 'insurrection' of Cuthred against Ethelbald refers to the battle of Burford, which the Sax. Chron. places in 752, where
The Picts. see notes. Oengus is apparently Oengus (or Unust) mac Fergusa, King of the Picts, who died in 761, *inf.* It is difficult to see how he can have come into contact with Wessex. S. D., who incorporates this entry, omits the words 'et Oengusum;' ii. 40. I am inclined to think that the text is corrupt, and that these words, and probably also Eadbert's annexation of Kyle, are connected with an event which S. D., *u.s.*, places under 756, the successful joint expedition of Eadbert and Oengus against Alcluith or Dumbarton the capital of the Strathclyde Britons. We have seen Eadbert engaged against the Picts, 740, above. By 756 he would seem to have compelled them into alliance with him; cf. S. D. i. 48; Sax. Chron. 737, note. By Theudor is meant 'Teudubr filius Beli,' King of the Strathclyde Britons, who died 750; Ann. Camb.; in 752, Tigh.; cf. Lappenberg, i. 208. Who Eanred was I do not know. 'Campus Cyil' is Kyle, a district of Ayrshire; cf. Rhŷs, C. B. p. 118. On the relations between the Picts, the Dalriadic Scots, the Strathclyde Britons, and Northumbria at this time, see ib. 176–178; S. C. S. i. 290 ff.

Eclipses. 753. This is certainly the right year; though the editions give 756. 753 is the only year between 734 and 865 in which there was a solar eclipse followed by a lunar eclipse in the month of January. The lunar eclipse (partial, hence 'scuto') was on the date given in the text, Jan. 24; the solar eclipse was on Jan. 9, the fifth of the Ides. 753 was the sixteenth year of Eadbert (not fifteenth as Hussey says, *ad loc.*, who however was the first to suggest the right mode of emending the passage); we should therefore probably read: 'Anno DCCLIII, anno regni Eadberti XVI, quinto Id. Ian.'

Boniface. 754. Bonifacius] This is the great Apostle of Germany. It would be impossible to discuss here the story of his eventful life. It is curious that Bede says nothing about him; and this fact a little weakens my argument in the notes to i. 13 with reference to Patrick. Boniface's life by Willibald is in Mon. Mog. pp. 429 ff.;

Pertz, ii. 331 ff. The former volume also contains the best edition of his letters. On the date of his death, see Oelsner, Jahrbuch des fränkischen Reiches unter König Pippin, pp. 489 ff. He decides for 754.

Redgerus] This is a mistake. Lullus or Lul, a West-Saxon, succeeded Boniface as archbishop of Mainz. Pauli however suggests that Hreðgar may have been his original name and that Lul was a mere nickname; *u. s.* pp. 157–159.

757. On these events, *v.* v. 23, notes and Sax. Chron. *s. a.* 755. The *story* of Cynewulf's death is placed by the Chron. under 755, but the formal entry of his slaying belongs to 784. The compiler of these annals must have misunderstood either the Chronicle or some common source from which they both drew.

p. 363. 758. See Sax. Chron. 757.

coelestis patriae uiolentia] Cf. Matt. xi. 12; Thorpe, Lappenberg, E. T. i. 214, wrongly takes 'uiolentia' with 'accepta'; as if Eadbert had been forcibly tonsured.

EXCURSUS ON THE PASCHAL CONTROVERSY AND TONSURE.

Tediousness of the Paschal controversy.

Eadmer, in his life of Wilfrid, says that he had omitted his hero's arguments on the Paschal question, 'ne in re huic opusculo non necessaria aliquod fastidium legentibus inferremus;' c. 10. Most readers of Bede will be inclined to wish that he had taken a like course.

It would be impossible to enter fully into this controversy, without a knowledge of astronomy and mathematics as a basis of scientific chronology, to which I can make no pretensions. But the main points of difference between the Roman and Celtic Churches can be apprehended without touching on these thorny questions.

Points at issue between the Roman and Celtic Churches.

In the letter of Ceolfrid in v. 21, four rules are laid down; the first two derived from the law, the third from the Gospel, the fourth from considerations of religious symbolism [1].

(1) Easter must fall in the first month [2].
(2) In the third week of that month.
(3) On a Sunday.
(4) The paschal full moon must not fall before the vernal equinox [3].

Early controversies.

The earliest Paschal controversies had turned on No. 3. The Jewish Christians, with St. John at their head, observed the 14th of the month Nisan, the day of the Jewish Passover,

[1] Cf. cc. 6, 50, De Temp. Rat. In c. 61 Bede endeavours to ground the fourth rule also on Scripture; though he admits that the law 'aequinoctium nominatim non exprimit.' 'The Jews apparently had no rule about not keeping the passover before the equinox;' the only point considered in determining the first month being whether in sixteen days from the commencement of the month 'the barley would be sufficiently ripe for the observance of the rite of the firstfruits'; if not, a month was intercalated; D. C. A. i. 587. So Smith, p. 697. This may be true of the early days of the Jewish Commonwealth; it is certainly not true of the later. Cf. the extract from Anatolius in Eusebius, H. E. vii. 32: *μαθεῖν δ' ἔστιν ἐκ τῶν ὑπὸ Φίλωνος, Ἰωσήπου, Μουσαίου λεγομένων, καὶ . . . τῶν ἔτι παλαιοτέρων . . . δεῖν τὰ διαβατήρια θύειν . . . μετὰ ἰσημερίαν ἐαρινήν.* I owe the reference to Schürer, Gesch. d. jüdischen Volkes, i. 629.

[2] On the first month, cf. De Temp. Rat. cc. 11, 43, 51.

[3] On the four rules, cf. ib. cc. 61, 64.

regardless of the day of the week on which it might fall. The Gentile Christians, having no associations with the Passover, naturally attached their annual commemoration of the Resurrection to that first day which already in each week was kept in memory of it. The former custom prevailed in Asia, the latter in the West. In the Council of Nicaea, the Western custom became the rule of the Church, and those who adhered to the other view were stamped as heretics with the name of Quartodecimans[1].

The Celts not Quartodecimans.

On this point there was no controversy between the Roman and Celtic Churches. Bede more than once[2] refutes the unfair insinuations of some of the Roman party[3] that the Celts were Quartodecimans.

It must be admitted that the Celts themselves gave some ground for the charge by claiming for their practice the sanction of St. John's authority, which, as Wilfrid showed, would only be in point if they were Quartodecimans[4].

Roman claims unhistorical.

The Roman party, on their side, were equally unhistorical in asserting that the system which they followed had been that of the Church of Rome ever since the days of St. Peter[5].

Though their adversaries had not the knowledge to refute them, the Church of Rome had more than once changed its paschal practice, and the rules which were ultimately adopted in the Western Church were mainly worked out at Alexandria[6].

The third week of the first month, how reckoned.

Nor in principle was there any difference between the Celtic and Roman Churches as to the other three rules; the differences arose as to the mode of carrying them out. Thus in regard to the second rule: what was to be considered the third week of the first month? The Celts reckoned it from the 14th to the 20th of the moon inclusive[7]. The Latins had originally reckoned it from the 16th to the 22nd[8]. The reason for this rule was to make it

[1] D. C. A.; Smith, pp. 696, 697. The Council of Nicaea did not, as is often asserted, lay down rules for the finding of Easter; but it fixed the celebration to Sunday, and enjoined uniformity; Ideler, ii. 206 ff.

[2] H. E. iii. 4, 17, pp. 135, 162.

[3] *e. g.* Wilfrid, Eddius, cc. 12, 14, 15. Aldhelm, H. & S. iii. 271; and probably Pope John IV, H. E. ii. 19, and notes.

[4] Eddius, c. 10; H. E. iii. 25, pp. 184–186.

[5] Ib. p. 185, v. 21, p. 337; cf. Smith, p. 693.

[6] Opp. vi. 181: 'Aegyptus mater artium docet.' ib. 206, 'Aegyptii quos calculandi esse peritissimos constat.' So H. E. v. 21, p. 339: 'Aegyptii . . . prae ceteris doctoribus calculandi palmam tenent.' Opp. vi. 235: 'apud Aegyptios huius supputationis antiquitus tradita uidebatur esse peritia.'

[7] H. E. ii. 2; iii. 28 (British); iii. 3, 25; v. 21 (Irish and Pictish).

[8] Ceolfrid, or Bede, refutes this view, H. E. v. 21, p. 338, but without specifying the persons aimed at. Conversely in the De Temp. Rat. c. 59.

possible for Good Friday[1] to fall on the 14th of the moon, the day on which Christ was believed to have suffered[2].

Ultimately the Alexandrian rule prevailed, which was to reckon it from the 15th to the 21st. It is on this point that most of the argument is expended in iii. 25 and v. 21; the other points being treated as subordinate.

It is plain that a divergence of a week would frequently be the result of this difference. For whenever the 14th of the moon fell on a Sunday, the Celts would celebrate Easter on that day, whereas the Romans would defer it to the following Sunday. This is precisely the case which Bede represents as occurring in the household of Oswy of Northumbria, where the king, who followed the Celtic use, would sometimes be celebrating Easter, while the queen, in accordance with the Roman rule, was still fasting in Holy Week[3].

Cycles.

Closely connected with this was the question of the cycles[4] used for determining on what date the 14th of the moon would fall[5]. Ultimately the Alexandrian cycle of nineteen years, as finally amended by Dionysius Exiguus, was adopted by the Roman Church; whereas the Celts continued to use an older cycle of eighty-four years[6]. What amount of divergence might arise from this cause I do not know. Bede does not often refer to the question of cycles. In iii. 4, p. 134, he speaks of the community of Iona as following 'dubii circuli;' and rightly attributes their error to the want of constant communication with the outer world[7]. Indeed, considering the difficulty of communication,

Bede refutes the Latins by name, whereas the Celts, though refuted, are not mentioned expressly.

[1] The *πάσχα σταυρώσιμον*, Easter being the *πάσχα ἀναστάσιμον*; Ideler, ii. 205.

[2] Bede, *u. s.*, says of this party: 'eligentes potius in lunam XXII^{am} diem festi paschalis extendi quam dominicam passionem ante lunam XIV^{am} ullatenus inchoari.' Bede himself strongly holds the view that the crucifixion took place on the 15th of Nisan; *u. s.* cc. 47, 61; Opp. vi. 242, 260–262; i. 167. This is the view which underlies the synoptic narrative, while the other seems implied in that of the fourth gospel.

[3] H. E. iii. 25, p. 182. This occurred in the years 645, 647, 648, and 651, D. C. A. According to Stevenson, p. 221, it would have occurred again in 665. If this is correct, it would explain the holding of the synod in 664. The main reason for excluding the 14th of the moon, was to prevent the possibility of the Christian Easter falling on the same day as the Jewish passover. And this principle was laid down by the Council of Nicaea; Bright, p. 195.

[4] On the cycles, cf. Bede, *u. s.* cc. 43, 44.

[5] 'Sextus [decennouenalis] circuli locus amplectitur lunas XIIII primi mensis,' *u. s.* c. 59.

[6] Ideler, ii. 295.

[7] So Wilfrid in H. E. iii. 25, p. 188.

'the wonder is how . . . a unanimous Easter was obtainable at all[1].'

Wilfrid alludes to the cycle of nineteen years, which he ascribes to Anatolius[2]. Ceolfrid also cites it, and represents it as having come down from apostolic times[3]. Bede mentions the cycle of eighty-four years, once in connexion with the British[4] and once in connexion with the Pictish Easter[5]; and as the Picts were converted from Iona, this is conclusive as to the Easter of the latter community; and through them, as to that of the Northern Irish[6].

The first and fourth rules are closely connected. What is (for Paschal purposes) to be considered the first month of the year? The answer is—that in which the full moon falls on or after the vernal equinox. If the full moon falls before the vernal equinox then that month is the last of the old year and not the first of the new[7]. The first month of the year.

[1] H. & S. ii. 99. [2] H. E. iii. *25*, p. 187. [3] ib. v. *21*, p. 341.
[4] ib. ii. *2*, p. 81. [5] ib. v. *21*, p. 346.
[6] Mr. Anscombe (Obit of St. Columba) alone of all the authorities which I have consulted denies that the Irish church used a cycle of eighty-four years, on the ground (1) 'that the Irish church would not celebrate earlier than March 25,' [see below]; (2) 'that the cycle of LXXXIV indicates celebrations on March *21*, *22*, 23, and 24,' p. 4. But it does not seem to me at all impossible that the Celts might follow a certain cycle generally, and yet desert it when it conflicted with their rule about the equinox. Thus Bede, De Temp. Rat. c. 51, taunts Victorius with the inconsistency of his paschal rules: 'si magis obseruandum quod Aegyptii docent autumas, quare non illorum per omnia scientiam sectaris.' And as a matter of fact, in an eighty-four years' Easter cycle published by Muratori in vol. iii. of his Anecdota ex Ambrosiana Bibliotheca, alternative dates for Easter are added by the compiler in several cases, because the dates given in the cycle sinned against the Easter rules which he observed; Ideler, ii. *244*, *252*, *253*; but in any case arguments of this kind cannot override the plain words of Bede. On the passage in ii. *2*, p. 81, with reference to the British Easter 'quae computatio LXXXIIII annorum circulo continetur,' Mr. Anscombe says: 'By this I understand . . . that the date in April [the 21st], which restricted the celebration of the Latins who used the cycle of LXXXIV, likewise restricted the celebration of the Irish and Britons,' pp. 8, 9. Even if this very forced interpretation could apply here, I do not see how it could apply to the similar phrase in v. *21*, p. 341, where, speaking of the orthodox Easter, Ceolfrid says: 'hic . . . computus paschae decennouenali circulo continetur.' The meaning surely in both cases is: 'this mode of reckoning Easter is comprised in (which is nearly equivalent to saying "is regulated by") a cycle of so many years.' Least of all can any such explanation touch the statement of Bede in v. *21 ad fin.*, that after the reception of Ceolfrid's letter, the Picts universally adopted 'circuli paschae decennouenales, oblitteratis per omnia erroneis LXXX et IIII annorum circulis.' Moreover it must be remembered that Bede nowhere makes any distinction between the different branches of the Celts (in whom for this purpose the Picts may be included), but implies that they all laboured under the same errors; cf. ii. 4; iii. *25*; v. *22*; pp. 87, 88, 184, 347.
[7] H. E. v. *21*; pp. 338–341; De Temp. Rat. cc. 30, 51, 62.

The equinox.

This leads however to the further question—when is the vernal equinox? The Roman Church, again following the lead of Alexandria, placed it at March 21[1]; the Celts at March 25. This, it is plain, might cause a divergence of a lunar month. For if a full moon fell between those dates the Romans would consider that that was the Paschal moon; whereas the Celts would wait for the next full moon. An instance of this occurred in the year 631 when the Roman Easter fell on March 24th, and the Irish on April 21st; and some Irish delegates who were at Rome on this very question, had ocular demonstration of the extent to which they differed from the rest of the Church[2].

The Easter limits.

Another point of difference between the Churches was as to the limits between which Easter might fall. The anterior limits were the result of their respective views as to the equinox, combined with their modes of reckoning the third week of the first month.

Thus the Romans placing the equinox at March 21, the earliest possible paschal moon was that of which the 14th or full moon fell on that date. The 14th itself being excluded, March 22 was the earliest possible date for Easter Day. For the Celts who placed the equinox at March 25, and allowed the celebration of Easter on the 14th, March 25 itself was the earliest possible date[3]. As to the posterior limit, the Celts, keeping in this as in other points the old Latin rules, refused to celebrate later than April 21; while for the Romans, who allowed the 14th of the paschal moon to fall as late as April 18[4], April 25 was the latest date for Easter Day. This explains the passage in v. 22, pp. 347, 348, where Bede speaking of the death of Egbert at Iona on Easter Day, which in that year (729) fell on April 24, according to the Roman use, to which Egbert had converted the Iona monks, says: 'Mira autem diuinae dispensatio prouisionis erat, quod uenerabilis uir non solum in pascha transiuit de hoc mundo ad Patrem; uerum etiam cum eo die pascha celebraretur, quo numquam prius in eis locis celebrari solebat.'

Bitterness evoked by the question.

We have evidence of the bitterness of feeling which these controversies evoked in the statement of Laurentius, Mellitus, and Justus, that the Irish bishop Dagan refused even to eat in the same inn with them[5]; and in that of Aldhelm that the British priests beyond the Severn not only declined to join in any act of

[1] The Latins had originally placed the equinox at March 18; cf. De Temp. Rat. c 51; Opp. vi. 246. Hence the possibility of having Easter as early as March 21, as mentioned in the last note but one.
[2] S. C. S. ii. 160, 161. [3] Cf. De Temp. Rat. c. 30; Opp. vi. 206.
[4] Cf. De Temp. Rat. cc. 51, 59; Opp. vi. 248, 256.
[5] H. E. ii. 4, p. 88.

worship or social life with the Saxons, but would cast any fragments of food left by them to dogs and swine, and refused even to use the same dishes, &c., until they had been thoroughly scoured with sand or cinders[1]. On the other side the Penitential of Theodore treats all British and Irish bishops as excommunicate, and all their acts as invalid[2].

The earlier Paschal controversies had sometimes, though not always, caused similar exasperation[3]. But in all these cases it is probable that the controversy was only the occasion for the venting of a bitterness which had much deeper roots in racial and other antipathies[4].

Another point on which the Roman and Celtic Churches were at issue was the question of the tonsure; 'nam et de hoc quaestio non minima erat;' viz. at the synod of Whitby[5]. It also formed a great subject of discussion between Ceolfrid and Adamnan, and between Ceolfrid and Naiton[6]. It was however less bitterly contested than the Easter question, and differences on this point were not regarded as a ground for refusing communion[7]. The tonsure.

There were three forms of tonsure known in the seventh and eighth centuries[8]: Three forms.

(1) The Oriental; which claimed the authority of St. Paul[9], and consisted in shaving the whole head. Hence Theodore, who Eastern.

[1] H. & S. iii. 271; cf. ib. 254.

[2] II. ix; H. & S. iii. 197. A much too rose-coloured view of these controversies is taken in a letter of Peter the Venerable to St. Bernard: 'Nec apud antiquos ipsius paschalis temporis dissonantia, nec apud modernos ipsius sacrificii Christiani inter Graecos et Latinos nota uarietas charitatem laedere uel schisma gignere potuerit. . . . Alio tempore Oriens, alio Occidens, alio in eadem Britanniae insula Angli, alio Scoti, Christiani scilicet antiquiores, Pascha Domini celebrabant;' Migne, Pat. Lat. clxxxii. 403; cited by M. & L. p. 277. The Irish seem to have come to blows over the question; see on H. E. v. 13.

[3] D. C. A. i. 589.

[4] Cf. Bede's statement in H. E. ii. 20, p. 125, that the Britons in his own day treated the English as heathen; and the bitterness, so unlike his usual tone, with reference to Laurentius' attempt to convert the British bishops to the orthodox Easter, &c.: 'quantum haec agendo profecerit, adhuc praesentia tempora declarant;' ii. 4, p. 88.

On the Paschal question generally *v.* D. C. A. *s. v.* 'Easter'; Smith, Appendix IX; Ideler, ii. 191–298; Werner, pp. 127–142. For the history of the controversy in the British isles cf. Bright, pp. 76 ff., 96 ff., 166, 167, 194 ff., 243, 419; Rs. Ad. pp. 26–28, 347, 379, 380; H. & S. i. 112, 113, 152, 153, 202–204, 673, 674; ii. 77, 99; iii. 268–273; S. C. S. ii. 7–13, 148 ff., 159 ff., 171 ff., 219, 278 ff.; Anscombe, *u. s.* From all these authorities I have learned much, but I have tried to work out the subject for myself, as far as my knowledge would permit.

[5] H. E. iii. 26 *ad init.*; cf. ib. 25, p. 183.

[6] Ib. v. 21, pp. 333, 341–346.

[7] Ib. p. 344.

[8] Cf. M. & L. p. 295.

[9] An idea based on Acts xviii. 18.

bore this tonsure, had to let his hair grow for four months before he could be tonsured and ordained after the Roman fashion [1].

Celtic. (2) The Celtic; this consisted in shaving the whole front of the head from ear to ear, the hair being allowed to hang down behind. The Roman party attributed the origin of this tonsure to Simon Magus [2]; though some traced it up to the swineherd of Loegaire, the Irish king who opposed St. Patrick [3]. The fact that it was common to all the Celts, both insular [4] and continental [5], is a sufficient refutation of this view, if it needed refutation. Some of the Celts claimed for this, as for their Easter practices, the authority of St. John [6].

Roman. (3) The Roman; this consisted in shaving only the top of the head, so as to allow the hair to grow in the form of a crown [7]. The Roman party traced the origin of this to St. Peter.

It is needless to say that these pretended origins are quite unhistorical. The early history of the tonsure is naturally lost in obscurity. It is not improbably connected with the primitive idea that long hair is the mark of a freeman, while the shaven head marks the slave [8]. As to the particular form of it, it is possible that here, as in their Easter practices, the Celts were merely perpetuating an older system which had become obsolete elsewhere.

1 H. E. iv. 1, p. 203; cf. Cambro-British Saints, p. 235.
2 H. E. v. 21, pp. 342, 343, and notes; Aldhelm in H. & S. iii. 270; Gildas, ib. i. 113.
3 H. & S. i. 113.
4 'Capita sine corona praetendunt' of the Britons of Bede's own day; H. E. v. 22, p. 347.
5 H. & S. ii. 78, 79, 99, 100.
6 Three Fragments of Irish Annals, p. 112.
7 'Tonsura coronae,' H. E. iii. 26, p. 189; 'in coronam adtonderi,' v. 21, p. 343; 'forma . . . coronae . . . spineae,' ib.; 'sub figura coronae perpetis,' v. 22, p. 347.
8 See notes on H. E. v. 21.

HISTORIA ABBATUM AUCTORE BAEDA.

§ 1.

P. 364. Incipit uita] On the date and character of Bede's lives of the abbots, see Introduction, pp. xlv–xlvii, cxlviii. On the MSS. ib. §§ 39, 40; cf. Hardy Cat. i. 366–368, 413, 414. Lives of the Abbots.

Biscopus . . . Benedictus] So v. 19. p. 323; cf. iv. 18, p. 241: 'Biscop cognomine Benedictus.' From this it would seem that the name Benedictus was not his original name, but was taken in maturer life, possibly at the time when he 'entered religion.' Eddius, c. 3, calls him 'quidam Biscop Baducing'; where 'Baducing' is no doubt a patronymic. The strangeness of the name Biscop has been often animadverted on. Kemble called attention to the fact that it occurs in the 'genealogia Lindisfarorum' in Fl. Wig. i. 253; the father of that Biscop being, curiously enough, Beda. It is probably a mere accident of language that this name happens to coincide with the Saxon equivalent of 'episcopus.' The heading in Migne's edition to Bede's homily for this Benedict's day, 'Sermo in natale sancti Benedicti episcopi,' is probably due to some scribe or editor who translated the name 'Biscop' as if it were a title; Pat. Lat. xciv. 224, cited by M. & L. p. 341. See on Benedict Biscop, Dr. Stubbs' article in D. C. B. Benedict Biscop.

iuxta ostium . . . Uiuri] Wearmouth.

uenerabili ac piissimo] *v. s.* on v. 19; W. M. notices this tribute of Bede to Egfrid: 'Beda, adulari nescius, eum in libro de uita abbatum suorum piissimum et Deo dilectissimum uocat;' i. 57. Egfrid.

Gregorii uerbis] Dialogi, Lib. ii. *ad init.*

gratia Benedictus et nomine] cf. Bede himself: 'reuerendissimus pater, nomine et uita Benedictus;' Opp. ix. 12. So the work of Bishop Felix was 'iuxta sui nominis sacramentum,' ii. 15, p. 116. On the fondness of Bede and others for finding a significance in names, cf. Introd. p. lvii, note. Significant names.

nobili . . . stirpe . . . nobilitate mentis] For this contrast cf. on ii. 7.

Noble by service.

minister] *i. e.* 'gesið,' 'thane.' The words which follow are interesting, as giving an instance of the grants of land made by kings to their comitatus; cf. S. C. H. i. 148–158. It is noteworthy, that wherever in Bede nobility is spoken of, what is implied is either connexion with the royal family, or service in the royal comitatus. On the growth of the noble by service, cf. S. C. H. i. 152–158.

p. 365. militiam . . . militans] For this contrast cf. iii. 23, note.

'Shall receive an hundredfold.'

ut centuplum acciperet] Bede's homily for Benedict's day is largely a commentary on this saying; cf. Opp. v. 183, 184; Opp. Min. p. 337: 'Reliquit domos et agros, quos habuerat, pro Christo, de quo agrum semper uirentis paradisi, et domum non manufactam, sed eternam in coelis se accipere sperabat. Reliquit uxorem et filios, non quidem uxorem acceptam, et filios ex ea carne natos; sed uxorem prorsus accipere, ex qua filios habere posset, castitatis amore contempsit, malens ad illa centum quadraginta quatuor millia electorum pertinere, qui cantant canticum nouum ante sedem Dei et Agni, quod nemo potest dicere nisi illi [Apoc. 14]. Hi enim sunt qui cum mulieribus non sunt coinquinati, et sequuntur Agnum quocunque abierit. Et accepit centuplum, quando non in his solummodo, sed et in transmarinis eum partibus plurimi in domos suas recipere uiantem, suorum fructibus agrorum reficere desiderabant, quando matronae perplures illi, quando uiri Deo deuoti pro animi constantis excellentia non minori quam coniugibus aut parentibus propriis, dilectionis instantia seruiebant. Accepit centuplum domus et agros, quando loca haec in quibus monasteria construeret, adeptus est. Uxorem si dimisisset pro Christo et hoc centuplum acciperet, quia nimirum centuplum maius esset tunc meritum caritatis inter continentes propter fructum spiritus, quam inter lasciuientes quondam propter desiderium carnis. Filios, quos carnaliter habere despexit, centuplum accipere meruit spirituales. Centenarius quippe numerus, ut saepe dictum est, perfectionem figurate significat. Nos namque sumus filii eius, quos in hanc monachicae deuotionis domum pius prouisor induxi t nos sumus filii eius, si iter uirtutum eius imitando tenemus; nos sumus filii eius, si non a semita regulari, quam docuit, torpendo deflectimus.'

§ 2.

Benedict's first visit to Rome.

Romam adiit] He left Britain in 653, in company with Wilfrid, but left him at Lyons, being apparently annoyed at Wilfrid's delay there. See on v. 19. Elmham seems to put this

journey under 654, p. 185, and so Pagi, cited by Stevenson, *ad loc.* If he was twenty-five at this time, he must have been born in 628.

Alchfridus] On him see iii. 14, 21, 24, 25, 28; v. 19.

Romam rediit] Fl. Wig. places this second journey to Rome in 665, which is probably an inference from the statements of Bede that Benedict spent two years at Lérins, and that he returned to Rome about the time of Wighard's arrival there, § 3; for Florence, following the Sax. Chron. E, places the mission of Wighard in the year 667. Yet Florence himself places Benedict's third visit to Rome in 668, after Wighard's death. Second Visit.

cuius supra] These words, as Hussey remarked, cannot be part of the original text of Bede, but must be due to some scribe who forgot that the Hist. Eccl. was written after the Hist. Abb.

Uitaliani papae] 657–672; cf. *sup.* iii. 29; iv. 1.

insulam Lirinensem] Lérins, a group of islands off the coast of Cannes. On the importance of the Monastery of Lérins, as a school of discipline and learning, *v.* Greith, Altirische Kirche, Book i. ch. 3; D. C. A. ii. 1208; Werner, p. 25. Lérins.

§ 3.

P. 366. desiderio satisfecit] His third visit to Rome.

miserat Ecgberchtus] See on iii. 29; iv. 1.

quatinus . . . susciperet] I can hardly believe that this is to be taken literally as meaning, that in the course of seventy years, (597–667), none of the Roman missionaries had learnt a word of the native language. Mr. Green however takes it so; M. E. p. 326; cf. iii. 7, p. 140, 'pertaesus barbarae loquellae,' and note; iii. 25, p. 184, and note. Roman missionaries and the native language.

relicta peregrinatione] Because, as Bede says in the Homily on him, he had gone abroad, 'ibidem totum uitae suae . . . exacturus, si non apostolica domini papae prohibuisset auctoritas, qui eum propter ducendum Brittaniam sanctae recordationis archiepiscopum Theodorum in patriam redire praecepit;' Opp. v. 182; Opp. Min. p. 336. Benedict and Theodore.

p. 367. uenerunt Cantiam] Spring, 669. This shows that Benedict came to Britain with Theodore, and was not detained in Gaul with Hadrian.

suscepit monasterium] On the chronological difficulties connected with this passage, cf. iv. 1, *ad fin.*, notes. Fl. Wig. i. 29, follows the present passage; W. M. makes Benedict's resignation of the abbacy to Hadrian a special instance of his 'patientia'; i. 59; G. P. p. 328. Benedict Abbot of St. Peter's, Canterbury.

§ 4.

duobus annis] If this is correct, he must have left Britain in 671, and so Fl. Wig. i. 29.

Fourth visit to Rome.

tertium de Britannia . . . iter] It was his third journey from Britain, but it was his fourth visit to Rome; the third having been made from Lérins, § 2, *ad fin.*

Books collected.

libros . . . non paucos] So on his fifth visit, § 6, and on his sixth, § 9. On the importance of these books for Bede's own development, see Introduction, pp. xviii, xix.

Cenwalh.

Counualh] On him see iii. 7; iv. 12, notes. The Sax. Chron. places his death in 672; if this is correct, that must also be the year of Benedict's return.

Transhumbranae regionis] See on i. 15, p. 31.

Romae uel circumquaque] In § 11, pp. 374, 375, Benedict speaks of having compiled the rules of his community from those of seventeen monasteries, which he had visited in his travels; *v.* note, *a. l.*

quantas . . . reliquias] So on his fifth visit, § 6, p. 369.

Foundation of Wearmouth.

septuaginta] The Hist. Anon. says fifty, increased by subsequent gifts of kings and nobles.

de suo largitus] This 'de suo,' is specially emphasised in the Homily: 'reges saeculi, cognito uirtutum eius studio, locum ei monasterii construendi non ab aliqua minorum personarum ablatum, sed de suis propriis donatum dare curabant;' Opp. v. 182; Opp. Min. p. 336. This seems to show that such vicarious generosity was not uncommon in those days. So in the same way St. Botulf, the founder of Icanhoe, begs the king: 'non ut aliquem regia uiolentia de hereditario iure causa sui depellat, sed potius ut de incultis terris suis sibi . . . concedat;' Mab. AA. SS. iii. 5; cf. W. M. i. 133.

Date.

p. 368. anno . . . quarto . . . Ecgfridi] So Hist. Anon. § 7. This again is in favour of the view taken above, that Egfrid came to the throne in Feb. 671, and not in 670. For if the latter were the case, only so much of the year 674 as precedes Feb. 15 would fall into his fourth year; see on iv. 5; cf. Ann. Lindisf.: '674. Benedictus cepit monasterium ad Weremutham;' Pertz, xix. 504.

§ 5.

Date.

Nec . . . interiecto] Bede therefore places this journey to Gaul in 675. The Hist. Anon. § 7, says: 'secundo fundati monasterii anno.' The difference need not be great; but as Bede certainly had the Hist. Anon. before him, we must suppose that he

deliberately corrected it; cf. the Homily: 'quamdiu sospes erat corpore, pro gloria sanctae Dei ecclesiae, et maxime pro huius monasterii pace, honore, et quiete semper laborare perstabat; toties mare transiit, nunquam, ut est consuetudinis quibusdam, uacuus et inutilis rediit, sed nunc librorum copiam sanctorum, nunc reliquiarum beatorum martyrum Christi munus uenerabile detulit, nunc architectos ecclesiae fabricandae, nunc uitri factores ad fenestras eius decorandas ac muniendas, nunc cantandi, et in ecclesia per totum annum ministrandi secum magistros adduxit, nunc epistolam priuilegii a domino papa missam, qua nostra libertas ab omni extrinseca incursione tutaretur, apportauit, nunc picturas sanctarum historiarum, quae non ad ornatum solummodo ecclesiae, uerum etiam ad instructionem intuentium proponerentur, aduexit, uidelicet ut qui literarum lectione non possent opera Domini et Saluatoris nostri, per ipsarum contuitum discerent imaginum. Qui in his et in huiusmodi rebus ideo tam plura laborare studuit, ne nobis sic laborandi remaneret necessitas; ideo toties transmarina loca adiit, ut nos omnibus scientiae salutaris dapibus abundantes intra monasterii claustra quiescere, et cum secura libertate Christo seruire queamus;' Opp. v. 184, 185; Opp. Min. pp. 337, 338.

Masons.

cementarios] So Wilfrid returned 'cum cantoribus Ædde et Eonan, et caementariis, omnisque paene artis institoribus;' Eddius, c. 14. The Hist. Anon. § 7, says that Benedict obtained these 'architectos' from his friend Abbot Torthelm.

lapideam . . . aecclesiam] See on ii. 14.

Makers of Glass.

uitri factores] Cf. the Homily cited above, and a letter of Cuthbert, abbot of Wearmouth and Jarrow (the author of the letter on Bede's death) to Lullus, archbishop of Mainz (755 × 786): 'si aliquis homo in tua sit parrochia (= diocese) qui uitrea uasa bene possit facere, cum tempus adrideat, mihi mittere digneris, . . . quia eiusdem artis ignari et inopes sumus;' Mon. Mog. p. 301. So Wilfrid at York: 'per fenestras introitum auium et imbrium uitro prohibuit, per quod tamen intro lumen radiabat;' Eddius, c. 16, which breathes the writer's sense of wonder at the 'artificium eatenus incognitum.'

discere fecerunt] It would seem from Cuthbert's letter that the knowledge of the art soon died out again, at any rate at Wearmouth.

§ 6.

Fifth visit to Rome.

P. 369. quarta . . . profectione] *i. e.* his fourth journey from Britain; his fifth visit to Rome. Ceolfrid accompanied him; § 7;

cf. Hist. Anon. §§ 9, 10; iv. 18, p. 241: where it is said 'honorifice a . . . papa Agathone susceptus est,' which shows that they cannot have reached Rome before summer, 678, as Agatho was not consecrated till June or July, 678. Yet Fl. Wig. puts this visit under 676.

primo, &c.] Cf. Homily, cited on § 5.

accepto . . . archicantore] See iv. 18, and notes. They returned to Britain in 679, or early in 680.

Royal licence.

cum licentia . . . acceptam] The conflict between the Northumbrian crown and the Roman see about Wilfrid may have led Bede to lay such stress on this point. Wilfrid's first appeal to Rome took place just at this time, viz. in 679, and Benedict and John did not leave Rome till after the discussion of that appeal had begun. Agatho's privilege was confirmed by Egfrid in a Northumbrian synod; § 15, *ad fin.* That synod cannot be earlier than 679, and may be as late as 680; cf. H. & S. iii. 126, 135.

Pictures.

picturas] Cf. § 9, *infra.*

p. 370. **etiam litterarum ignari**] So Gregory I, writing to Serenus, bishop of Marseilles, in 599, says: 'idcirco pictura in ecclesiis adhibetur, ut hi, qui litteras nesciunt, saltem in parietibus uidendo legant, quae legere in codicibus non ualent;' R. P. p. 133. So Wilfrid, 'adductis secum ex partibus transmarinis artificibus, . . . ad deuotionem rudis adhuc plebis conciliandam, [ecclesiam Hagustaldensem] picturis et caelaturis . . . decorauit;' Raine's Hexham, i. 175; cf. Bede's Homily, cited on § 5. In his 'De Templo Salomonis' there is an interesting passage in which he argues against the iconoclasts of his day: 'qui putant lege Dei prohibitum ne . . . rerum similitudines sculpamus, aut depingamus in ecclesia. . . . Si enim licebat serpentem exaltari aeneum in eremo . . . cur non licet exaltationem Domini . . . in cruce . . . ad memoriam fidelibus depingendo reduci, uel alia eius miracula, . . . cum horum aspectus saepe multum compunctionis soleat praestare contuentibus, et eis quoque, qui litteras ignorant, quasi uiuam Dominicae historiae pandere lectionem.' His conclusion is: 'non . . . imagines rerum . . . facere, sed . . . idolatriae gratia facere, . . . esse prohibitum;' Opp. viii. 336, 337. On the history of the controversy, see article 'images' in D. C. A., especially pp. 813, 814, 816, 817. On the religious use of the arts, cf. Opp. vii. 81: 'erant in populo Dei uiri docti in cuncta opera aeris et ferri, necnon et argenti et auri; sed hos ipse hanc artem ad distinctionem sui tabernaculi transferre praecepit.' Alcuin, in 790, asks a correspondent to send him 'pigmenta multa de sulfure bene et coloribus ad picturas;' Mon. Alc. p. 170.

extremi discrimen examinis] Every traveller can bear witness to the fascination which this subject had for mediaeval art.

§ 7.

decem et septem] The Haa. § 11, says 'twenty-two.' It is a confusion of XVII and XXII. Which is correct I cannot say.

Ceolfrido] For the history of Ceolfrid, prior to his joining Benedict, see Hist. Anon. §§ 1–5, and notes.

consultu . . . Ecgfridi] Egfrid himself marked out the site for the altar; Haa. § 12.

monasterium . . . construxit] This is the foundation of Jarrow. It stands at the confluence of the Don and of the Tyne, and was known as the 'port of king Egfrid': 'Dani . . . portum Egfridi regis, id est Gyruum, uastantes monasterium ad ostium Doni amnis depraedantur;' S. D. i. 51; cf. Sax. Chron. D. E. 794: 'æt Done muþan.' The dedication inscription of the church still exists. I copy it from a photograph in the possession of my father, the Rev. M. Plummer: ☧ DEDICATIO BASILICAE SCI. PAVLI VIIII [not VIII, as Smith, followed by Stevenson and Moberly], KL. MAI ANNO XV ECFRIDI REG. CEOLFRIDI ABB. EIVSDEM QQ' [quoque] ECCLES. D̂O [Deo] AVCTORE CONDITORIS ANNO IIII. If Egfrid came to the throne in Feb. 670, the 9th of the Calends of May in his fifteenth year would be April 23, 684; but if his accession date was Feb. 671, it would be April 23, 685. It is in favour of 685 that April 23 was a Sunday in that year; and this in turn confirms what I have said on iv. 5. If this was in the fourth year of Ceolfrid's abbacy, the foundation of the monastery would fall between April, 681, and April, 682. The data in Hab. and in Haa. seem sometimes to favour one year and sometimes the other. Fl. Wig. places it in 682, Ann. Lindisf. in 681; Pertz, xix. 504. Foundation of Jarrow.

Romam . . . adierat] See notes on § 5.

p. 371. nam et . . . Petrum] See notes on ii. 4. Mabillon, AA. SS. ii. 1005, in a note on this passage, has collected other instances.

Gregorius scribit] Dial. ii. 3, *ad fin.*

§ 8.

nono . . . anno] The ninth year from 674 would be 682-683. What is said by Bede, § 14, *ad fin.*, seems to fix it to 682. Eosterwine had been previously left in charge of the monastery in 678, when Benedict and Ceolfrid went to Rome; Haa. § 10. Eosterwine.

patruelis] 'cousin'; strictly speaking, the son of a father's brother.

ut neque . . . offerendum] It seems to be implied that such conduct was unusual.

militia spiritali] See on iii. 23.

uentilare, &c.] On manual labour in monasteries, see Introduction, p. xxv.

p. 372. **ferrum malleo domando**] Cf. the story of the reprobate brother in v. 14, who was 'fabrili arte singularis,' and note *a. l.*

in secretiori . . . aede] This may mean the monastic infirmary; cf. the account of Cædmon's death, iv. 24; or it may be some place of religious retirement like that used by Cuthbert and Eadbert on Lindisfarne; iv. 30, p. 276.

nonas Martias] March 7th.

uiginti IIII^{or} . . . agebat] Florence places Eosterwine's death in 685; but the monastery was only founded in 674; twelve years added to that gives 686 as the earliest possible date for Eosterwine's death; four years deducted from this gives 682 as the date of his appointment as abbot, which confirms what was said above; seven years deducted from 686 gives 679 as the date of his priesthood; twenty-four years deducted from 674 gives 650 as the date of his birth.

p. 373. **terrenos . . . relinquens**] These words form a hexameter verse, but I do not know whence it comes. It is an evident reminiscence of Verg. Aen. vi. 732: 'Terrenique hebetant artus moribundaque membra,' which very verse Bede cites, Opp. viii. 233.

§ 9.

Benedict Biscop's sixth visit to Rome.

non multo post] It is impossible to say exactly what space of time is meant by this. Fl. Wig. places this journey of Benedict's in 684. It was the fifth from Britain, the sixth absolutely. He certainly did not return till after Eosterwine's death; § 10; *i. e.* not till 686 at the earliest.

innumeris . . . donis] See §§ 4, 5, 6, and notes.

in monasterio maiore] *i. e.* Wearmouth.

item serpenti . . . conparauit] Cf. John iii. 14: 'et sicut Moyses exaltauit serpentem in deserto: ita exaltari oportet Filium hominis,' and the passage from the 'De Templo,' cited on § 6.

oloserica] 'all of silk;' *v.* Ducange, *s. v.* 'holosericus.'

ab Aldfrido . . . consiliariis] Note the co-operation of the witenagemót with the king in grants of land; *v.* S. C. H. i. 130-132; Kemble, ii. 224 ff.

§ 10.

P. 374. **grassante pestilentia**] For the visitations of the plague in the seventh century, see on iii. 27. It was specially fatal to the aggregations of men in monasteries; cf. the case of Lindisfarne, cited in Introd. p. xxxii, from Vita Cudb. c. 27; Selsey, iv. 14; Wearmouth, here; Lastingham, iii. 23, *ad fin.* The Plague in monasteries.

uirum . . . substitutum cognouit] W. M. represents Benedict's acquiescence in the election of Sigfrid as another special instance of his 'patientia;' cf. on § 3, *ad fin.*: 'quod, dum per alienas terras cursitat diu absens, subintroductum a monachis Wirensibus, se inconsulto, abbatem aequanimiter, immo magnanimiter, tulerit, domumque reuersus parilem illi honorem in consessu et in omni porro potestate communicauerit;' i. 59, 60; G. P. p. 329. The word 'subintroductum' (see on iii. 7) stamps the proceeding with a note of blame, which is wholly absent from Bede's narrative. Election of Sigfrid.

§ 11.

studebant . . . uacare] Cf. the account of Bede's own death, Introd. pp. lxxii ff., clx ff., and that of Hild, iv. 23. Bede has expanded, greatly to our profit, the account of the sickness and death of Sigfrid and Benedict given by the Hist. Anon. §§ 15–18 He may have been an eye-witness of much that he describes. Sickness of Benedict and Sigfrid.

ex decem . . . contradidi] Cf. the Homily: 'non pro suo captu decreta nobis statuens, sed antiquorum statuta certissima monasteriorum, quae in peregrinatione didicerat, sibi suisque obseruanda proponens;' Opp. v. 182; *supra*, § 4; and Hist. Anon. § 6.

p. 375. **ne quis . . . generis prosapiam**] It would seem therefore that this was becoming a custom and a danger. See note on iv. 26; Introd. p. xxxv.

quam ut frater meus] Cf. Bede on Prov. xxvii. 10: 'melius est tibi uicinus aliquis, qui tibi animum fraterna societate connectit, quam germanus frater, qui iura fidei et pietatis communia habere tecum negligit;' Opp. ix. 157.

ne deforis aliunde] Cf. Theodore, Penitential, II, vi. 1: 'fratres eligant sibi abbatem de ipsis, si habent; sin autem, de extraneis.' Legatine Synods (787), § 3: 'ex ipsis eligantur pastores, . . . sin autem in coenobio illo talis uir minime reperitur, de alio eis coenobio talis mittatur;' H. & S. iii. 195, 450.

regula] Regula Benedict. c. lxiv, 'De ordinando Abbate.' On the Benedictine rule, *v.* D. C. A. i. 187 ff.

accito episcopo] See below, §§ 17, 20, and reff.

p. 376. **caeteris . . . praeferendum**] An interesting passage on the growth of primogeniture.

§ 12.

duobus in choris] Cf. Lightfoot, App. Ff. II. i. 30, 31, 51, 231; D. C. A., *s. v.* 'Antiphon.'

§ 13.

P. 377. **non tam carnis necessitudine**] Therefore Ceolfrid, as well as Eosterwine, was related to Benedict, and of noble birth; Hist. Anon. § 2. His father was a royal thane; ib. § 17.

praeposuit] For the date see on § 14.

Israhelitici regni] Cf. Haa. § 25, *ad fin.*

§ 14.

pertransito . . . refrigerium] Ps. lxv. (lxvi.) 12, 13; cf. Wisd. iv. 7: 'iustus . . . si morte praeoccupatus fuerit, in refrigerio erit.'

Dates of Benedict's and Sigfrid's deaths.

introiit] Benedict died on January 12; Sigfrid on August 22; Hab. § 20; Haa. § 17. Ceolfrid's appointment as abbot of both monasteries was on May 13; Haa. § 17. Bede's statements here that Sigfrid died four months before Benedict, and two months after Ceolfrid's appointment, must therefore be taken loosely. As to the year there is very great difficulty. At the end of the present section Bede says that Benedict ruled the monastery for sixteen years, during the last eight of which he had had as co-abbots Eosterwine for four years, Sigfrid for three, and Ceolfrid for one. Sixteen years from 674, the date of the foundation of the monastery, § 4, gives 690 as the date of Benedict's death. And this is the date of the Ann. Lindisf.; Pertz, xix. 504. Reckoning back from this we get August, 689, for the date of Sigfrid's death; May, 689, for the date of Ceolfrid's appointment; 686 as the date of Sigfrid's appointment, and 682 for that of Eosterwine; which agrees with what was said on § 8; so Stubbs in D. C. B. On the other hand, Bede says, § 15, that Ceolfrid ruled the joint monastery for twenty-eight years. He certainly resigned in June, 716; §§ 17, 22. This seems therefore to throw back his appointment to 688, and Benedict's death to 689; and these are the dates not only of Florence, but of the Hist. Anon. § 17. And yet the Hist. Anon. itself, § 19, gives Ceolfrid only twenty-seven years of rule over the joint monastery, which would put all these dates a year later. In the Roman use the Psalm 'Deus quis similis' occurs at matins on Friday; in the Benedictine use, which would be that of Wearmouth, it occurs at matins on Thursday. January 12 was not a Thursday or a Friday in either 689 or 690, though it was a Thursday in 691.

nox ruit . . . flatibus] Evidently a verse, but I do not know whence it comes.

p. 378. psalmis] See on iii. 5.

sepultus] According to G. P. p. 329, Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester, 963–984, bought Benedict's body 'magno pretio,' and translated it to Thorney.

§ 15.

Ceolfrid's rule.

P. 379. VII^{tem} annis] We have seen above, on § 7, that Jarrow was founded either in 681 or early in 682. This 'seven years' therefore is consistent with either 688 or 689 as the date of Ceolfrid's appointment as abbot of the combined monastery. See on § 14, and Haa. § 17.

fundauit] Note that here Ceolfrid rather than Benedict is spoken of as the founder of Jarrow; and in the inscription quoted on § 7 he is described as 'eiusdem ecclesiae conditor.'

uiginti et octo annos] See note on § 14.

'Pandecte.'

pandectes] A name given to the Justinian Code; thence transferred to the books of the Old and New Testaments, as containing the divine code; cf. Alcuin, cited by Ducange:

> 'Nomine Pandecten proprio uocitare memento
> Hoc corpus sacrum, lector, in ore tuo.
> Quod nunc a multis constat Bibliotheca dicta,' &c.

The two translations.

nouae . . . uetustae translationis] The Vulgate and the old Latin or Itala. For Bede's use of the two translations and for the history of one of these MSS., see Introd. pp. xix, liv–lvi; *infra*, App. II.

unum . . . duos] *i. e.* the three of the 'noua translatio.'

p. 380. Fresca] Unidentified.

Osredo regnante] 705–716.

Sambuce] Camden suggested Camboise at the mouth of the Wansbeck. Sandoe has also been suggested.

Mission sent to Rome.

missis . . . papae] They were at Rome in 701; cf. De Temp. Rat. c. 47: 'anno ab . . . incarnatione septingentesimo primo, indictione quarta decima, fratres nostri qui tunc fuere Romae,' &c.; Opp. vi. 242. Hwætbert, Ceolfrid's successor, was one of them, § 18. Sergius I was Pope 687–701. When they started is uncertain. Hwætbert at any rate was there 'non paruo temporis spatio;' ib.

prius illud] See on § 6.

Witmer.

quod regebat] The nominative to 'regebat' must be Ceolfrid. Yet all the editions punctuate, and Dr. Giles translates, as if the nominative were Witmer. No Witmer can have been Abbot of Wearmouth during Bede's lifetime. Hwætbert, who succeeded

Ceolfrid, survived Bede several years ; Introd. § 3. It is no doubt owing to this difficulty that the interpolator of the Hist. Anon. in MS. Digby, or his corrector, has in more than one place substituted the name of Witmer for that of Hwætbert, §§ 29, 30. In § 39 we have the hybrid form 'Withberto.' Any idea of identifying Witmer and Hwætbert is out of the question, as Hwætbert had been an inmate of the monastery 'a primis pueritiae temporibus,' § 18 ; and Witmer died soon after Hwætbert's election, § 20.

Daltun] In a charter in S. D. i. 211, both Daltun and Daldene are mentioned among the 'appendicia' of Wearmouth.

§ 16.

Resignation of Ceolfrid.

At ubi, &c.] On the resignation of an abbot, cf. Theodore, Penitential, II. vi. 1 : 'Abbas potest pro humilitate, cum permissione episcopi, locum suum relinquere.'

Rule of St. Benedict.

p. 381. **iuxtaque regulam . . . Benedicti**] Alcuin, writing to the monks of Wearmouth and Jarrow in 793, says : 'saepius regula Sancti Benedicti legatur in conuentu fratrum, et propria exponatur lingua, ut intellegi possit ab omnibus ;' Mon. Alc. p. 198. This shows that a knowledge of Latin was not universal among the brethren (cf. Bede, Ep. ad Egb. § 5 : 'de clericis siue monachis, qui Latinae sunt linguae expertes'). A copy of the Benedictine rule, with a translation into Anglo-Saxon, exists in MS. C.C.C. Oxon. No. 197. It belonged to the Monastery of Bury St. Edmund's.

Ceolfrid's departure and death.

Romae loca sancta repeteret] Bede alludes to Ceolfrid's pilgrimage and death in his Chron., Opp. vi. 331 : 'His temporibus multi Anglorum gentis nobiles et ignobiles, uiri et foeminae, duces et priuati, diuini amoris instinctu de Brittania Romam uenire consueuerant ; inter quos etiam reuerendissimus abbas meus Ceolfridus annos natus septuaginta quatuor, cum esset presbyter annis quadraginta septem, abbas autem XXXV. Ubi Lingonas peruenit, ibi defunctus, atque in ecclesia beatorum geminorum martyrum sepultus est, qui inter alia donaria, quae adferre disposuerat, misit ecclesiae sancti Petri Pandecten, a beato Hieronymo in Latinum ex Hebraeo uel Graeco fonte translatum.' But the most interesting reference to Ceolfrid's departure and Hwætbert's election occurs at the beginning of the fourth book of the Commentary on Samuel, Opp. viii. 162, 163 : 'Tertio in beatum Samuelem completo uoluminc, putabam me aliquandiu reparata per quietem meditandi uel scribendi uoluptate, sic

demum ad inchoationem quarti manum esse missurum. Uerum haec eadem mihi quies, si tamen quies dicenda est inopinata mentis anxietas, prolixior multo quam decreueram, noua circumstantium rerum mutatione prouenit, maxime discessu abbatis mei reuerendissimi, qui post longam monasterialis curae obseruantiam, subitus Romam adire, atque inter loca beatorum apostolorum ac martyrum Christi corporibus sacra, extremum senex halitum reddere disponendo, non parua commissorum sibi animos, et eo maiore, quo improuisa conturbatione stupefecit. Sed qui Moysi longaeuo ab humanis rebus tollendo Iesum Naue in ducatum, qui Eleazarum in sacerdotium Aaron patri substituit, ipse prouecto aetate Ceolfrido, ad beatorum apostolorum limina sancta properanti, Huetbertum iuuenem, cui amor studiumque pietatis iam olim Eusebii cognomen indidit, ad regendas sacerdotio ducatuque spirituali fidelium animas abbatis uice substituit. Eiusdemque substitutionis gradum post electionem fraternam sua per tuum, dilectissime Antistes, officium benedictione confirmauit. Redeunte temporum statu tranquilliore, redit et mihi otium pariter ac delectatio mirabilia scripturae sanctae tota anima, solerti intentione scrutandi. Igitur quartum in Samuelem allegoricae expositionis libellum, a uictoria beati Dauid, qua saluauit habitatores Ceilae, atque ab oppugnantium Philistinorum irruptione defendit, cum tuis, amantissime pontificum, orationibus incipiens, quicquid, illo reserante qui habet clauem Dauid, potuero, mysticum legentibus communicare curabo.' Compare on this, Introd. § 3.

§ 17.

Departure of Ceolfrid.

secretum sui propositi] He had purposely concealed his design until all his arrangements had been made, for fear his purpose should be thwarted ; Hist. Anon. § 22.

p. 382. pridie . . . feria] June 4 ; this was a Thursday in 716. He had meant to start on the Tuesday, but was prevailed upon to spend that day at Wearmouth. On the Wednesday he visited Jarrow, returning to Wearmouth the same evening ; and set out finally on the Thursday ; Hist. Anon. §§ 23–25.

oratorium . . . in dormitorio] Cf. the similar arrangement in St. Mary's Hospital, Chichester ; Freeman, English Towns and Districts, p. 379 ; ib. 247.

sibi placatos existere] Cf. Aidan to Oswin : 'promittens se multum illi esse placatum ;' iii. 14, p. 157. So 'placidus animus,' 'placida mens' in the account of Cædmon's death ; iv. 24, pp. 261, 262. The scene is described at greater length, and with unrivalled beauty and pathos in Hist. Anon. §§ 25–27.

transiit flumen] The monastery being on the North bank; §§ 1, 4.

ferme sexcentorum] The Hist. Anon. § 33 says: 'plus quam sexcentorum.'

§ 18.

Election of Hwætbert.

ieiunando] By Ceolfrid's special desire, and also because it was the octave of Ascension Day, the fast was not to begin till the Friday, and was to cease at nones on Saturday because of Whitsuntide; Hist. Anon. § 28.

p. 383. **die tertia . . . Pentecosten**] June 7; this was Whit-Sunday in 716. For the special appropriateness of the day, see Haa. § 28.

de monasterio beati Pauli] Bede himself would probably be among them.

Hwætberchtus] On him see Introduction, § 3. There is a letter of St. Boniface to him, written 744 × 747, asking him to send him 'aliqua de opusculis sagacissimi inuestigatoris scripturarum Bedan monachi, quem nuper in domo Dei apud uos uice candelae ecclesiasticae scientia scripturarum fulsisse audiuimus.'

Romam quoque] See on § 15.

duodecim . . . officio] Therefore he was ordained priest in 704.

uenit ad . . . Ceolfridum] He found him 'in monasterio Ælberhti . . . in loco qui Cornu Vallis appellatur;' Haa. § 29. Unfortunately both person and place are alike unknown. There is an 'Ælberct abbas' commemorated in the Liber Vitae Dunelm.

§ 19.

Saxonia.

Saxonia] This is the only instance in which any name derived from the invading Teutonic tribes is given to this island or any part of it; elsewhere it is always Britain; see on iii. 8, *ad init.* And though Northumbria was purely Anglian, the name used is not 'Anglia' but 'Saxonia.' The Celts indeed called and call their neighbours of Teutonic descent indiscriminately 'Saxons'; but here the word is used neither by Celt (as *e. g.* Asser, M. H. B. p. 487), nor foreigner, but by the Northumbrian Hwætbert. Wilfrid in his petition to pope Agatho calls himself 'episcopus Saxoniae'; H. Y. i. 43; and Ini in a spurious charter is called 'Monarcus Saxoniae'; K. C. D. No. 46; Birch, No. 101; 'gens Saxoniae' is used of Wessex, in a genuine charter; K. C. D. No. 1031; Birch, No. 377.

p. 384. **quae iuuenem se adisse**] This was in 678; see on § 6. He was seventy-four when he died in 716; § 22. He was therefore thirty-six when he went to Rome. Ceolfrid.

amplius quadraginta . . . praefuit] Hwætbert therefore, like Bede himself, § 22, regards Ceolfrid as having been practically co-abbot from the first foundation of Wearmouth in 674.

peregrinari pro Christo] Cf. for this, iii. 19, *ad init.*, and note.

§ 20.

aduocatur episcopus] Cf. § 11, *ad fin.*: 'accito episcopo.' So in the address to Acca quoted on § 16: 'sua per tuum, dilectissime Antistes, officium benedictione confirmauit.' On Acca, see v. 20 and notes. For forms of blessing an abbot, see the pontificals: *e. g.* York Pont. pp. 45–52; Egbert's Pont. pp. 105, 106; Opp. Greg. iii. 168; Pontificale Romanum, Venice, 1572, ff. 49, 52–66. Acca and Hwætbert.

p. 385. **iuuenili . . . sollertia**] So in the above address he is called 'Huetbertus iuuenis'; cf. Hist. Anon. § 21.

in porticu ingressus] Here 'porticus' being coupled with 'ingressus' does probably mean 'porch'; cf. on ii. 3. Translation of former abbots.

sacrarium] See on iii. 11. Here it probably means sacristy.

iuxta corpus . . . Benedicti] Benedict was buried 'in porticu beati Petri, ad orientem altaris, ubi postmodum . . . Easterwini et Sigfridi sunt ossa translata;' Haa. § 18.

fecit autem, &c.] So Cuthbert's remains were translated on the anniversary of his death, and Eadbert was buried in his former tomb; iv. 30. The translation of Eosterwine and Sigfrid, and the burial of Witmer took place therefore on Aug. 22, 716. There is nothing corresponding to this section in the Hist. Anon.

§ 21.

tendens] For the details of his journey, see Haa. §§ 31, 32.

Lingonas] Langres; where he was received 'a Gangulfo, regionum illarum Domino'; Haa. § 35, *q. v.*; cf. *sup.* note on § 16. Death of Ceolfrid.

crastino] An exception, due to the special circumstances, to the rule of burying on the day of death.

sepultus est] According to W. M. i. 60; G. P. p. 198, his relics were subsequently translated to his own monastery, and thence to Glastonbury. The former statement is true; *v.* Alcuin, De Sanctis Ebor. vv. 1298, 1299; the latter almost certainly false.

p. 386. **domum magis . . . reuerti**] From these Bede and the anonymous historian would learn the story of Ceolfrid's death. His companions.

partim ad tumbam] Cf. iii. 23, *ad fin.*, and note. These afterwards proceeded to Rome; and both those who remained at Langres, and those who travelled to Rome and Britain, were liberally provided for by Gangulf; Hist. Anon. § 38.

§ 22.

Chronology.

Erat autem . . . triginta quinque] These numbers agree with Hist. Anon. § 32; if they are to be taken strictly, Ceolfrid's birth would fall in 642, his ordination as priest in 669, and the foundation of Jarrow in 681; see on § 7. He was ordained priest by Wilfrid; Hist. Anon. § 3.

quadraginta tribus] This at any rate must be taken somewhat loosely as meaning more than forty-two years; otherwise the foundation of Wearmouth will be thrown back to 673, whereas Bede, in § 4, expressly fixes it to 674. So Hist. Anon. § 7.

comes . . . aderat] Cf. on § 19. The Hist. Anon. § 8, speaks of him as having 'prioratus' at this time. But the word is probably not used in its technical monastic sense, but as meaning simply 'precedence,' 'authority.'

septimum kal. Oct.] Sept. 25.

psalterium] See on iii. 5. The Hist. Anon. § 33. says that Ceolfrid's ordinary practice was (besides the canonical hours) to recite the psalter twice daily, and that during his journey he recited it thrice daily.

tribus . . . diebus] The Hist. Anon. § 33, says '*four*.'

§ 23.

feria sexta] Sept. 25 was a Friday in 716.

The Twin Martyrs.

in monasterio Geminorum] It was founded by Gangulf, mentioned above in the notes to § 21; *v.* Hist. Anon. §§ 35, 36. For the legend of these saints, cf. Ltft. App. Ff. II. i. 447, 575; and see a curious story as to their relics having been carried to Germany by 'quidam Alamannorum atque Burgundionum dux,' in Pertz, xi. 482, 483.

HISTORIA ABBATUM AUCTORE ANONYMO.

§ 1.

Only those matters are discussed in these notes which have not been dealt with in the notes to Bede's lives of the Abbots.

P. 388. **praepositi**] Used in the general sense of the text; not in the technical monastic sense of provost *or* prior. See on iii. 23; Introd. § 8, *ad fin.* 'Praepositus.'

nostri . . . nobis] The constant occurrence of these pronouns shows that the writer was a monk of Wearmouth or Jarrow; cf. §§ 5, 6, 10; but who he was, there is nothing to show. Pits, p. 125, makes Hwætbert, whom he calls Wicbert, Wicebert, Winbert, or (corruptly) Hunebert of Deira, the author. But the whole account is a tissue of fabrications, including, inter alia, a confusion of Hwætbert, abbot of Wearmouth and Jarrow, with Winbert, abbot of Nursling. The seventeenth-century heading in MS. δ, 'authore Beda uel Huneberto Deiro,' is probably a reminiscence of this entry of Pits. The work, as Stevenson suggests, may have been originally composed as a homily; and the doxology which occurs at the end of it in δ, see p. 404, critical note, shows that the scribe of δ intended it to be so used. The author unknown.

§ 2.

nobilibus . . . ac religiosis] So of Gregory, ii. 1, p. 73. His father was a royal thane; of whom a beautiful anecdote is told; § 17. Ceolfrid.

octauum . . . et decimum . . . annum] He was born in 642; *v.* Bede, Hist. Abb. § 22. He must therefore have 'entered religion' in 659 or 660.

Ingætlingum] Gilling, Yorkshire; cf. iii. 14, 24.

Tunberto] See iv. 12, *ad fin.*; iv. 28.

cognato] Probably 'cognatus' here means 'cousin.' In §§ 10, 12 the writer uses this word to express the relationship of Eosterwine to Benedict, which Bede, § 8, denotes by 'patruelis.'

§ 3.

Ceolfrid and Wilfrid.

P. 389. pestilentia . . . grassante] See on iii. 27.

Anglorum nobilibus, qui . . . praecesserant] See on iii. 27.

inuitatus a Wilfriðo] Probably invited to take the place of Cuthbert and Eata and their companions, who were expelled from Ripon in 661 for refusing to conform to the Roman Easter; see on iii. 27. Gilling having been founded by Eanfled, who derived her Christianity from Paulinus, would observe the Roman use.

annorum . . . VII^{tem}] This would place his ordination as priest in 669, which agrees with Bede, § 22.

Ceolfrid in Kent,

ob studium discendi . . . Cantiam petiit] Here he would reap the benefit of the new learning brought in just at this time by Theodore and Hadrian; see on iv. 2. Wilfrid himself, at an earlier period, had studied in Kent on his first journey to Rome; v. 19, p. 323.

§ 4.

at Icanhoe.

Botuulfi abbatis] Of Icanhoe in Lincolnshire, the foundation of which monastery is recorded by the Sax. Chron. at 654. There is a life of Botulf in Mabillon, AA. SS. iii. 3–7, AA. SS. Iun. iii. 402 ff. Mabillon argued that as the life does not mention the translation of Botulf's relics by Ethelwold in the tenth century, it must be earlier than that date; but the prologue, first printed by Hardy, Cat. i. 373–375, shows that the author was the eleventh-century Folcard.

domum rediit] *i. e.* to Ripon.

pistoris officium] See Introd. p. xxv.

regularis . . . iussus est] Probably as prior *or* provost. The AS. vers. of the H. E. denotes this officer by the term 'regolweard,' 'warden of the rule'; which corresponds well with the idea of 'regularis obseruantiae magisterium'; cf. § 11.

§ 5.

a memorato eius episcopo] *i. e.* Wilfrid.

p. 390. Gallie . . . Insularum partibus] Cf. Bede's homily on Benedict: 'in Gallia, . . . in Italia, Roma quoque ac maris insulis;' Opp. v. 183. The 'insulae' are Lérins; see on Bede, § 2.

§ 6.

X^{cem} et VII^{tem}] See on Bede, § 11.

sacerdotii gradu] Note 'sacerdotium' used of the presbyterate; see on i. 28.

§ 7.

secundo . . . anno] *i. e.* in 675 or 676; Bede, § 5, says it was within a year. The difference need not be more than a month or two.

Torhthelmo] From his name, which seems thoroughly Saxon, and from his friendship with Benedict he seems to have been one of those who, as Bede testifies, iii. 8, in the early days of native monasticism, passed from Britain to Gaul, where the facilities for practising the 'uita regularis' were greater. Torthelm.

§ 8.

tedere . . . prioratus] See on Bede, § 22. This incident of Ceolfrid throwing up his work at Wearmouth in temporary disgust is omitted by Bede. Ceolfrid resigns.

quorundam nobilium] See Introd. pp. xxxiv, xxxv.

monasterium suum] *i. e.* Ripon.

§ 9.

P. 391. Romam ire disposuit] In 678; see Bede, § 6.

§ 10.

cognatus] See on § 2; cf. Bede, § 8.

§ 11.

Post octo . . . annos] This if taken strictly would fix the foundation of Jarrow to 682. We have seen that Bede's data leave it uncertain as between 681 and 682. See however below. Jarrow founded.

primo ibidem] It is a pity that the text of the older MS. is here mutilated or corrupt (see the critical note); as it would apparently have given us a more precise date for the foundation of Jarrow. I have adopted in the text the reading of the later interpolated MS., which does at least construe.

ipsam] 'the very same;' cf. on i. 30, pp. 65, 66.

p. 392. figeret] The reading of H: 'fieret,' illustrates the 'Verhauchung' or reduction to a mere breath of a *g* between vowels; see on iii. 7, p. 140.

§ 12.

Tertio . . . anno . . . secundo . . . anno] *i. e.* there was a period of over two years between the foundation of the monastery and the commencement of the church; and a period of over one year between the latter and the dedication. This agrees with the The church built.

dedication inscription which places the dedication in the fourth year of Ceolfrid's abbacy; *v.s.* on Bede, § 7.

Date.

eo . . . tempore quo . . . miserat . . . constituit] The appointment of Eosterwine seems to have been in 682. See on Bede, §§ 7, 8. This, again, is in favour of 682 as the date for the foundation of Jarrow. It should be noted that the later the foundation of Jarrow is placed, the more impossible it becomes to place the dedication in April 684, as would have to be done if the ordinary reckoning of the regnal years of Egfrid were correct.

patriam . . . referret] 'bring home'; 'patriam' is here an accusative of motion, like 'domum.' So in § 9. The reading of the later MS. is due to a misunderstanding of this.

§ 13.

IIII^to^ . . . anno] So Bede, § 8 *ad fin.*

Abbot Sigfrid.

Sigfridum diaconem] He is called 'deacon' again in § 17, where his death is narrated; so that he seems never to have taken priest's orders.

§ 14.

Ceolfrid and Bede.

P. 393. On this beautiful and touching incident, omitted by Bede, because, in all probability, it related to himself, see Introduction, § 2.

§§ 15, 16.

See on Bede, §§ 10–13.

§ 17.

Chronology.

P. 394. **tertio . . . Aldfridi**] If Aldfrid's reign is to be regarded as dating from the death of Egfrid, May 21, 685, then May 13 in his third year is May 13, 688, and with this agrees the indiction. But if this was, as is said just below, the eighth year from the foundation of Jarrow, then that event cannot be later than 681. Sigfrid's death will then be Aug. 22, 688, and the death of Benedict Jan. 12, 689. See on Bede, § 14, where I have shown that neither Bede nor the anonymous author are quite consistent with themselves.

sedecim exactis] If Wearmouth was founded in 674, § 7, and Benedict died Jan. 12, 689, he can have *completed* at the most fifteen years as abbot. This, therefore, favours the later series of dates.

§ 18.

Octo quippe, &c.] These numbers agree with Bede, § 14, *ad*

fin. But of course the two series of dates will differ by a year if the 'terminus ad quem,' from which they are reckoned, so differs.

§ 19.

per annos uiginti septem] He died Sept. 25, 716. Either, therefore, the writer must date the twenty-seven years, not from the appointment of Ceolfrid in May, but from the death of Benedict in the following January, or else this is another witness to the correctness of the later set of dates.

§ 20.

See Bede, § 15.

§ 21.

P. 395. iuuenioribus] Cf. on Bede, § 20.
sicut supra] §§ 2, 3.

§§ 22–27.

See on Bede, § 17.

§ 23.

P. 396. de subito . . . turbatis] Bede, himself one of these Jarrow monks, says of Ceolfrid's departure: 'commissorum sibi animos . . . improuisa conturbatione stupefecit;' Opp. viii. 162. See the whole passage cited on Bede, § 16. Departure of Ceolfrid.

§ 25.

ad sanctum Petrum] No doubt the chapel or 'porticus beati Petri,' where the founder Benedict reposed, § 17.

§§ 28, 29, 30.

P. 398. See on Bede, §§ 18, 19. The only differences between the text of the letter given here and that in Bede are the omission of 'principis' and the reading 'de' for 'ad' in the heading here, the insertion of 'diuinitus' before 'impleris,' and of 'et' before 'ueritatis,' and the reading 'corporeis' for 'carneis' near the end. Hwætbert's letter.

§§ 31, 32.

P. 400. These incidents of the voyage between the departure from Wearmouth and the arrival at Langres are omitted by Bede. Ceolfrid's Voyage.

quarta nonas Iulias] July 4. This was a Saturday in 716.

prouinciis] It is not said whether these were provinces of Britain or of the Continent.

pridie id. Aug.] August 12. This was a Wednesday in 716.

Hilperico] Chilperic II, king of Neustria, 715–720.

Liudbrando] King of the Lombards, 712–744.

§ 33.

See on Bede, § 22.

§ 34.

Anecdote of his father.

P. 401. These details of the journey, and the beautiful anecdote of Ceolfrid's father, are also omitted by Bede.

comitatus . . . officium] *i. e.* he was a royal 'gesið' or thane.

§ 35.

See on Bede, § 21.

Indictions.

incipiente indictione] This shows that the writer, like Bede, used the Caesarean Indictions, which begin on Sept. 24. See on i. 23.

p. 402. Gangulfo] I have not been able to discover anything with reference to him.

§ 36.

See on Bede, §§ 21, 23.

§ 37.

The Codex Amiatinus.

uersiculos] It was these verses which enabled Dr. Hort to prove, what De Rossi had previously conjectured, that the MS. given by Ceolfrid to the Pope was no other than the famous Codex Amiatinus. See Mr. White's paper in Studia Biblica, vol. ii. Mr. White speaks of this Codex as 'perhaps the finest book in the world,' p. 273. It is not, however, the work of native scribes, but of Italian scribes brought over to this country. See Sir E. Maunde Thompson's Palaeography, pp. 194, 245. The true reading of the second line is:

'Quem caput ecclesiae dedicat alta fides.'

§ 38.

See on Bede, § 21.

§ 39.

The Pope's reply.

P. 403. This answer of the Pope to Hwætbert's letter is omitted by Bede.

Scriptorum . . . profiteris] A very involved and ungrammatical sentence, possibly corrupt. The sense is: 'having read your letter, I perceive that you sympathize with the truth, &c. . . . , and by your allusion to my election, you profess your obedience to the authority of the apostolic see.'

ac probatissimum] From here to the end of the letter the text is so corrupt that it is impossible to make anything of it. The sense apparently is that the Pope prays that Hwætbert, as the successor of Ceolfrid, may be what Joshua, Phinehas, and Elisha were, as the successors of Moses, Aaron, and Elijah.

§ 40.

Bede omits these miraculous appearances.

p. 404. **secuta . . . et lux**] Cf. the cases of Earcongota, iii. 8; Hild, iv. 23; Alcuin, Mon. Alc. p. 31.

unde mos increbuit] Cf. Stubbs' Dunstan, pp. 109, 203: 'ita pontifex [Dunstanus] meritum . . . hominis Dei [Odonis] reueritus est, ut nunquam pertransiret, nisi genua flecteret.'

EPISTOLA BEDE AD ECGBERTUM EPISCOPUM.

§ 1.

Bede's swan song.

P. 405] On the date of this letter, see note *ad fin.* Smith beautifully says: 'haec epistola habeatur tanquam Baedae cygnea cantio,' p. 309. It may be compared throughout with the decrees of the Council of Clovesho held thirteen years later, 747; H. & S. iii. 360–376.

Egbert, archbishop of York.

Ecgberto] All the authorities seem to agree that he was consecrated to the see of York in 734; Sax. Chron., D. E. F.; that he received the pall in 735 (being the first archbishop of York, *de iure* and *de facto*); Cont. Baed.; Sax. Chron. D. E. F.; S. D. ii. 31; and that he died Nov. 19, 766; Cont. Baed.; Sax. Chron. D. E. F.; S. D. ii. 43; Fl. Wig. i. 58. These dates may therefore be considered as fixed, and we need not trouble ourselves with the varying lengths of his episcopate given by the different authorities: thirty-two years, S. D. i. 49 (with *v. l.* thirty-four); thirty-four years, Alcuin, de Sanctis Ebor., v. 1284; S. D. ii. 43; thirty-six years, Sax. Chron. E.; G. P. p. 246; H. H. p. 125; thirty-seven years, Sax. Chron. D. Possibly the number thirty-four, which has the strongest authority (Alcuin's) in its favour, may be reckoned from his election, and not from his consecration; and the Cont. Baed. does place his appointment in 732. The fact too that he succeeded owing to the resignation and not to the death of his predecessor (see on v. 6) may have caused some doubt as to the exact beginning of his episcopate. He was a brother of Eadbert, king of Northumbria, 737–758, who died in 768, both being sons of Eata, a descendant of Ida, whom Nennius, § 61, calls 'Eata Glinmaur,' *i. e.* 'Eata of the large knee' (cf. Glun-iarn, Glun-find, Glun-gel, 'iron knee,' 'white knee,' 'yellow knee,' common Irish nicknames). While still an infant he was placed in a monastery by his father. At a later time he went to Rome with a third brother Egred, who died there. (There is an allusion to this Roman visit in § 15 *inf.*) He himself was ordained deacon at Rome, and returned to Britain, where he

was made bishop of York by Ceolwulf; S. D. i. 49. He was a worthy disciple of Bede (cf. Vita Alcuini, c. 2; Mon. Alc. p. 9; Pertz, xv. 186, 187, written 820 × 830). He founded the famous school in his monastery at York, from which proceeded the great scholar Alcuin. W. M. says that he was also the founder of the famous York library, of which Alcuin was librarian, and of which he gives a catalogue, De Sanctis Ebor., vv. 1530–1561, the earliest existing catalogue of an English library. But it is possible that this latter statement rests only on the fact that in two letters of Alcuin's cited by W. M. (Mon. Alc. pp. 331, 346) the name of Egbert has been wrongly substituted for that of his successor Ethelbert; W. M. i. 68; G. P. p. 246. Alcuin praises highly the character and rule of the two royal brothers:

'Tempora tunc huius fuerant felicia gentis,
Quam rex et praesul concordi iure regebant; . . .
Ex alio frater felix adiutus uterque;'

cf. the whole passage; De Sanctis Ebor., vv. 1246–1286. So Malmesbury, *u. s.*: 'is et sua prudentia et germani potentia sedem illam in genuinum statum reformauit. . . . Hic omnium liberalium artium armarium, ut ita dicam, fuit, et nobilissimam bibliothecam Eboraci constituit.' Coins exist bearing the legend of the king on one side, and of the archbishop on the other; Raine, in D. C. B. ii. 5. Egbert is the author of a Dialogus ecclesiasticae institutionis, printed H. & S. iii. 403–413; of a Penitential, ib. 413–431; and of a Pontifical printed by the Surtees Society, 1853. St. Boniface wrote two letters to him, H. & S. iii. 358–360, 388–390; Mon. Mog. pp. 178 ff., 249 ff., in the former of which he begged him to use his influence in support of the admonitory letter which Boniface had written to Ethelbald of Mercia (see on v. 23), and in both of which he begged him to send some of the Commentaries of Bede; cf. on Egbert, Werner, pp. 90, 91.

hesterno . . . anno] Therefore in 733 Bede had been with Egbert at York. Probably at that time Egbert had not yet been consecrated. See above; and this is confirmed by the tenor of the letter, which has all the appearance of being an exhortation to a newly consecrated prelate. Bede's visit to Egbert.

corporis mei ualitudo] Probably the illness of which he died, if I am right in thinking that Bede's death took place in 735; *v.* Introduction, § 19. Bede's illness.

§ 2.

operatione et doctrina] See Introduction, p. xxxvi.

p. 406. subditam sibi plebem] See on iv. 5; cf. Council Clovesho,

§ 1: 'nec . . . neglegenter uiuendo, segniter docendo, negotiis saecularibus . . . subditus existat [episcopus].'

§ 3.

obtrectationibus] Cf. Introduction, p. xxxii.

Study of the Scriptures.

diuinis . . . eloquiis] So Alcuin to Archbishop Ethelhard in 793: 'Lectio sanctae Scripturae saepius tuis reperiatur in manibus, ut ex illa te saturare et alios pascere ualeas;' H. & S. iii. 475; Mon. Alc. p. 204. This letter of Alcuin's is perhaps modelled on Bede's to Egbert. But indeed Alcuin's desire to improve his neighbours required no external stimulus.

uerbis . . . Gregorii] On Gregory's homilies and 'Pastoral Care,' see ii. 1, notes.

§ 4.

Evil prelates.

P. 407. de quibusdam episcopis] On the evil lives of some of the prelates of Bede's time, cf. the passages from his works cited Introduction, p. xxxv.

p. 408. ubicunque peruueneris] Cf. on iv. 27, p. 269.

§ 5.

latiora sunt spatia, &c.] On the consequent need for further subdivision of dioceses, see below, §§ 8, 9.

Parochial system.

presbyteros . . . in singulis uiculis] An interesting passage illustrating the very gradual growth of the parochial system; cf. v. 11, note.

symbolo] See on iv. 17.

'Popularis uita.'

p. 409. populari . . . uita] As λαϊκός from λαός, so 'popularis' from 'populus,' in the sense of 'lay' or 'secular.' The same phrase occurs, *inf.* § 15, *ad init.*; and in the Vita Anon. Cudb. §§ 8, 11. 'Plebeius' is used in the same sense: 'hi, qui in plebeia sunt uita constituti;' Opp. ix. 267. (For 'plebs'=laity, see on iv. 5.)

Unlearned Clerks.

de clericis . . . expertes] See on Hist. Abb. § 16; cf. Council Clovesho, § 10: 'presbyteri . . . symbolum fidei ac Dominicam orationem, sed et sacrosancta quoque uerba quae in Missae celebratione, et officio Baptismi solenniter dicuntur, interprētari atque exponere posse propria lingua, qui nesciant, discant.' For the general ignorance of Latin among the clergy in Alfred's time, cf. the famous passage in his preface to the translation of Gregory's 'Pastoral Care,' ed. Sweet, pp. 2–9; also in Sweet's Anglo-Saxon Reader, and elsewhere.

propter quod . . . optuli] Cf. Introduction, pp. lxxv, clxii. Anglo-Saxon versions of the Lord's Prayer and Creed exist; but they cannot be Bede's, as they are West-Saxon and not Northumbrian in dialect. It is grievous that none of Bede's translations have survived. There is a law of Canute's which provides that every Christian man shall know the Creed and the Lord's Prayer; Schmid, Gesetze, pp. 266–268; Thorpe, i. 372–374. Bede's translation.

Ambrosius] De Virginibus, iii. 4, 20: 'Symbolum quoque specialiter debemus tanquam nostri signaculum cordis antelucanis horis quotidie recensere; quo etiam cum horremus aliquid animo recurrendum est. Quando enim sine militiae sacramento miles in tentorio, bellator in praelio?' Cited by Moberly. St. Ambrose on the Creed.

§ 6.

rariora . . . repperis] See the passages cited, Introduction, § 10.

§ 7.

P. 410. Attende . . . contendunt] See Introduction, p. xxxv; cf. especially the following, on Nehem. v. 1: 'Desiderabat quidem populus murum construere ciuitatis, sed magnitudine famis ab opere sancto praepediebatur. Quam uidelicet famem non solum penuria frugum, sed et principum auaritia fecerat, cum ab eodem populo maiora quam reddere poterat tributa exigerent, quod apud nos quotidie eodem ordine fieri uidemus. Quanti enim sunt in populo Dei, qui diuinis libenter cupiunt obtemperare mandatis, sed, ne possint implere quod cupiunt, et inopia rerum temporalium ac paupertate, et exemplis retardantur eorum, qui habitu religionis uidentur esse praediti, cum ipsi ab eis, quibus praeesse uidentur, et immensum rerum secularium pondus ac uectigal exigunt, et nihil eorum saluti perpetuae, uel docendo, uel exempla uiuendi praebendo, uel opera pietatis impendendo conferunt. Atque utinam aliquis diebus nostris Nehemias, id est consolator, a Domino aduenians, nostros compescat errores, nostra ad amorem diuinum praecordia accendat, nostras a propriis uoluntatibus ad constituendam Christi ciuitatem manus auertens confortet;' Opp. ix. 21. So on Nehem. xii. 43: 'Sed uae illis sacerdotibus ac ministris sanctorum, qui sumptus quidem cum gaudio debitos sumere a populo delectantur, sed nil pro eiusdem populi student salute laborare, non aliquid sacri ducatus ei recte uiuendo praebere, non de suauitate regni coelestis ei quippiam dulce praedicando canere, sed nec ianuam ei supernae ciuitatis aperire, municipatum in coelis habendo, uerum potius occludere peruerse agendo probantur. Episcopal neglect.

In quorum operibus nequaquam confidens, siue laudans Dominum populus laetari, sed multo magis cogitur affligi;' ib. 46, 47. Nehemiah's unselfish conduct, v. 14, shows: 'apostolicum illud esse opus, cum quis in regimine plebis Dei promotus, opus quidem rectoris nobiliter ecclesiam aedificando exerceat, sed quaestum exercitii ab eis quos praedicando, ac bene uiuendo regit, terrena commoda expectando non quaerit;' ib. 23.

Ecclesiastical dues.

tributis antistiti reddendis] It would be interesting if Bede had told us what these were; but he wrote to admonish Egbert who knew, not to inform us who do not. The only law prior to 734 bearing at all on the subject is Ini, cap. 4, 'Of Church-scots:' 'Church-scots are to be paid at Martinmas. If any one fails to pay he is liable for sixty shillings and to pay twelve times the Church-scot;' Schmid, p. 22; Thorpe, i. 104. For later times, cf. Wulfstan's Homilies, pp. 113, 116–119, 170–173, 181, 207, 208, 216, 272.

p. 411. itaque conuersatus] Cf. Bede's Commentary on this passage; Opp. viii. 36.

§ 8.

Confirmation.

manus impositionem] For Bede's view of the importance of confirmation, cf. on Mark, i. 10: 'regeneratis ex aqua et spiritu amplior eiusdem Spiritus gratia per impositionem manus episcopi solet caelitus dari;' Opp. x. 11; cf. viii. 338. It was regarded as the completion of the rite of baptism; hence its name. It was called also τελείωσις, 'consummatio,' 'perfectio;' Ducange, *s. v.* 'confirmatio;' cf. Theodore, Penitential, II. iv. 5: 'nullum perfectum credimus in baptismo sine confirmatione episcopi, non desperamus tamen;' H. & S. iii. 193; cf. on ii. 2. In the primitive Church confirmation followed immediately on baptism; and in the Eastern Church infant confirmation and infant communion are still the rule. The fact that the administration of confirmation became restricted to the bishops, caused an interval greater or less to be interposed between the two rites. The unction or chrism which had formed the connecting link between them became attached to both, with the distinction that the priest might only anoint on the breast, anointing on the forehead being reserved for the bishop; cf. a letter of Gregory I, Sept. 593; R. P. p. 107. This was called 'consignatio;' cf. ib. 150; Ducange, *s. v.* However in May 594, Gregory decided: 'ubi episcopi desint, presbyteri etiam in frontibus baptizandos tangant;' ib. 108. That the confirmation-tours of bishops sometimes became a source of oppression to their flocks

is shown by a letter already cited, ib. 150. Sponsors were necessary at confirmation as well as at baptism; they might be the same, but were generally different; cf. Theodore, Penitential, II. iv. 8; H. & S. iii. 193. In the Sax. Chron. *ad ann.* 853, we have the word 'biscep-sunu,' meaning a godson at 'bishopping' or confirmation. The spiritual relationships created by these sponsorships terribly complicated the table of prohibited degrees. It was decided that a man who had acted as godfather to his own son at confirmation, 'de patre factus patrinus,' must be separated from his wife; Bouquet, x. 451. The chrism, whether used by the priest at baptism, or by the bishop at confirmation, must be consecrated by the bishop, and gradually the practice grew up of doing this solemnly once a year, on Maundy Thursday; and the sending of the chrism was a mark of episcopal jurisdiction over the church to which it was sent; cf. *e. g.* H. & S. ii. 15. For the chrism in baptism, cf. Opp. v. 253, xii. 53; in confirmation, vii. 115; Opp. Min. p. 277; H. Y. i. 259; *v.* D. C. A. *s. vv.* 'chrism,' 'confirmation.' Chrism.

cum enim antistes . . . ualuerit] This was still the case with Egbert's diocese even after Theodore had separated Bernicia from Deira; § 5. See also § 9. What then must have been the case when Wilfrid was the only bishop in the whole of Northumbria? We can understand, I think, how Bede would look upon his opposition. That Wilfrid's opposition at least was not made 'dictante amore pecuniae' the munificence of his foundations abundantly shows. But if a prelate, like Wine, iii. 7, had bought his preferment, he would naturally not be inclined to resign its emoluments; cf. the scathing epigram on Pope Alexander VI: Need for division of Dioceses.

'Vendit Alexander claues, altaria, Christum;
Emerat ille prius, uendere iure potest;'

in Gregorovius, Gesch. d. Stadt Rom, vii. 461. On the division of dioceses see the ninth canon of the council of Hertford, iv. 5.

As to the annual visitation of his diocese by every bishop, cf. the third canon of the council of Clovesho: 'singulis annis unus quisque episcopus parochiam suam pertransiendo, et circumeundo, speculandoque uisitare non praesideat [? supersedeat], populumque diuersae conditionis ac sexus per competentia ad se conuocet loca, aperteque doceat utpote eos, qui raro audiunt uerbum Dei, prohibens et inter caetera peccamina paganas obseruationes.' Episcopal visitation.

§ 9.

P. 412. adiutorem, regem] Cf. Bede on Ezra, vi. 12: '*Ego Darius statui decretum* . . . Quod eodem ordine nunc quoque in Aid of the royal power.

sancta ecclesia geritur, cum terrenae potestates ad fidem conuersae, pro statu eiusdem ecclesiae publica edicta proponunt, et hanc Domino adiuuante, atque inimicos omnes sub pedibus eius ponente, placidam semper habere quietem cupiunt, ac pacem;' Opp. viii. 419; cf. ib. 417, 442, v. 45; cf. iii. 8, note (on the influence of the royal power in putting down idolatry), and the passage from Boniface's letter to Daniel, cited on i. 30, from H. & S. iii. 343; Mon. Mog. p. 159.

Northumbrian pedigrees.

propinquus illius] According to the pedigrees in Sax. Chron. *s. aa.*, 729, 738, Egbert and his brother Eadbert were first cousins once removed to Ceolwulf. According to the pedigrees in Florence, i. 254, 255, they were first cousins. The pedigree in Lappenberg, i. Note F, seems due to an attempt to combine in one table conflicting genealogies. The result is that he has made Egbert and Ceolwulf fourth cousins twice removed, Egbert belonging to the older generation. On Ceolwulf, see v. 23, notes.

Gregorius . . missis litteris] See i. 29.

The northern metropolitan.

p. 413. **metropolitanus esse deberet**] This shows that Egbert had not yet received the pallium; and confirms the view that this letter was written prior to 735.

Reckless grants.

donationesque stultissimas] This forms a transition to a subject which Bede evidently has very much at heart; viz. the growth of the pseudo-monasteries, which is dealt with in §§ 10–13.

§ 10.

pontificali . . . edicto] This means episcopal not papal sanction; cf. 'pontificem' below, of the metropolitan of York; and 'pontifices' in §§ 12, 13, of the bishops as members of the Witenagemót.

Sees located in monasteries.

locus . . . fiat] Bede has not told us when the monastery at York was founded (cf. 'in monasterio tuo,' § 1). But all the other northern sees were founded in connexion with monasteries. At Lindisfarne the see and the monastery came into existence together. At Hexham the see was located in a monastery already existing. The seat of Trumwine's bishopric was in the monastery of Abercorn; iv. 26. The same was probably the case with Pehthelm at Candida Casa or Whitern. For the monasteries at Whitern, see on iii. 4. The attempt to make the monastery of Ripon into the seat of a bishopric had failed owing to the opposition of Wilfrid; see on iv. 12; v. 19. It may have been the remembrance of this opposition which dictated the next sentence: 'et ne forte abbas . . . tentauerint.'

detur illis licentia . . . episcopalem] Here Bede seems to be

thinking not merely of the election of the bishop by the monks, which of course was the ordinary rule in all cathedrals of which the constitution was monastic, but of an association of the monastery with the bishop in the exercise of his ecclesiastical jurisdiction. This would have been a system midway between the Irish monastic episcopacy (see on iii. 4) and ordinary diocesan episcopacy. Something like this may have been the rule at Lindisfarne. Co-operation of the bishop and monastery.

sunt loca innumera, &c.] Here Bede comes to the subject of the pseudo-monasteries. Cf. the Commentary on Ezra vi. 18: 'Ordo poscebat deuotionis, ut post aedificatam ac dedicatam domum Domini, mox sacerdotes ac Leuitae, qui in ea ministrarent, ordinarentur; ne sine causa domus erecta fulgeret, si deessent qui intus Deo seruirent. Quod saepius inculcandum eis qui monasteria magnifico opere construentes, nequaquam in his statuunt doctores, qui ad opera Dei populum Dei cohortentur, sed suis potius inibi uoluptatibus ac desideriis seruiant;' Opp. viii. 425, 426. Pseudo-monasteries.

§ 11.

P. 414. a barbaris defendant] Cf. *infra*, 'a barbarica incursione tueantur.' By these Bede means the Picts. The withdrawal of Bishop Trumwine from Abercorn had shown what danger accrued to the Church no less than to the State of Northumbria from the insecurity of the northern frontier. These passages from the letter to Egbert have often been quoted to show that Bede in his monastic seclusion was not wanting in the eye of a statesman; cf. v. 23, *ad fin.* and note. In Eadmer's life of Wilfrid, c. 26, Eormenburg is represented as using somewhat similar arguments against the accumulation of possessions in the hands of Wilfrid: 'timendum est ne, si aliquando inimici tui contra te arma susceperint, ipse . . . suos ab armis immunes retineat.' Danger from the Picts.

p. 415. neque . . . abstineant] Cf. Boniface's letter to Ethelbald cited on v. 18, 19, 23; H. & S. iii. 352, 355, 359; Mon. Mog. pp. 168 ff., 178 ff.

§ 12.

laici . . . sub praetextu . . . monasteriorum] See the fifth canon of Clovesho: 'Ut episcopi monasteria, si tamen ea fas est ita nominare, quae utique quamuis temporibus istis propter uim tyrannicae quandam auaritiae ad religionis Christianae statum nullatenus immutari possint, id est, quae a saecularibus, non Diuinae scilicet legis ordinatione, sed humanae adinuentionis praesumptione, utcunque tenentur; tamen pro salute animarum in Pseudo-monasteries.

eisdem commorantium, adire debeant, sit necesse: et ut inter caetera exhortamenta praeuideant, ne sine sacerdotis ministerio aliquod illorum deinceps debilitatum periclitetur, iuuantibus ad hoc eorum possessoribus;' H. & S. iii. 364. So St. Boniface to Archbishop Cuthbert: 'Illud autem, quod laicus homo, uel inperator uel rex aut aliquis praefectorum uel comitum, saeculari potestate fultus, sibi per uiolentiam rapiat monasterium de potestate episcopi uel abbatis uel abbatissae, et incipiat ipse uice abbatis regere et habere sub se monachos et pecuniam possidere, quae fuit Christi sanguine conparata, talem hominem antiqui patres nominabant raptorem et sacrilegum et homicidam pauperum, et lupum diaboli intrantem in ouile Christi;' Mon. Mog. pp. 208, 209; H. & S. iii. 381.

in ius . . . haereditarium] On hereditary monasteries, see notes to iv. 26.

Share of the Witenagemót in grants of land.

pontificum . . . confirmari] Here, again, we see the co-operation of the Witenagemót in grants of land; and the 'pontifices, abbates, et potestates seculi' who sanctioned, must share the responsibility of the monarchs who made these unworthy grants. Bede lays stress on this responsibility in the case of the bishops in § 13, *inf.*, where he seems even to hint that they were bribed, or at least had some pecuniary interest in the grants; cf. also § 16, *ad fin.*

Renegade monks.

quoscunque . . . ualuerint] Cf. Egbert's own Dialogue, § 7: 'Quicunque . . . ex laicis, qui monasteriis praeesse noscuntur, taliter aliquem [*i.e.* transfugam clericum uel monachum] susceperit, reddat debitum statutum, regi quidem X. siclos, X. Episcopo loci, X. uero abbati, cuius domesticum . . . susceperat, et desertorem relinquat;' H. & S. iii. 406.

§ 13.

Date.

P. 416. per annos . . . triginta] On this mark of the date of the Epistle, see note *ad fin.*

ex quo Aldfrid. &c.] Similarly Boniface in writing to Ethelbald dates the encroachments of the secular power on the Church from the accessions of Osred, the son and ultimately the successor of Aldfrid in Northumbria in 705 see on v. 18, *ad init.*), and of Ceolred in Mercia in 709; H. & S. iii. 355; Mon. Mog. p. 174.

'Praefectus' = reeve.

praefectorum] Perhaps 'reeves'; cf. on ii. 16. We hear of a 'praefectus in Bromnis,' who had the custody of Wilfrid at the beginning of his imprisonment. Afterwards he was committed to the prefect of Dunbar; Eddius, cc. 36–38.

ministri] 'Gesiths,' 'thanes.'

p. 417. praefati sumus] § 12, where see note.

§ 14.

P. 418. dicere estis soliti] *i. e.* 'you (bishops) are wont to say,' &c.; for where Bede is addressing Egbert individually he always uses the singular; cf. the beginning of the very next sentence: 'tui . . . est officii.' It would seem from this that Bede was less opposed than some of the bishops to a certain amount of control of monasteries by the secular power. Control by secular power.

§ 15.

in populari . . . uita] See on § 5.

p. 419. signaculo . . . crucis] See on iv. 24, *ad fin.*, and D. C. A. *s. v.* 'Sign of the Cross.'

cotidiana . . . perceptio] Cf. D. C. A. i. 418, 419.

epiphania] For the Epiphany as one of the greater feasts, see on iv. 19.

fieri uidisti] For Egbert's visit to Rome, see on § 1.

ipsi etiam coniugati] Cf. i. 27, p. 57.

§ 16.

P. 420. qua ergo fronte, &c.] For the severity, not to say cruelty, with which St. Gregory punished an infringement of the monastic rule against separate property, see Milman, Lat. Christ. ii. 105; and the references collected by M. & L. on iv. 23. Monastic rule against separate property.

p. 421. manum subtraxerint] See on § 12.

§ 17.

deuteroses] *δευτέρωσις* is the word used by the Greek Fathers to translate the Hebrew 'Mischna,' which means literally 'repetition,' and was applied at first to the process of oral repetition by which the tradition of the scribes was mastered before it had been reduced to writing; and 'Mischna' remains the name of the oldest codification of this tradition. Hence *δευτέρωσις* becomes a general term for the scribal tradition as opposed to the original law. See Schürer, Gesch. d. iüdischen Volkes, i. 87-89, and the passages there cited from Jerome. 'Deuterosis.'

p. 422. per mysteria, &c.] For masses for the dead, cf. Introd. pp. xxvii, xxviii, lxxvi, clxiii, and iv. 22, v. 14.

permodica . . . culpa] For it is only such faults, according to Bede, which can be done away in purgatory. See Introduction. p. lxvi.

The Church of Jerusalem regarded as a monastery.

monachorum collegio indignos] This is curious. It shows that Bede regards the communism of the early Jerusalem Church as marking the foundation of a monastic institution. Ananias and Sapphira were then (apart from their deceit) guilty of the offence which St. Gregory punished so severely. So in his Commentary on Acts iv. 32, Bede says: 'Latine communia, Graece dicuntur *κοινά*; a quo nomine constat perfectos Dei famulos *κοινοβίτας* Graece, id est, communiter uiuentes, et *κοινόβια* habitacula eorum esse uocata; *βίον* namque lingua eorum uitam constat appellari. . . . Qui ergo ita uiuunt ut sint eis omnia communia in Domino, recte composito ex duobus uno nomine *κοινοβῖται* uocantur;' Opp. xii. 119, 120. (For Bede's fondness for citing this early Christian communism, see on iv. 23.)

Cerberi nomen] On Bede's use of the classics, see Introduction, pp. l–liii.

Date.

p. 423. **scripta . . . tertia**] *i. e.* Nov. 5, 734 (not 735 as Stevenson says, *a. l.*). I see no reason to doubt the genuineness of this date, which is found in the earlier of the two MSS. It fits in well with the chronology of Bede's life and death; and it agrees with the note of time at the beginning of § 13, that it was '*about* thirty years' from the death of Aldfrid, for Aldfrid died in 705.

APPENDIX I.

ON THE OLDEST LIFE OF GREGORY THE GREAT.

The life of Gregory the Great from which the following extracts are taken was discovered by Paul Ewald in a St. Gallen MS. No. 567, of the eighth and ninth centuries, and portions of it, with an introductory essay, were published by him in Historische Aufsätze dem Andenken an Georg Waitz gewidmet (1886), pp. 17–54. For my knowledge of this essay, and for some other good references relating to Bede, I am indebted to Mr. Wilbur C. Abbott, of Cornell University, U. S. A., himself a devoted student of our author. Ewald shows that this life is evidently of English origin, the work of a monk of Whitby, §§ 18, 19; that it was used by both of Gregory's later biographers, the deacons John and Paul; that it is almost certainly anterior to Bede, otherwise the writer would not complain so bitterly as he does of the want of materials. The work did not come under my notice until all the text was in type. But I have been able to add some references to it in the notes, and I have noted on the margin here those parts of Bede which it chiefly illustrates; and those words which can be traced in Bede's narrative are printed in italics. When we consider how freely Bede often deals with his materials, the fact that so many words can be traced is strong evidence that Bede had the life before him. It seems too not improbable that it was known also to Cuthbert, the author of the well-known letter on the death of Bede. Anyhow the opening of that letter, Introduction, p. clx, is very like the following passage from the life: 'caritas urget nos . . . iuxta nostri modulum ingenioli haec memorie tradere signa de hoc nostro doctore, . . . opus . . . tanti uiri dilectione magis quam scientia extorsum;' Ewald, *u. s.* p. 38.

H. E. ii. 1, p. 73. § 1. Fuit igitur iste *natione Romanus* ex *patre Gordiano* et matre Siluia, *nobili*s secundum legem sed nobilior coram Deo in *religione* . . .

ib. pp. 79–81. cf. i. 30, p. 64. § 9. Quod omnino non est tegendum *silentio*, *quam* spiritaliter, quomodoque cordis incomparabili speculo oculorum, *nostra*m prouidendo propagauit ad Deum conuersionem. Est igitur narratio fidelium ante . . . eius pontificatum Romam *uenisse* quidam de nostra natione *forma* et crinibus *candida*ti albis. Quos quidam

pulchros fuisse *pueros dicunt*, quidam uero crispos iuuenes et decoros. Quos cum audisset uenisse, iam dilexit *uidisse*. Eosque . . . sibi adscitos . . . specie inconsueta suspensus, et . . . Deo intus *admonente*, cuius gentis fuissent, inquisiuit. Cumque *respon*derent : '*Anguli* dicuntur illi, de quibus sumus,' *ille* dixit : '*Angeli* Dei.' Deinde dixit : '*Rex gentis illius quomodo* nominatur ?' Et dixerunt : '*Aelli*.' Et *ille* ait : '*Alleluia ! laus* enim *Dei* esse debet *illic*.' Tribus quoque illius *nomen de qua* erant proprie requisiuit. Et dixerunt : '*Deire*.' Et *ille* dixit : '*De ira* Dei confugientes ad fidem.'

§ 10. Tam itaque spiritali data occasione inflammatus, precessorem *pontifica*tus sui papam Benedictum tam inhianter huc proficiscendi precatus est dare licentiam, ut precis sue non potuit declinare nimietatem, illo dicente : Miserum *tam* pulchris uasis infernus debuisse repleri. Hec et his similia illo dicente licentiam tribuit *pontifex*, huc iter agendi. Ex qua iam licentia populum satis contristauit *Roman*um . . . . Pontifex . . . ergo, . . . concite post missis legatis, fecit eum reuerti. H. E. ii. 1, pp. 79-81.

§ 11. Postque non multum tempus papa defuncto electus . . . ad *pontificatu*m est. Quantaque potuit festinatione uenerandae memoriae uiros huc Augustinum et Mellitum atque Laurentium direxit cum ceteris, Augustinum ordinando episcopum. . . . ib. H. E. i. 23, p. 42. cf. H. E. i. 27, p. 4

§ 12. . . . primus . . . Edilbertus rex Cantuariorum ad fidem Christi correctus. . . . Post hunc in gente nostra, quae dicitur Humbrensium, Eduinus, Aelli prefati filius, . . . tam sapientia singularis, quam etiam sceptro dicionis regie, a tempore quo gens Angulorum hanc ingreditur insulam. cf. H. E. ii. 5, p. 89. cf. H. E. ii. 9, p. 9

§ 16. . . . regis nostri christianissimi . . . Eduini . . . dignum fuit . . . conuersionis [mentionem] facere, . . . licet ab illis minime audiuimus famatum, qui eius plura pre ceteris sciebant. . . . Sepe [tamen] fama cuiusque rei per longa tempora terrarumque spatia post congesta diuerso modo in aures diuersorum peruenit. . . . Idem rex fuit exul sub *rege* West*ranglorum* [*lege* Estr.] *Redualdo*. Quem emulus suus sic passim *perse*cutus est, *qui eum* ex patria pulsit, tirannus *Aedelfrid*us, ut eum *pecunia* sua emere occidendum querebat. Ea tempestate dicunt ei de sua uita consternato quadam die quidam pulchrae uisionis, cum cruce Christi coronatus, apparens eum consolari coepisse, *promitten*s ei felicem uitam regnumque *gent*is sue *futurum*, si *ei* obedire uoluisset. Eoque *promittente* . . . *respondit* : probabis hoc uerum, et qui tibi primum cum hac specie et *signo* apparebit, illi debes obedire. . . . Sub hac igitur specie dicunt illi Paulinum prefatum episcopum primo apparuisse. H. E. ii. 12.

§ 17. O piissime Pater, Domine Deus omnipotens . . . per eum [*sc.* beatum Gregorium] . . . tibi semper sit gratiarum actio doctoris nostri Paulini, quem in fine suo fidelem tibi ostendisti. Nam fertur a uidentibus, quod huius uiri anima in cuiusdam magne cf. H. E. iii. 14, p. 154.

qualis est cignus alba specie auis satisque pulchra, quando moritur, migrasse ad coelum.

§ 18. . . . Huius itaque regalis uere uiri ossium reliquie qualiter Domino reuelante sunt reperte, dignum est memorie commendare. Fuit . . . frater quidam nostre gentis, nomine Trimma, in quodam monasterio Sundaranglorum . . . diebus Edilredi regis illorum, adhuc in uita monastica uiuente Aeonfleda, filia religiosi regis prefati Eduini. Cui per somnium presbitero uir quidam uisus est dicens ei : Vade ad locum . . . qui est in regione illa que dicitur Hedfled, quo Eduinus rex occisus est ; debes enim ossa eius exinde tollere et tecum ad Streunes-Alae deducere, quod est coenobium famosissimum Aelfiede, filie supradicte regine Eonfiede. . . . Cui respondit . . . : Nescio illum locum. . . . At ille : Vade, inquit, ad uicum illum in Lindissi, cuius nomen frater noster, illius presbiteri cognatus, qui hanc mihi exposuit ystoriam, non recolebat, et quere in eo maritum quendam nomine Teoful. . . . Ipse potest tibi monstrare ubi est. Presbiter . . . sciens esse somniorum fallatia multimoda, . . . dimisit rem adhuc taliter ostensam. Unde post hec ab eodem uiro ualidius admonitus, alteri e suis . . . retulit fratribus. Sed ipse . . . eum fecit dimittere.

cf. H. E. ii. 20, p. 124.

cf. H. E. iv. 26, p. 267.

§ 19. His itaque peractis, tertius adhuc uir suus . . . apparuit, eumque flagello satis . . . correxit. . . . Tum . . . festinanter perrexit ad maritum prefatum . . . inuenit[que] secundum quod illi monstratum est. A quo . . . didicit . . . quo iam querere reliquias debuisset regis. Statimque comperto profectus est ad locum sibi demonstratum. Et primo fodiens non inuenit adhuc quod querebat, sed secundo laboriosius fodiendo, ut sepe fieri solet. Inuentumque thesaurum desiderabile ad hoc nostrum secum asportauit coenobium. In quo nunc honorifice in Sancti Petri . . . ecclesia hec eadem sancta ossa cum ceteris conduntur regibus nostris, ad austrum altaris . . . beatissimi Petri apostoli . . . et ab oriente illius, quod . . . Sancto Gregorio est consecratum. . . . Fertur quoque ab hoc relatum presbitero, qui postea pro tempore prioris . . . habitauit locum sepultionis, crebro se . . . uidisse spiritus interfectorum IIII . . . baptizatorum, splendide uenientes sua corpora uisitasse, et adiecit, si posset, monasterium ibi uoluisse facere.

H. E. iii. 24, p. 179.

§ 32. . . . Iste . . . utique per omnem terram tam sanctus habetur, ut semper ab omnibus ubique Sanctus Gregorius nominatur. Unde letaniis . . . Sanctum Gregorium nobis in amminiculum uocamus cum sanctis . . . apostolis et martyribus. . . . Promissionem . . . Domini . . . morte *IIII idus Martias* expectat feliciter *in ecclesia* Sancti *Petri*, cuius sedit episcopatum *annos XIII menses VI dies X*, *ante* eius offitii *secretarium sepultus corpore* dormit in pace. A quo resuscitandus *in gloria*m.

cf. H. E. ii. 1, p. 79.

ib. p. 73.

APPENDIX II.

ON BEDE'S BIBLICAL QUOTATIONS.

To go into the question of Bede's biblical quotations generally, would be a very large task, and would require for its satisfactory performance more reliable texts than are as yet available for most of his works. This Appendix deals only with those of his works which are printed in the present edition, excluding quotations which occur in documents cited by Bede, which are of course irrelevant to the question of the biblical text used by Bede himself. I have made an exception in favour of the letter of Ceolfrid in v. 21, as this is almost certainly the work of Bede himself (*v.* notes, *a. l.*), and in any case as emanating from Bede's own monastery is as relevant as his own writings to the question of the biblical text there in use.

For the same reason I have added a few words on the biblical quotations in the Hist. Abb. Anon.

As the basis of comparison I have taken Sabatier's Versiones antiquae Latinae, ed. 2, in which the 'Vulgata noua' and the 'Versio antiqua' are placed in parallel columns.

Bede's biblical quotations may be divided into the following classes:—(1) those which are certainly taken from the Vulgate; (2) those which are certainly taken from the Itala, or Versio Antiqua; (3) those of which the source is doubtful because in these passages the Vulgate and the Itala do not differ, though the great preponderance of class 1 over class 2 makes it probable that class 3 also comes from the Vulgate; (4) those of which the source is doubtful because they differ more or less from both Itala and Vulgate; (5) there is a small group of quotations which seem to be conflate in character, and to be taken partly from one and partly from the other version.

I give the quotations under each head in the order of the books of the Latin Bible. The numbering of the Psalms is also that of the Vulgate, which differs by one in most cases from that of our English Bibles. Of the book Ecclesiasticus only one version exists, the old version having been adopted unaltered in the Vulgate; and

in some places the old version is defective. The references in brackets are to the pages of the present edition.

An asterisk suffixed to a reference implies that the quotation occurs in more than one place in the Bible, and the question whence Bede took it may sometimes affect the question of the version which he used. Thus if the quotation on p. 63 comes from Luke x. 2, it must be taken from the Itala; whereas if it comes from Matth. ix. 37, it may be taken from either version.

(1) Quotations which are certainly taken from the Vulgate:—Gen. i. 16 (p. 339, the other version is given *in addition*), xlix. 27 (p. 71); Exod. xii. 1–3, 6, 15–19 (pp. 334, 335); Levit. xxiii. 5–8 (pp. 336, 337; the Itala of vv. 5–7 is wanting); Num. xxxiii. 3 (p. 335); 1 Sam. xii. 2–4 (with slight variations, p. 411); 2 Kings xiv. 20 (the Itala is wanting, p. 95); 1 Chron. xxiii. 1 (the Itala is wanting, p. 294); Job xxix. 11–17, xxxi. 16–18 (pp. 77, 78), xlii. 16 (pp. 126, 141); Pss. xciv. 2 (p. 263), lxxxii. 1 (p. 378), lxxxiii. 2 (p. 231), xcviii. 6, 7 (p. 411); Prov. xxvi. 11* (p. 90); Eccl. viii. 10 (with variation, p. 418); Isa. xxxv. 7 (the Itala is wanting, p. 175), lx. 22 (with variation, p. 418); Jerem. viii. 8 (p. 414); Jonah i. 12 (p. 298); Matth. ii. 16 (p. 300), iii. 7* (p. 263), vii. 13, 14 (p. 421), vii. 22, 23 (p. 187), x. 7–9 (p. 410), xvi. 18, 19 (pp. 188, 342), xix. 29 (p. 365), xxv. 30 (p. 406); Luke iii. 7* (p. 263), vi. 24 (p. 420), xi. 17 (p. 377), xii. 33, xiv. 33 (p. 420), xix. 22* (p. 410), xxiv. 39 (p. 76); John xiii. 1 (p. 207); Acts iii. 2–8 (p. 284), iv. 32–34 (p. 270), v. 29 (p. 420), vii. 56 (p. 314), x. 11, xi. 5 (p. 220), xiii. 48 (p. 114), xvii. 21 (p. 22), xviii. 18, xxi. 20 (p. 185); Rom. xi. 2 (p. 42); 1 Cor. v. 5 (p. 263), ix. 2 (p. 73); 2 Cor. xi. 28, 29 (p. 406); Gal. v. 24 (p. 343); Phil. iii. 15 (p. 135); 1 Thess. v. 3 (p. 265); 2 Tim. iv. 6 (pp. 223, 274); Hebr. xii. 6 (p. 77); James i. 12 (pp. 21, 343); 1 Pet. i. 19 (p. 336); 2 Pet. i. 14 (the Itala is wanting, p. 274); 1 John ii. 15, 16 (p. 422).

(2) Quotations which are certainly taken from the Itala:—Gen. i. 4 (p. 314), i. 16 (p. 339, both versions given); Levit. xix. 18* (p. 273); Pss. lxv. 5 (p. 266), lxvii. 7 (p. 81); Eccl. iii. 5 (p. 207); Habak. iii. 11 (p. 340); Matth. xxv. 26* (p. 410); Luke x. 2* (p. 63), xxi. 27 (p. 211); John xiii. 1 (pp. 340, 348); Acts viii. 5 (p. 326, the resemblance is possibly only accidental); Rom. i. 27 (p. 338); 2 Cor. iv. 4 (p. 98?).

(3) Quotations in which the Itala and Vulgate do not differ:—Gen. iii. 18 (p. 343), xxxv. 29 (p. 294); Deut. vi. 5* (p. 273); 1 Kings xi. 12 (p. 265); Pss. xxix. 5 (p. 351), xxxi. 1 (p. 313), lxv. 10 (p. 378), xcv. 13 (p. 172), xcvi. 1 (p. 351), cxi. 9 (p. 77), cxlviii. 12 (p. 419); Ecclus. xxxii. 1 (with variation, p. 372), xliv. 14 (p. 294); Mal. iv. 1 (p. 340); Matth. iii. 8* (p. 270), ix. 37* (p. 63), x. 8 (p. 259), x. 16 (p. 92), xi. 29 (p. 82), xv. 3, 13 (p. 421), xxii. 37,

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(4) Quotations which differ both from Itala and Vulgate:—Ps. lxxxii. 18, 19 (p. 378, where it differs from Itala and Vulgate it agrees with Jerome's version made from the Hebrew); Is. lviii. 6 (p. 414, this quotation agrees exactly with Ambrose, de Elia, c. 10, col. 545; and id. de Nabuth, c. 10, col. 577; cited by Sabatier *ad loc.*); Matth. xii. 45*; Luke xi. 26[e] (p. 116); Rom. x. 2 (p. 131); Acts xxii. 3 (p. 202); 2 Cor. xi. 2 (p. 98).

(5) Conflate quotations:—Pss. xvii. 13, 14 (p. 210), lxv. 12, 13 (p. 377); Luke vi. 20 (p. 420); Acts viii. 20, 21 (p. 342).

As regards the Hist. Abb. Anon., the facts are as follows:—(1) From the Vulgate; Hebr. xiii. 1 (p. 388). (2) From the Itala; Pss. lxvi. 1, lxxxiii. 8 (p. 397). (3) Uncertain; Gen. xxv. 8 (p. 400); Matth. xi. 29, 30 (p. 399); Acts xi. 24 (p. 390). (4) Differs from both, though nearer to Itala; Is. xxvi. 7 (p. 397).

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INDEX NOMINUM, LOCORUM, RERUM.

NOTE.—By a small Roman numeral followed by an Arabic numeral is indicated the Book and Chapter of the Historia Ecclesiastica.

A large Roman numeral followed by an Arabic numeral refers to the volumes and pages of the present edition.

A small Roman numeral preceded by the letter p. refers to the pages of the Introduction in Vol. I.

The letter C. refers to the Continuatio Baedae, which is cited by Annals.

The abbreviations Hab. and Haa. indicate respectively the Historia Abbatum auctore Baeda, and the Historia Abbatum auctore Anonymo; while by Ee. is meant the Epistola ad Egberctum. The last three are cited by Sections. Whenever a Chapter or Section exceeds a page in length, a reference to the page or pages is given in addition.

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